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THE

Harleian Miſcellany:

OR, A

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SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

As well in Manuſcript as in Print,

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INTERSPERSED

With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.

WITH

A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. OSBORNE*, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCXLIV.

N. B. The Proprietor of this Work, having been adviſed, by many judicious Gentlemen, who are his *Subſcribers*, to publiſh at the End of every Weekly *Miſcellany*, a full and exact *Catalogue* of the moſt conſiderable *Pamphlets* in the *Harleian Library*; with ſome ſhort Account, as Occaſion ſhall offer, of their *Characters*, *Contents*, *&c.* the ſame will accordingly in a few Weeks appear; as well to manifeſt the great Variety of Curioſities therein, little known to many Readers; as becauſe ſuch a Catalogue was never before attempted; the very Titles whereof will be uſeful in many other Reſpects; but principally, to gratify his *Subſcribers* with an Opportunity of being their own Chuſers, and recommending any of them to Publication in the ſaid Work: Whereby many choice Pieces, which have never been ſold ſeparately, under Five, Ten, Twenty Shillings, and more, will, beſides others in every Number, be ſold as uſual for One Shilling.

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TO

His Royal HIGHNESS,

FREDERICK,

PRINCE of WALES,

This SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY,

Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by,

Your Royal HIGHNESS's

Moſt faithful, and

Moſt obedient Servant,

Thomas Osborne.

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Mr. J[illegible] Woodhouſe
Mr. Benjamin Ketely

THE

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A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion, with Regard to the late exceſſive Growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs: Drawn up by the Upper Houſe of Convocation, of the Province of *Canterbury*, and tranſmitted to the Lower Houſe for their Approbation. *Folio*, containing five Pages, printed in 1711 17

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Strange News from *Plymouth*: Or, a wonderful and tragical Relation of a Voyage from the *Indies*; where, by extraordinary Hardſhips, and Extremities of the late great Froſts, ſeveral of the Seamen, and others, miſerably periſhed; and, for Want of Proviſion, caſt Lots for their Lives, and were forced to eat one another; and how a *Dutch* Merchant eat Part of his own Children, and then murdered himſelf, becauſe he would not kill his Wife: With the miraculous Preſervation of *George Carpinger*, an *Engliſh* Seaman, and the *Dutch* Merchant's Wife, now a-ſhore at *Plymouth*. In a Letter to Mr. *D. B.* of *London*, Merchant. *4to*, containing eight Pages, printed at *London* for *J. Conyers*, at the *Black Raven* in *Duck-Lane*, 1684. 25

The Quacks Academy: Or, The Dunces Directory. A new Art to croſs the old Proverb, and make a Man a Fool and Phyſician both at a Time. Diſcovering the ſeveral Methods whereby ſo many ignorant Pretenders obtain Repute and Practice.

——— *Cur ludere nobis*
Non liceat, licuit cum jugulare tibi. MART.
With Allowance.

Quarto, containing ſix Pages, printed at *London*, for *A. B.* in 1678. 28

A Queſtion, Whether there be Nothing new? Being one of thoſe Queſtions handled in the Weekly Conferences of Monſieur *Renaudot's Bureau d' Addreſſes*, at *Paris*. Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1640. *4to*, containing ſix Pages. *London*, printed by *R. B.* for *Jaſper Emery*, at the *Eagle* and *Child*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, near St. *Auguſtine's* Gate 31

Vindex Anglicus: Or, the Perfections of the *Engliſh* Language defended and aſſerted. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1644. *4to*, containing ſix Pages 33

The Honour of the *Gout*: Or, a rational Diſcourſe, demonſtrating that the *Gout* is one of the *greateſt Bleſſings* which can befal mortal Man; that all *Gentlemen*, who are *weary* of it, are their own Enemies; that thoſe *Practitioners*, who offer at the *Cure*, are the vaineſt and moſt miſchievous *Cheats* in Nature. By Way of Letter to an eminent Citizen, wrote in the Heat of a violent *Paroxyſm*, and now publiſhed for the common Good of *Philander-Miſaurus*. *12mo*, containing ſixteen Pages, printed at *London*, in 1699 37

The Character of an ill Court Favourite: Repreſenting the Miſchiefs that flow from Miniſters of State, when they are more *great* than *good*; the *Arts* they uſe to *ſeduce* their *Maſters*, and the *Unhappineſs* of *Princes*, that are *curſed* with ſuch *deſtructive* Servants. Tranſlated out of *French*. *4to*, containing twenty-two Pages. *London*, printed in the Reign of King *Charles the Second* 50

The Forerunner of Revenge. Being two Petitions: The one, to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty; the other, to the moſt honourable Houſes of Parliament. Wherein are expreſſed divers Actions of the late

Earl of *Buckingham*; especially concerning the Death of King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, supposed by Poison. Also may be observed the Inconveniences befalling a State, where the noble Disposition of the Prince is misled by a Favourite. By *George Eglisham*, Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physicians to King *James*, of happy Memory, for his Majesty's Person, above ten Years Space, *4to.* containing twenty-three Pages, printed at *London*, in the Year 1642 61

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Observations on the late Queen *Elizabeth*, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir *Robert Naunton*, Master of the Court of Wards. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641. *4to*, containing forty-nine Pages 72

The Nicker Nicked, Or, the Cheats of Gaming discovered. The third Edition.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licensed *November* 4, 1668. Printed in the Year 1669. *4to*, containing nine Pages 96

A Dialogue between *Sam.* the Ferry-man of *Dochet*, *Will.* a Water-man of *London*, and *Tom.* a Bargeman of *Oxford*. Upon the King's Calling a Parliament to meet at *Oxford*. *London*, printed in 1681. *4to*, containing twenty-nine Pages 99

The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments. Written by Sir *Robert Cotton*. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1679. *fol.* containing thirteen Pages 114

The Execution of Iustice in *England*, for Maintenaunce of publique and Christian Peace, against certeine Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme, without any *Persecution* of them for Questions of Religion, as is falsely reported and published by the Fautors and Fosterers of their Treasons; xvii *December*, 1583. Imprinted at *London*, 1583, *4to*, containing five Sheets, black Letter, the first Edition; though, as it appears from some Manuscript Additions and Alterations on the Title, and in other Parts of the Book, prepared a *second* Time for the Press, by the Author, on the 14*th* of *January*, 1583. 122

A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving, and of the greatest Mystery therein contained: How to chuse a good Wife from a bad. An Argument of the deerest Use, but the deepest Cunning, that Man may err in; which is, to cut by a Thread, between the greatest Good or Evil in the World. Pertinent to both Sexes, and Conditions, as well those already gone before, as shortly to enter this honest Society.

Amare & sapere vix Diis conceditur.

By *Alex. Niccholes*, Batchelor in the Art he never yet put in Practice.

He that stands by, and doth the Game survey,
Sees more oftimes, than those that at it play.

London, printed by *N. O.* for *Leonard Becket*, in the *Inner Temple*, 1615. *4to*, containing sixty-one Pages, including the Dedication and Preface. 141

The Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue, divided into five Parts: A *Medicine*, a *Poison*, a *Serpent*, *Fire*, and *Thunder*. Whereunto are added divers new Epigrams never before printed. The fifth Edition, with more new Additions. *London*, printed for *Richard Harper*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the *Hospital Gate*, 1638. *Duodecimo*, containing eighteen Pages 167

A brief Relation of a wonderful Accident, a Dissolution of the Earth, in the Forest of *Charnwood*, about two Miles from *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*; lately done, and discovered, and resorted to, by many People, both old, and young. Published by two Lovers of Art, *I. C.* and *I. W.* *Quarto*, containing six Pages, MDCLXXIX. 178

The Geography and History of *Mons*. First written in *French*, for the Service of an *Imperial* Officer, in the Army about *Mons*; and now done, a second Time, in *English*, for the Satisfaction of our *British* Officers. By *John Mack Gregory*, L L. L. Professor of *Geography* and *History*. Printed at *Edinburgh*, in the Year MDCCIX, *Quarto*, containing Forty-four Pages. 180

St. *Hilary*'s Tears. Shed upon all Professions, from the Judge to the Pettifogger. From the spruce Dames of the *Exchange*, to the dirty walking Fishmongers. From the *Covent*-Garden Lady of Iniquity, to the *Turnbal-street* Trull, and indeed, from the *Tower*-stairs, to *Westminster*-ferry. For Want of a stirring *Midsummer* Term, this Year of Disasters, 1642. Written by one of his Secretaries, that had Nothing else to do. *London*, printed *Anno Dom.* 1642. *Quarto*, containing six Pages 199

Instructions for the Increasing and Planting of *Mulberrie Trees*, and the Breeding of *Silke-wormes*, for the making of *Silke* in this Kingdome. Whereunto is annexed his Maiesties Letters to the Lords Lieftenants of the seuerall Shiers of *England* tending to that Purpose. Newly printed, MDCIX. *Quarto*, containing two Sheets 202

Examples for Kings; or, Rules for Princes to govern by. Wherein are contained these ensuing Particulars; 1. A Discourse touching Regal and Politick Government. 2. A Prince must be just in his Sentence. 3. What Man is fit to be a Governor, and to bear Rule. 4. That a Prince ought to be true to his Word. 5. That a Prince ought to be religious. 6. That a Prince ought not to shed innocent Blood. 7. That a Prince ought to be circumspect in giving Credit to evil Reports. 8. That a Prince ought to beware of Parasites. 9. What Kind of Men ought to be of the King's Council. 10. That it is dangerous for a Prince to take Aid of a Stranger. 11. How a Prince may get and keep the Love of his Subjects. 12. That a Prince ought to be well advised how he begin a War. *London*, printed for *Henry Hutton*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing one Sheet 208

The true and genuine Explanation of one K. *James*'s Declaration. Printed in the Year 1693. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 212

The

The Geography and Hiſtory of *Tournay:* Firſt written in *French*, for the Service of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and ſent incloſed in a Letter to him, when he marched to beſiege *Tournay*. Now done a Second Time in *Engliſh*, for the Satisfaction of our *Britiſh* Gentlemen and Officers. By *John Mack Gregory*, L L. L. Profeſſor of *Geography* and *Hiſtory*. To which is prefixed, as an Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Author's Letter to Prince *Eugene*. Printed at *Edinburgh*, 1709. *Quarto*, containing forty-four Pages 213

A brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the bleſſed Martir of Chriſt, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, collected together by *Iohan Bale*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Anthony Scoloker*, and *Wyllyam Seres*, dwelling wythout *Alderſgate*. *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio ad Imprimendum ſolum*. 233

The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's Place, with the Care and Peril thereof, written by the Right Honourable *Robert*, late Earl of *Saliſbury*. With his excellent Inſtructions, to the late Earl of *Bedford*, for the Government of *Barwick*. A Work worthy of Memory. *London*, printed in 1642. *Quarto*, containing ſeventeen Pages 265

An Account of the Burial of King *Charles the Firſt*, and of *Oliver Cromwell:* In which it appears, how *Oliver*'s Friends contrived to ſecure his Body from future Diſgrace, and to expoſe the Corpſe of King *Charles* to be ſubſtituted in the Puniſhment and Ignominy deſigned for the Uſurper's Body. *MS.* 269

The moſt lamentable and dreadful Thunder and Lightning in the County of *Norfolk*, and the City of *Norwich*, on *July* 20, being the *Lord's Day* in the Afternoon: The Whirlwind and thick Darkneſs, and moſt prodigious Hailſtones, which, being above five Inches about, did ſo violently batter down the Windows of the City, that Three-thouſand Pounds will hardly repair them. Diverſe Men and Women ſtruck dead. The Firing of ſome Towns, and whole Fields of Corn, by Lightning, which alſo deſtroyed the Birds of the Air, and Beaſts of the Field.

Together with another moſt violent Storm, which, happening on *Saturday* laſt, in the ſame County, for almoſt thirty Miles together, performed the like terrible Effects. Atteſted by Ten-thouſand Witneſſes, who were either Spectators, or Partakers of the Loſs. Entered according to Order, the 31ſt of *July* 1656. *London*, printed by *R. I.* for *F. Grove* on *Snow-hill*, 1656. *Quarto*, containing five Pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, repreſenting *Jupiter* in the Clouds, with a Thunder-bolt, in his Right Hand 272

An Elegy on the Death of Trade. By a Relation of the Deceaſed. *London*, printed in the Year 1698. *Quarto*, containing thirteen Pages 274

A Letter of Advice to a Friend, upon the Modern Argument of the Lawfulneſs of Simple Fornication, Half-Adultery, and Polygamy. Printed 1696. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 279

Bacchus Bountie: Deſcribing the debonaire Deitie of his bountifull Godhead, in the Royall Obſeruance of his great Feaſt of *Penticoſt*. Neceſſarie to be read and marked of all, for the Eſchuing of like Enormities.

Fœcundi calices, quem non fecere diſertum?

By *Philip Foulface* of *Ale-foord*, Student in good Felloſhip. Printed at *London*, for *Henry Kyrkham*, and are to be ſolde at his Shop, at the little *North-dore* of *Paules* Church, at the Signe of the *Black-boy*. 1593, *Quarto in black Letter*, containing three Sheets 285

The Baths of *Bath:* Or, A neceſſary compendious Treatiſe concerning the Nature, Uſe, and Efficacy of thoſe famous hot Waters; publiſhed for the Benefit of all ſuch as yearly, for their Health, reſort to thoſe Baths. With an Advertiſement of the great Utility, that cometh to Man's Body, by the Taking of Phyſick in the Spring, inferred upon a Queſtion moved, concerning the Frequency of Sickneſs, and Death of People, more in that Seaſon than in any other. Whereunto is alſo annexed a Cenſure, concerning the Water of St. *Vincent*'s Rocks, near *Briſtol*, which begins to grow in great Requeſt and Uſe againſt the Stone. By *Thomas Venner*, Doctor of Phyſick in *Bath*. *London*, printed by *Felix Kyngſton*, in 1628. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages 295

A Letter concerning ſome Obſervations lately made at *Bath*. Written to his much honoured Friend, Sir *E. G.* Knight and Baronet, *M. D.* in *London*. By *Thomas Guidott*, M. B.

Facilius ducimur, quam trahimur. Senec.

London, printed in 1674. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 306

Strange and true News from *Staffordſhire*, or a true Narrative concerning a young Man lying under Almighty God's juſt Vengeance, for imprecating God's Judgment upon himſelf, and pleading his Innocency, though he knew himſelf Guilty. Written by *W. Vincent*, Miniſter of God's Word at *Bednall*, in the County of *Stafford*, aforeſaid, who ſaw and diſcourſed the ſaid Perſon, upon the 26th Day of *April*, 1677. The ſaddeſt Spectacle that ever Eyes beheld. Licenſed, *May* 11, 1677, *Roger L'Eſtrange*. *London*, printed in the Year 1677. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages 311

A Particular Deſcription of the famous Town and Cittadel of *Dunkirk*, with all its Fortifications, *viz. River-bank*, *Forts*, *Harbour*, *Peere*, the *Baſon*, the Number of the Ships in the Harbour, and Cannon in each Port, as it is now in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great Britain*. With a particular Account of the *Churches*, *Cloiſters*, and *Nunneries*, their Worſhip and Ceremonies, and all Things worthy of Obſervation. Printed 1712. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-one Pages 313

An

An Historical Discourse of the first Invention of Navigation, and the additional Improvements of it. With the probable Causes of the Variation of the Compass, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewise some Reflexions upon the Name and Office of Admiral. To which is added a Catalogue of those Persons that have been, from the first Institution, dignified with that Office. By *Thomas Philipott*, M A. formerly of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*. *London*, printed in 1661. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages, including the Dedication 321

The Character of an honest and worthy Parliament-Man. A *Folio* Half-sheet, no Date 336

The Character of a Sneaker. *London*, printed in the Year 1705. *Quarto*, containing five Pages, and the Picture of a *Janus* in the Title page 337

An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the *West-India* Colonies, and of the great Advantages they are to *England*, in Respect to Trade. Licensed according to Order. *London*, printed 1690. *Quarto*, containing fifty-three Pages, beside the Title and Dedication 340

The Plague at *Westminster*: Or, An Order for the Visitation of a sick Parliament, grievously troubled with a new *Disease*, called the Consumption of their Members The Persons visited are:

The Earl of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Barkly*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Maynard*, Sir *John Maynard*, Master *Glyn*, Recorder of *London*.

With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be used for their Recovery; strictly commanded to be used in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations, throughout his Majesty's three Kingdoms, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Printed for *V. V.* in the Year 1647. *4to*, containing six Pages 370

A general Bill of the Mortality of the Clergy of *London*: Or, A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of *London*, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves and their Families, in the late Rebellion, for their Constancy in the *Protestant* Religion, established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their King, under that grand Persecution. *London*, printed against St. *Bartholomew*-Day, 1661. *4to*, containing six Pages 373

A briefe and trve Declaration of the Sickneſſe, laſt Wordes, and Death of the King of *Spaine*, *Philip*, the Second of that Name, who died in his Abbey of S. *Laurence* at *Escuriall*, seuen Miles from *Madrill*, the Thirteenth of *September*, 1598. Written from *Madrill*, in a *Spaniſh* Letter, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* according to the true Copie. Printed at *London*, by *Edm Bollifant*, 1599. *4to*, containing a Sheet and a Half. 377

The Packet-Boat Advice: Or, a Discourse concerning the War with *France*, between some *English* Gentlemen and a *French man*, betwixt *Calais* and *Dover*

Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.

London, printed in 1678. *4to*, containing twenty-one Pages. 380

An Account of the Reasons, which induced *Charles the Second*, King of *England*, to declare War against the States-General of the United Provinces, in 1672: And, of the private League which he entered into at the same Time with the *French* King to carry it on, and to establish Popery in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as they are set down in the History of the *Dutch* War. Printed in *French* at *Paris*, with the Privilege of the *French* King, in 1682. Which Book he caused to be immediately suppressed, at the Instance of the *English* Ambassador. Licensed, *March* the 5*th*, 1689, by *James Fraser*. *London*, printed in 1689. *fol.* containing fifteen Pages 387

The wicked Plots and perfidious Practices of the *Spaniards* against the Seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, before they took up Arms: Being gathered out of several *Dutch* Writers, by a Lover of Truth, and an unfeigned Hater of Oppression and Tyranny, the Bane of Commonwealths. Printed about the Year 1642. *4to*, containing eight Pages 393

Tom Tell Troath: Or A free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majestie, by Waye of humble Advertisement. Supposed to be printed in the Year 1622. *4to*, containing thirty Pages 400

The Lives of the three *Normans*, Kings of *England*: *William the First*, *William the Second*, and *Henry the First*. Written by *I. H.*

Improbe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Mart.

Imprinted at *London*, by *R B. Anno* 1613. *Quarto*, containing one hundred and thirty one Pages, besides the Epistle Dedicatory to *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, which contains five Pages more, in smaller Types 418

An Answer to the *French* Declaration of War, in Alliance with the *Dutch* and *Danes*, in the Year 1665. *London*, printed for the Author, in 1665-6, on a Broad-side 458

The Case of the Bishop of *Ross*, Resident of the Queen of *Scots*; who was seized and committed to the *Tower* by Queen *Elisabeth*, for traiterous Practices, and Endeavouring to raise a Rebellion against her, *fol.* containing four Pages 460

The Emperor's Concessions to his *Protestant* Subjects of *Hungary*, as they were sent from *Vienna* in *Latin*, and are now translated out of the original Copy. *London*, printed in 1681. *fol.* containing two Pages 462

A View of the Reign of King *Charles the First*; wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord *Clarendon*, Sir *Philip Warwick*, *H. L'Estrange*, and other most authentick and approved Historians. *London*, printed in *4to*, containing twenty-eight Pages 463

A true Account of a late horrid Conspiracy to betray *Holland* to the *French*. And of the Tryal, Confession,

sion, Condemnation, and Execution of *Jacob Martinet*, Sheriff of the Town of *Sluys*, and *Cornelius Reolands*, Master of the Ship called the *Argle* of *Amsterdam*, who were executed for the said Conspiracy, the Sixth of this Instant *May*, 1690. *4to*, containing ten Pages 481

A Proposal for an equal Land-tax; humbly submitted to Consideration. *London*, printed in the Year 1691. *4to*, containing fourteen Pages 485

The Designs of *France* against *England* and *Holland* discovered: Or the Intrigues of that Crown, for the utter Ruin of both those Nations laid open. With Allowance. Supposed to be printed *Anno* 1686. *4to*, containing twelve Pages 491

A short History of the *English* Rebellion. Compiled in Verse, by *Marchamont Nedham*, Author of *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. *London*, printed in 1661. *4to*, containing thirty-seven Pages 500

The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of themselves, from the horrid and detestable Murder of King *Charles the First*, of glorious Memory. With their Names subscribed, about the Twentieth of *January*, 1648. *London*, printed in the Year 1648. *4to*, containing six Pages 512

The very Beggars Petition against *Popery*; wherein they lamentably complain to King *Henry the Eighth* of the Clergy: 1 Of their abominable Covetousness and Oppression, in several Particulars, from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable Lechery, *being Devils at Women*; and how they apply themselves, by all Sleights they may, to have to do with every Man's Wife, Daughter, and Maid (*as well Ladies, as meaner Persons, when they come in their Way*) from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in Theft with them, and nourished it under them, § 17. 4. That they baffled all Laws, that none could take Hold of them, tho' they ravished Men's Wives and Daughters (*which that cursed Crew would be at again, tho' not in that seeming holy Method, but now in an open, odious, debauched Way, like infernal Incubusses, who now have naturalised Succubusses for their Turn*, &c.) for the Law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them, § 18. 5. An Example hereof, see in the Bishop of *London*, § 19. 6. Tho' the Statute of *Mortmain* was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any Duke, § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly Exactions came by cloaked Pretensions of praying People's Souls out of Purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This Doctrine of Purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned Men, § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish Policy, in not suffering the *New-Testament* to be translated in the Mother-Tongue, lest their Hypocrisy and Cheating should be discovered, § 25, 26. 10. The Impudence of Dr. *Allen*, and Dr. *Horsey*, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the Clergy, § 27. 11. The Reason of this was, because the Chancellor was one of them, *viz.* a Clergyman, § 28. 12. The Cheat of giving Lands, or Money, to the Church for the Poor, or Masses, § 30. 13. They petition to turn these Blood suppers out to labour and get them Wives of their own, 31. 14. The Benefits and Advantages of so doing, &c. § 31, 32, *These Arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's Authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a Vengeance*, &c.

Presented to King *Henry the Eighth*, in the twenty-ninth Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1538, eight Years before his Death, and now printed, *verbatim*, from a very old Copy, only mending the Authography, for the Ease of the Reader, making the several Sections, and collecting the fore-going Contents. *Worth perusing by both* Papist *and* Protestant, *for the one to see how his Fore-fathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through Fear of Death, or otherwise, embrace* Popery. *Folio*, containing six Pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title, representing King *Henry the Eighth* on his Throne, and a Committee of Beggars presenting their Petition. 516

A Case of Conscience resolved: Concerning Ministers Meddling with State Matters in their Sermons: And how far they are obliged by the Covenant to interpose in the Affairs of Civil Government. By *J. D.* Minister of the Gospel. *March* 15, Imprimatur, *Joseph Caryl*. *London*, printed by *R. L.* for *R. W.* 1649. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 523

Loyalty, attended with great News from *Drake*'s and *Raleigh*'s Ghosts. Presenting the true Means, whereby *Britain* may be recovered from her Maladies, and obtain a lasting Happiness, Honour, and Renown. In an Heroick Poem.

Vicimus, o magnis tandem exauditu Piorum
Vota Deus, nunc alma Salus, nunc Secula curat
Omnipotens.——————

Barcl. Arg.

London, printed for the Author, in 1705. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages 535

A true and faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majesties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in their Expedition against the *French*, in the *Carribbee Islands*, in the *West-Indies*: Under the Conduct of his Excellency *Christopher Codrington*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the said Forces, in the Years 1689 and 1690. Written by *Thomas Spencer*, Junior, Secretary to the Honourable Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, Baronet, to whose Regiment he was Muster-Master, and supplied the Place of Commissary. *London*, printed in 1691, *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 543

The Laws Discovery: Or a brief Detection of sundry notorious Errors and Abuses contained in our *English* Laws, whereby Thousands are annually stripped of their Estates, and some of their Lives. By a Well-

a Well-wiſher to his Country. *London*, printed in 1653. *Quarto*, containing five Pages 555

An Enquiry into the Phyſical and Literal Senſe of that Scripture

JEREMIAH viii. 7.

The Stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed Times; and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow obſerve the Time of their Coming, &c.

Written by an eminent Profeſſor for the Uſe of his Scholars, and now publiſhed at the earneſt Deſire of ſome of them. Printed by *J. H.* no Date, 12*mo*, containing thirty ſix Pages 558

The ſpiritual Courts epitomiſed, in a Dialogue betwixt two Proctors, *Buſy-Body* and *Scrape-all*, and their Diſcourſe of the Want of their former Employment. *London*, printed in 1641. 4*to*, containing ſix Pages with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, repreſenting the Biſhops-Court in great Confuſion 567

A late Voyage to *Holland*, with brief Relations of the Tranſactions at the *Hague*; alſo Remarks on the Manners and Cuſtoms, Nature, and Comical Humours of the People; their Religion, Government, Habitations, Way of Living, and Manner of treating Strangers, eſpecially the *Engliſh*. Written by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, attending the Court of the King of *Great-Britain*. Printed in 1691, 12*mo*. containing forty Pages 569

The *Dutch* Remonſtrance concerning the Proceedings and Practices of *John de Witt*, Penſionary; and *Ruwaert Van Putten*, his Brother; with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Perſon of Eminency there, and printed at the *Hague*. And Tranſlated out of *Dutch*, *Auguſt* the 30th, 1672. *London*, printed by *S.* and *B. G.* and are to be ſold by *R. C.* over-againſt the *Globe* in *Little-Britain*, 4*to* containing thirty-five Pages 582

The Copie of a Piſtel or Letter ſent to *Gilbard Potter*, in the Tyme when he was in Priſon, for ſpeakinge on our moſt true Quenes Part, the Lady *Mary*, before he had his Eares cut of, the viii. of *Julye*.

Si deus nobiſcum, quis contra nos.

Anno. M.D.Liij. the Firſte of *Auguſt*.

Serjeant

Serjeant *Thorpe*, Judge of Aſſize for the Northern Circuit, his Charge, as it was delivered to the *Grand Jury* at *York* Aſſizes, the Twentieth of *March*, 1648; clearly epitomiſing the Statutes belonging to this Nation, which concern (and, as a golden Rule, ought to regulate) the ſeveral Eſtates and Conditions of Men; and, being duly obſerved, do really promote the Peace and Plenty of this Commonwealth. [From a *Quarto*, containing 30 Pages, printed at *London*, by *T. W.* for *Matthew Walbancke* and *Richard Beſt*, at *Gray's Inn Gate*, in 1649.]

GEntlemen, Friends, and Countrymen, I do not queſtion, but that the Stile and Title of our Commiſſions, under which we are now to act, and execute the Authority and Power committed to our Hands, being changed from *Carolus Rex Angliæ*, to *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ Authoritate Parliamenti*, works divers Effects upon the Tempers and Spirits of Men, according as the Spirits themſelves are tempered and affected; and that ſome of thoſe Spirits (like the Sun upon Wax) it ſoftens into Obedience and Compliance, and others of them, again (like the ſame Sun upon Clay) it hardens into Stiffneſs and Oppoſition. Proud, ambitious, and malignant Spirits, finding themſelves fruſtrated and defeated hereby of their deſigned Hopes, and hopeful Deſigns, for obtaining their deſired Ends; and, being filled with Prejudice to others, and Self-love to their own Opinions, and therefore having turned themſelves aſide from the Uſe of their own Reaſon, and from all Overtures and Arguments of Satisfaction, and having given up their Underſtanding to blind Affections,---it ſtartles and confounds with Paſſions and Amazements, heightened into Choler and Diſdain; becauſe, looking through the falſe Glaſs of their own Self-Intereſt, they find nothing therein, but imaginary Shakings of Foundations, Overturning of Laws, and confuſed Heaps of Ruins and Diſtractions. But to theſe, if any ſuch be preſent (eſpecially, if they have been formerly engaged in open War againſt the publick Intereſt of the Nation, and ſo are caſt, by God's Juſtice, for their Tranſgreſſions into a mean and low Condition:) All I ſhall ſay (with the poor Comfort of Calamity, *Pity*) is this, That, if they have not already taſted enough of the Cup of God's Wrath, for their Miſdoings, let them take Heed they engage not again, for Fear that, hereafter, they be enforced to drink the Dregs of his Diſpleaſure. Other ſilly Spirits there are, who, ſtanding unbottomed upon any ſolid Principles of their own, find themſelves toſſed to and fro with the Wind which blows from others Mouths; one while liſtening to the Prophet, who bids them go up to *Ramoth-Gilead*, and proſper; and by and by again yielding him that bids them not go up, for Fear of periſhing; and ſo they are carried into croſs and oblique Opinions, and Actions, tending to, and endangering, their utter Ruin and Deſtruction. And, to theſe Men, all I ſhall ſay, and adviſe, is this, That they will forthwith repair to the School of Reaſon, and ſuffer themſelves to be guided and led by impartial and wholeſome Leſſons, and Inſtructions, to a better Information of their Judgments, whereby they may be ſettled upon undeniable Grounds in the Knowledge of themſelves, and the Truth, and of their own Right, Intereſt, and Concernment. But another Sort of Men there are, who are willing to let their Eyes ſtand in the Place where Nature ſet them, and to make Uſe of that Reaſon

and Judgment, which God hath given them, and, with erected Minds, to apprehend the Senſe of their own future Happineſs, and to hearken to the Voice which calls them to the flouriſhing Actions of a reformed Commonwealth, and therefore do entertain this Change with ſuitable Opinions and Compliance from theſe Grounds which they thus propound and argue with themſelves.

1. That all Power and Authority is originally and primarily in God, and comes from God; and this they reſt upon, as being a Scripture-Truth.

2. That God, out of his Wiſdom and Providence, hath diſpenſed and tranſmitted ſo much of this Authority and Power to Men, as is neceſſary for their Uſe. Firſt, as in Relation to the inferior Creatures, to rule and govern them, as Lord and King. And, as in Relation to one another, from a Principle of Nature, *(Conſervatio ſui-ipſius)* to ſeek and endeavour their own Preſervation and Security, which Principle draws them to this Concluſion *(Salus populi ſuprema Lex)* the Safety of the People is the ſupreme Law, both of Nature, and Nations. And from this Natural Principle, and ſupreme Law of Nature, however all Men, in their original Creation, are all of one and the ſame Subſtance, Mould, and Stamp, yet, for Preſervation's Sake, they find a Fitneſs in Subordinations and Degrees among them, for the better Ordering of their Affairs; and ſo they appoint Rulers, and authoriſe Governors over them, as Truſtees for themſelves. They alſo elect Government, create Rules, Orders, and Laws, by which they will have their Rulers and Governors to guide and ſteer their Actions in the Courſe of their Government, to which they will conform their Obedience; and this Truth is aſcertained from hence, that there were People before there were either Rulers or Governors of People, and that therefore theſe Rulers and Governors were but made by the People, and for the People, with this Reſerve, That whenſoever the People ſhould perceive, that their Truſtees, and Governors, did turn *poteſtatem* into *potentiam*, the Power and Authority of Government, by Rule and Law formerly agreed upon, and conſented unto by the People, into an armed Force; and that they did alter the People's *Rem-publicam*, into the Governor's *Rem privatam*; and that their Government, ceaſing to be free, was made to hang over the People's Heads, as a lordly Scourge to their Deſtruction; then, and from thenceforth, and that with good Comelineſs of Reaſon, the People betake themſelves to Thoughts of Reformation; and finding Cauſe to diſlike their former Choice, being not tied by any Scripture-Rule to any one Form of Government, they chuſe again, and take ſome other Form, differing from that before, whereby they will avoid the Evils they ſuffered under their former Choice, and enjoy the Good of a more beneficial Preſervation; for, like Mariners and Men in a Ship at Sea, they will no longer truſt an unſkilful or perfidious Stearſman, leſt they ſhould be found guilty of their own enſuing Shipwreck and Deſtruction.

And this brings me to the next Aſſertion, and Poſition, which I own as a moſt certain Truth, and poſitive Aſſurance, that the People (under God) is the Original of all juſt Power, and that, let the Government run out into what Form it will, Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, or Democracy, yet ſtill the original Fountain thereof is from the Conſent and Agreement of the People. And from this Aſſertion, and Poſition, I am led on further, by plain Reaſon, to underſtand, *That Rulers, and Governors, are accountable to the People for their Miſgovernment*; namely, when they tranſgreſs the Rules, and Laws, by which the People did agree they would be governed. But, let me not be miſtaken, for, when I ſay, *accountable to the People*, I do not mean to the diffuſed Humours and Fancies of particular Men in their ſingular and natural Capacities, but to the People, in their politick Conſtitution, lawfully aſſembled by their Repreſentative.

Touching the Government of this Nation, it hath anciently been Monarchical, in the Frame and Conſtitution of it; but yet it never was a pure Monarchy, for a pure Monarchy is a clear Tyranny: But it was a political Monarchy, or Monarchy governed by Laws, taking in thereto all the Goods, and avoiding all the Ills, both of Ariſtocracy and Democracy; and ſo I may truly ſay, that look upon the Frame and Conſtitution of it alone, and, as it were, upon the theoretical and contemplative Part of it; and, ſuppoſing it poſſible that the Practice would anſwer the Theory, no Man can deny, but that it was a Frame of moſt excellent Order and Beauty: For, firſt, it had a King, the chief Officer, one ſingle Perſon; and therefore, avoiding the proud Factions and Contentions, uſually happening in Ariſtocracy, as likewiſe, the diſordered Confuſions, common in ſingle Democracy; but

but yet a King bounded and compaſſed with Laws above him, being the Rules already made and given him to rule by; and, with a Neceſſity of Concurrence and Compliance, with Lords and Commons below him, for future legiſlative Power and Authority, and ſo avoiding the Danger of Tyranny uſually incident to Monarchies, which commonly makes the Monarch's *Will* the Law, and ſo eſtabliſhing the Government upon this Foundation,

Voluntas lex imperatoris eſto.

But, alas! when I have ſhewed you the Frame and Conſtitution of the late Government, I have ſhewed you all the Beauty of it; for, when you come to examine the practical Part, you ſhall find nothing leſs than Excellency or Perfection in it. Look into your own Stories, and you ſhall always find the King and great Lords, *Comites ſuos*, as they were called, incroaching upon the People's Liberties and Rights, and incroaching to themſelves ſuperlative Prerogatives and Dominion over them. On the other Side you ſhall find again the People ſtruggling to preſerve themſelves and their own Intereſts, labouring ſtill to avoid the Miſeries, and to free themſelves from the Miſchiefs of their Sufferings.

The Times and Tranſactions, before the *Norman William* got the Crown, and which paſt among the *Britons*, *Romans*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, being dark and obſcure, I paſs by, and, therefore, I ſhall only ſpeak ſomething of the Times and Tranſactions ſince.

Firſt, The Tyrannical Domination of that firſt *William* and his Son, the ſecond *William*, gave the People to ſee their enſuing Miſeries; for, though they made Choice of the ſecond *William*, who was but a ſecond Son, and rejected *Robert*, his elder Brother, yet they ſoon found their Kindneſs was ſuddenly forgotten, when once the Crown was obtained, and, therefore, they refuſed, when he was dead, to chuſe again, till, by new Engagements, Oaths, and Royal Promiſes of better Government, they were cheated into a ſecond Election of *Henry the Firſt*, who was a younger Brother likewiſe. But it was not long after before Monarchy played *Rex*, and *Pleaſure* and *Will* ruled, and the whole Kingdom almoſt was turned into Foreſts; and the Laws, which the People were brought to live under and obey, were the cruel and inſupportable Laws of the Foreſt, which were made rather to preſerve the Beaſts, than the People within the Bounds of Foreſts. Then the People, finding no other Remedy, betook themſelves to Thoughts of Reformation, as I told you at the firſt. And in the Time of King *John*, at *Renymeed*, they demanded Reſtitution of St. *Edward*'s Laws, for ſo they called that *Saxon Edward*, who was dead many Years before, but without any Heir or Succeſſor of that Kind, (for we never read of any St. King ſince him:) And by thoſe Laws they ſay they will be governed, and to thoſe Laws they will conform. Hereupon a new Compact is made, the Articles of *Renymeed*, containing moſt of St. *Edward*'s Laws, are confirmed and eſtabliſhed, by Conſent, in Parliament, and ſo the People are for that Time ſatisfied, and think themſelves very ſafe, as they well might think ſo, under the Security of an Act of Parliament. But yet this Act proved no Security, for, in a ſhort Time after, all was let looſe again, and the ſame Miſchiefs and Oppreſſions upon the People were ſtill continued as before, and many more Additions made thereto, to the utter Inſlaving of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Hereupon the People ſtand up, once more, for their Liberties and Native Rights in the ancient Laws of the Land, and demand, the ſecond Time, to have them confirmed, and to be kept from Violation, and ſo, in the ninth Year of King *Henry the Third*, was the great Charter of the Liberties of *England* (being but a Declaration of the ancient common Laws of the Land, and little differing from the Articles of *Renymeed*, together with the Charter of the Foreſt) framed and conſented to in full *Parliament*, and are the firſt Acts of *Parliament* now extant in Print. And ſo the People ſat down again under the Protection of this ſecond Security; but, how weak a Security it proved, let the Practice of the next King, and all ſucceeding Kings, tell you, though it had been confirmed and allowed by themſelves two and thirty Times; for in the two next Kings Time you ſhall find the good Men of the Land diſcountenanced, and vain, looſe, and wanton Perſons to be the Men in higheſt Eſteem; nay, Murderers and Robbers, and the like, cheriſhed and maintained, and, if brought to publick Juſtice, and condemned for their Miſdoings, yet pardoned again, and ſet at Liberty; and though (by the fundamental Law) *Parliaments* (the uſual Salve for the People's Sores) were to be called and held twice a Year, yet were they laid aſide, and rarely made Uſe of; and then, when they were called,

it was but to ſerve the King's Turn, for granting Subſidies, or the like. And therefore this when the People perceived, in the Time of King *Edward the Second*, they thought fit to queſtion his Miſgovernment, by Articles of Impeachment in *Parliament* againſt him, and then to depoſe him from his Kingly Office, and to make his Son, during his Father's Life-time, Warden of the Kingdom, and ſhortly after they made him King (while his Father lived) by the Name of *Edward the Third*. And now are Acts of *Parliament* made againſt the former Miſchiefs: *Firſt*, Againſt the King's granting Pardons to Robbers and Murderers; and four Acts of *Parliament* are made at the Neck of one another, and purſuing one before, telling the King plainly, that he may not, he muſt not grant Pardons, but where he may do it by his Oath, namely, in caſe of Homicide, by Misfortune, and Homicide in his own Defence. *Secondly*, For more frequent Holding of *Parliaments*, namely, That they ſhould be held once a Year, and oftener, if Need be. But little Effect did theſe produce, for the Miſchiefs have continued, and the People have ſtill ſuffered, by the Breach of thoſe Laws, even until theſe very Times, the very ſame Miſchiefs as before.

In the Time of King *Richard the Second*, the Diſorders of the Court, and Oppreſſions upon the People from thence, were ſo great and unſupportable, that the People articled againſt that King, and likewiſe depoſed him, and ſo they afterward did in like Manner depoſe King *Henry the Sixth*, and King *Edward the Fourth*, by Conſent in Parliament. Thus you ſee how the Exerciſe of Kingly Office, within this Nation, hath been made Uſe of to the Damage of the People, and how the People again have put in Uſe their Authority over their Kings, to call them to an Account for their Miſgovernments. Touching the laſt King, much hath been ſaid, and too much hath been felt by this Country, in Relation to the laſt War. But pardon me, if I tell you ſo, it was a juſt Puniſhment of God upon us of this County; for, I may truly ſay, the Waters had its Riſe and Beginning here, here in this County, nay, here in this Court, for this was the firſt Place in *England* where any *Grand Juries* of the County charged themſelves and their Countrymen with any Tax to raiſe a War againſt the publick Intereſt of the People, as they did here when at the Summer Aſſizes in the Year 1642, they charged the County with a Tax of eight Thouſand ſix Hundred Pounds, to maintain a Thouſand Dragoons, upon Pretence to keep the Country in Peace. But alas! the Dragoons were no ſooner raiſed, but they were made Uſe of for another Service, namely, to attend the King's Standard at *Nottingham*, and from thence were carried to fight at *Edge-hill* againſt the Parliament Forces, for better Keeping the Peace in *Yorkſhire*; and though it be true, that this Tax of eight Thouſand ſix Hundred Pounds was never levied, yet our own great Lords and Gentlemen made it the Foundation and Riſe of another Tax of thirty Thouſand Pounds, which they laid and levied upon the County in *October* after, for bringing in the Earl of *Newcaſtle* and his Forces.

But (as I ſaid before) God's Puniſhment is juſt upon us; for, as the War began here, ſo it hath ever ſince continued among us, and even at this Day, when all the reſt of the Kingdom is in Peace and Quietneſs, only we are now upon Sieging, at our own Charge, of your curſed Caſtle at *Pontefract*, which began at firſt, and continues to be the laſt of our Enemies Hold and Gariſons within this Nation.

But to return to the Point of the King's Incroachments upon the People's Liberties, and therein I will clearly tell you my own Thoughts in one Particular, and inſtance in that one, but it is, to my Apprehenſion, *Unum magnum*, and *inſtar omnium*; it is as the Lion ſaid of her Whelp, when the Fox upbraided her, That ſhe was not ſo fruitful in Procreation as the Fox, but brought forth only one Lion at once; it is true, ſaith the Lion, but that one is a Lion; and ſo I may ſay by the King's Negative Voice in Parliament; for admit but this one Piece of Prerogative to be juſt, and conſonant to the Conſtitution of the Governnent, and I dare affirm, that the People of *England* were in a Poſſibility, by that Conſtitution of Government, to be as arrant Slaves and Vaſſals, as were in *Turky*, or among the *Moors* in the Gallies: For let the King put what Oppreſſion he will upon the People, let their Grievances and Burthens be never ſo great, and let him, at the People's Deſire, call Parliaments for Redreſſes thereof never ſo often, and let never ſo good Bills be prepared and preſented to him for Reformation, yet ſtill he ſhall put them off with

with this Royal Compliment, *Le Roy S'adviſera*, ſignifying, *quoad* the Practice, in plain *Engliſh*, *I will not help you, nor releaſe the unjuſt Burthens and Oppreſſions I have laid upon you.*

But add to this that other Incroachment of the Lords Negative Voice upon the People, which they alſo have with much Lordlineſs practiſed in Anſwer to the Commons Bills, though of the higheſt Concernment for their Weal, however they expreſs that Negative in Court-Language and good Words, *We will ſend an Anſwer by Meſſengers of our own*; as if the People ſhould expect they meant to return ſome Concurrence with them, when, God knows, nothing is leſs thought upon, or meant by them.

And now let the People ſee their own Condition, now let them conſider how they have been abuſed by good Words and Phraſes, which if they had clearly and univerſally underſtood the Meaning of, or if theſe Negatives had been clearly expreſſed, in downright Language, *We will not help you*, or, *We will not eaſe you of your Burthens or Oppreſſions that lie ſo heavy upon you*, truly then I preſume the People would long ſince have been ſtirred up to help themſelves, and to have endeavoured as well to take away the Miſchief, as to avoid the Miſery of ſuch a Government. For my own Part, I ſpeak it freely from my Heart, that as I am a Free-man, both by Birth, and Education, and am inheritable to the Laws and Free-Cuſtoms of *England*; ſo I do naturally deſire the Security of Government, and I do willingly ſubmit to the Juſtice of known Laws: But I have ever abhorred all Arbitrary Powers, or to be ſubject to the Wills or Paſſions of Men; and therefore I have always thought, ſince I could think any Thing upon the Grounds of Judgment or Reaſon, that, ſo long as theſe two fore-mentioned Negatives remained upon the People, there could be no Security or Freedom in the Government held over them; and there was no one Thing that hath ſo firmly fixed me in the Way I have gone, and wherein I now am, and to oppoſe the other, as, the Miſchiefs I underſtood to be in the two Negative Voices of the King and the Lords: Adding to this the two fundamental Court-Errors, and deſtructive Poſitions, maintained and held forth to the People by flattering Royaliſts, and proud and ambitious Prelates, *viz.* That the King had an Original Right to rule: And, *Secondly*, That the King was accountable to none but God for his Miſgovernment; for, lay but theſe two together with the Negative Voice, and let any Man judge what they may and muſt neceſſarily produce, in Point of Tyranny and Oppreſſion over the People.

And thus I have ſhewed you the true Original of all juſt Power and Authority, and from whence it is that the Exerciſe of Authority and Power is practiſed among Men over one another; I have ſhewed you alſo the Juſtice which lies in this: 'That Kings, Rulers, and Governors, and particularly the King of this Nation, ſhould be accountable to the People for their Miſgovernments'; and how deſtructive a Tenet it is to ſay, 'That a King hath Right to rule over Men upon Earth, and that yet God hath not given a Power to earthly Men to call him to Account for Miſgovernment;' unleſs you will ſuppoſe that Kings at firſt did fall from Heaven, and were ſent down from above to exerciſe their *Wills*, and act their *Luſts* below.

And having ſaid thus much upon this Subject, only to give a Hint, from whence you may obſerve (till the Parliament's own Declaration be publiſhed, which, I hope, will fully and clearly ſet them out) what the Grounds and Reaſons were, that the Parliament had found the kingly Office, within this Nation, to be uſeleſs and dangerous; and why, therefore, they will no more truſt the Crown upon the Head of any one Perſon, nor transfer the Cuſtody of the Liberties of *England*, and *Engliſhmen*, into the Power of another, who may abuſe them; and, therefore, why, likewiſe, they reſolve to keep the Crown within its proper Place, the Cabinet of the Law, and to allow the Law only to King it among the People; and that the People themſelves [by their Repreſentatives] ſhall be the only Keepers of their own Liberties, by Authority derived from their own ſupreme and ſovereign Power, eſtabliſhed in Law and common Surety: Which brings me now to the Stile of our Commiſſions, *Cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ Authoritate Parliamenti*.

And, touching the King of *E gl* 's Right to rule, or Title of Law, by Inheritance and Deſcent, to the Crown of *England*, thus much may be ſafely and truly ſaid: That, if it be an ancient and original Inheritance, fixed in any one Family, it was gained at firſt by the Power of the Sword, and by Conqueſt; which Title, in Law, is but a *Diſſeiſin*, and an unlawful Title, and therefore may be again as juſtly regained, as it was gained at firſt by Force, and by

by the ſtronger Arm and ſharper Sword. And, as it was ſo gained at firſt, ſo it hath been ever ſince, either by the like pure Force, or elſe by Conſent of Parliament, upon particular Caſes, kept and continued; and ſo you will find, if you look, how every King, ſince the *Norman William* (called *The Conqueror*) came to the Crown: For, of all thoſe five-and-twenty Kings and Queens, which have ſince that Time kinged it among us, there are but ſeven of them, who could pretend legally to ſucceed their former Predeceſſors, either by lineal, or collateral Title. I have not Leiſure to repeat the Particulars; and this, I have ſaid, may ſerve to give you Occaſion (if you be ſo minded) to look further into it, and to ſatisfy your Judgments herein, and, by Conſequence, to keep you from engaging againſt yourſelves, and the Nation, for a Name, or for a Thing, which is not Truth.

And now I come to that, which is our true Buſineſs, our Work of the firſt Magnitude, *Opus diei in die ſuo*, the Articles of your Charge, which I intend (for the better Helping of your Memories) to deliver to you in Writing, with the Laws and the Puniſhments; and briefly to run over the Rehearſal of the Facts only, without further Mention concerning them; yet with ſuch neceſſary Expoſitions and Explanations of Particulars, as ſhall be needful in my Paſſage through them; adding only this for an Animadverſion to you, That you and I are truſted, at this Time, with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in our own Country, amidſt all the Temptations, which our ſeveral Relations of Friends, Kindred, or Acquaintance, can offer unto us; which ſhews, that they, who do ſo truſt us, have great Aſſurance and Confidence in us; and then we muſt conclude, that this Confidence puts a greater Obligation upon us to Fidelity and Integrity in the Diſcharge and Performance of that Truſt committed to us. Add to this that *Vinculum animæ*, the Bond of the Soul, the Obligation of an Oath, and I doubt not but it will be found, that, though Love, Fear, and particular Intereſt be the uſual Cords which halter Juſtice, yet, at this Time, they will be found to be, among us, but ſorry and unmaſculine Pieces of Rhetorick, either to affright us from, or ſoften us in our Duties.

The Matter of your Charge will be to enquire into, and find out the ſeveral Offences, which have been committed and done againſt the politick Body of the Commonwealth, as ſo many ſeveral Diſeaſes and Infirmities in the ſeveral Parts of the natural Body of a Man, which diſtemper and endanger the Health of the Whole; and they are of four Sorts.

Firſt, Such as are againſt the Peace of the Commonwealth, or whereby publick Peace is diſturbed; and thoſe I call Diſeaſes endangering the Heart of this politick Body.

Secondly, Such as are againſt the Juſtice of the Commonwealth, or whereby publick Juſtice is perverted; and thoſe I call Diſeaſes endangering the Head of this politick Body.

Thirdly, Such as are againſt the Plenty of the Commonwealth, or whereby publick Plenty is diminiſhed; and thoſe I call Diſeaſes offending the Stomach of this politick Body.

Fourthly, Such as are againſt the Beauty and good Complexion of the Commonwealth, or whereby this Beauty and good Complexion is diſcoloured and defaced, contained under the Name and Title of *Common Nuſances*; and thoſe I call Diſeaſes offending the outward Senſes of this politick Body.

Touching thoſe againſt Peace, they are of five Sorts.

1. *Treaſons*; which, again, are either *High-Treaſon*, or *Petty-Treaſon*.
2. *Felonies*; which, again, are done either againſt the Publick, or againſt the particular Perſon, or Poſſeſſion, of another.
3. *Premunire*.
4. *Miſpriſions*.
5. *Treſpaſſes*.

High-Treaſons are theſe.

1. If any levy War againſt the ſupreme Authority of the Nation, or adhere to the Enemies thereof. And, when I do ſo expreſs it, *Supreme Authority*, I give you the Meaning of the *Stat.* 25 *E.* III. 2. which mentions it thus: *If any levy War againſt the King, or adhere to the King's Enemies within the Realm.* For the Name and Word *King* (*quatenus* the chief Officer is truſted with the Government in the Adminiſtration of that Government) is frequently uſed to ſet forth the publick Intereſt of the People; ſo we call it *The King's Peace*, *The King's Coin*, *The King's Highway*, and the like: All which, in Truth, are the publick Concernments of the People, being for their publick

publick Uſe and Benefit, and are therefore expreſſed and exhibited unto us under the Notion of the King's Name, becauſe he is their publick Officer, and truſted for them. So that to levy War againſt the King, or to adhere to the King's Enemies, is to levy War againſt the Kingdom, and the Government of it, and the ſupreme Power and Authority of it; or, which is more plain in the Expreſſion, to levy War without lawful Warrant and Authority ſo to do. And yet this, I believe, was that which hath miſled (and, perhaps, may ſtill miſlead) many of our Countrymen: That, becauſe they had the Perſon of the King with them (betwixt whom and whom there were mutual and reciprocal Deceivings) and they (never remembering, that, when in Perſon he deſerted the Parliament, he left the King and Kingly Authority behind him, becauſe he left the Kingly Office, and the Power thereof, and publick Government behind him) they catched at the Shadow, and let go the Subſtance; and ſo, under Colour of fighting for the King, they fought againſt him. Yet, becauſe *omnis non capit hoc*, every Man did not underſtand this Diſtinction betwixt the politick and natural Body of the King, therefore ſee how mercifully and favourably the Parliament hath dealt with theſe Men, that they have not preſſed the Rigour of the Law upon the Offenders of this Kind; whoſe Offences being High-Treaſon by the fundamental Juſtice of this Nation, and ſo their Lives and whole Eſtates, Lands and Goods, being forfeited by the Law for the ſame, yet this Forfeiture hath not been exacted upon them; but, in Hope they will at laſt ſee their Errors, and repent for their Miſdoings, the Parliament hath been pleaſed to carry a more tender Hand, and, by Way of Commutation, to paſs over their Offences with the Puniſhment of a ſmall Fine for ſuch Miſdoings, yet with this ſilent Admonition, like that to the Woman in the Goſpel, *Go thy Way, and ſin no more, leſt a worſe Thing happen unto thee.*

2. If any counterfeit the Great Seal, Privy Seal, or Privy Signet.

3. If any counterfeit the Coin of the Nation, or otherwiſe clip, or diminiſh it.

4. If any kill a Judge, or Juſtice of Oyer and Terminer, in his Place, doing his Office.

5. If any Jeſuit, or Seminary Prieſt, born in *England*, and ordained and profeſſed beyond Sea, by Authority derived from the See of *Rome*, do come into, or abide within this Realm.

6. If any the ſecond Time extol, defend, or maintain, within this Realm, the uſurped Juriſdiction, or Authority of the Pope, or any other foreign Prince.

7. If any bring over and put in Ure, or receive from beyond Sea any Bull, or Inſtrument of Abſolution, or Reconciliation, to abſolve the People of this Nation from their Allegiance here to the See of *Rome*; or endeavour the ſecond Time to withdraw the People to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*; or, if any be abſolved, reconciled, or withdrawn. And here you muſt underſtand, that, in Treaſons, Actors and Conſenters are Principals, and there are no Acceſſaries at all in Treaſon.

Petty-Treaſons are theſe.

If a Servant kill his or her Maſter, or Miſtreſs.
If a Wife kill her Husband.

Premunire.

Touching Premunire, *it is, properly, a Writ, or Proceſs of Summons, awarded againſt ſuch as brought in Bulls, or Citations from the Court of* Rome, *to obtain Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, by Way of Proviſion, before they fell void; for, of old Time, divers Acts of Parliament were made,* viz. *in the Times of King* Edward the Third, *King* Richard the Second, *and King* Henry the Fourth, *againſt the Pope's Exerciſe of Juriſdiction within this Nation, and againſt thoſe Subjects that did appeal, from the Courts of Juſtice here, to the Court of* Rome; *and who obtained Proviſions there, to have Abbies and Priories, or Benefices with Cure, here; which Proceedings tended (ſay thoſe Statutes) to the Deſtruction of the Realm, and of Religion. Therefore, theſe being held to be great Offences, and ſo tending to the Diſheriſon of the Rights belonging to the Crown and the People of* England, *and to the Deſtruction of the Common Law, are made to be grievouſly puniſhable,* viz. *To be impriſoned during Life, To forfeit Lands and Goods, and to be put out of the Protection of the Law. Afterward other later Laws were made, in the Time of Queen* Eliſabeth, *againſt other Offences of like Nature, herewith we have now to do; namely,*

If

If any ſend over, or contribute Money, or Relief, for Maintenance of any *Jeſuit*, or *Seminary Prieſt*, or College beyond Sea.

If any extol, defend, or maintain the Juriſdiction or Authority of the Pope (or of any other foreign Prince) within this Nation.

If any bring over any *Agnus Dei*, *Croſſes*, *Pictures*, or *Beads*, hallowed (as they call it) at *Rome*, to diſperſe among the People, or if any Perſon receive any ſuch, or know of this Offence, and conceal it three Days.

If any do aid, or aſſiſt thoſe, who, put in Ure any *Popes Bulls*, or Inſtruments of Abſolution brought from *Rome*.

Miſpriſion of Treaſon are theſe.

If any know another to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and do conceal it.

If any forge or counterfeit foreign Coin, not current here.

If any utter counterfeit Coin, knowing it to be ſuch.

If any ſtrike, or draw a Sword, to ſtrike a Juſtice, ſitting in Place of Judgment.

Felonies againſt the Perſon of another are theſe.

If any commit Homicide, *viz.* kill or ſlay another.

If, out of precedent Malice, expreſſed or implied, it is Murther.

If, upon a ſudden Falling out, it is Manſlaughter.

If in doing a lawful Action, it is called *Chance-Medley*, Miſadventure or Misfortune.

If in his own Defence, it is ſo ſtiled, Homicide *ſe defendendum*, and ſo alſo Poiſoning, Stabbing, and Bewitching to Death are Homicides.

If any commit a Rape, *viz.* have the carnal Knowledge of a Woman, againſt her Will, or with her Will, if ſhe be under ten Years old.

If any take away, or conſent, or aſſiſt to take away any Maid, Widow, or Wife, againſt her Will, ſhe being then intereſted in Lands or Goods.

If any marry a ſecond Huſband, or Wife, the firſt being alive.

If any commit Buggery, or Sodomy, a Crime *Inter Chriſtianos non nominandum*, ſays the Indictment.

If a Gipſy, or counterfeit *Egyptian*, have continued a Month within this Nation.

If any Perſon, appointed by Law to abjure, refuſe it, or return after Abjuration.

If any do wilfully, and maliciouſly, cut out the Tongue, or put out the Eyes of another.

If any receive, or relieve, or maintain any Jeſuit, or other Seminary Prieſt, knowing him to be ſuch.

If any incorrigible Rogue, judged dangerous, and baniſhed, return again.

If any dangerous Rogue, branded in the Shoulder, return again to a roguiſh Life.

If any Perſon, infected with the Plague, wilfully go Abroad, and converſe among Company.

Felonies againſt the Poſſeſſion are theſe.

If any break a Dwelling-houſe in the Night, with Intent to do any Felonious Act there.

If any rob another by the High-way, or take any Thing privately from his Perſon.

If any take the Goods of another in his Abſence, with Intent to ſteal them.

If any Servant go away with his Maſter's Goods (delivered to him) with Intent to ſteal them, being of the Value of forty Shillings, or above.

If any rob a Church.

If any maliciouſly burn the Houſe, or Stack of Corn, or Barn of Corn, of another.

If any take up a Hawk, and do not carry her to the Sheriff, to be proclaimed.

If any do, the ſecond Time, forge any Deed, Evidence, or Writing, and publiſh it to be a good Deed.

If any acknowledge a Fine, or Judgment, or Deed, to be inrolled in the Name of another, and not being the true Perſon.

If any raſe, imbezzle, or withdraw any Record of the Court.

If any uſe the Art of Multiplication of Gold, or Silver.

If any hunt by Night in Parks or Warrens, with painted Faces, or other Diſguiſes, and deny it upon Examination.

If any Perſons, above twelve in Number, raiſe any Tumults or unlawful Aſſemblies.

If above forty Perſons ſhall aſſemble together, to do any unlawful Act, and ſhall continue together, three Hours, after Proclamation for their Departure.

If any depart out of this Nation, to ſerve a foreign

foreign Prince, without Leave, and before Bond entered, and Oath taken according to the Statute.

If any Soldier, or Mariner, who hath received Preſs-wages, according to the Statute, do afterward depart from their Service, without Licenſe.

If any ſuch Soldier or Mariner, do wander and beg, without a Paſs, or if they counterfeit their Paſs.

If any Perſon having the Cuſtody of publick Stores of Victuals, or Ammunition, imbezzle, or purloin any of it, to the Value of twenty Shillings, or above.

If any do the ſecond Time tranſport Sheep beyond Sea.

If any perſuade another to commit any Felony, or receive and aſſiſt any Felon, after the Felony committed, theſe are Acceſſaries to the Felony.

If any reſcue a Felon from Priſon.

If any Felon break Priſon, and eſcape, or be ſuffered to eſcape, and be reſcued.

Miſpriſion of Felony is this.

If any know another to have committed Felony, and do not reveal it.

Treſpaſſes and Offences againſt the Peace, finable, are theſe.

If any menace, aſſault, beat, or wound another.

If any make unlawful Entry upon other Men's Lands, or unlawfully take away other Men's Goods.

If any make unlawful Aſſemblies, Routs, or Riots.

If any chide, brawl, or draw a Weapon to ſtrike, or do ſtrike in a Church, or Church-yard.

If any keep a Fair, or Market, in a Church, or Church-yard.

If any ſay, or hear Maſs.

If Papiſts be abſent from Church, a Month together.

If any keep a recuſant School-maſter, or other recuſant Servant in his Houſe.

If any ſhall voluntarily diſturb the Preacher in his Sermon.

If any affirm, that the Eating of Fiſh, or Forbearing Fleſh at ſet Times, are neceſſary for our Salvation, or for other Purpoſe, than as a politick Conſtitution.

If any frame, make, or publiſh any falſe, ſcandalous, or libellous Writing, or Picture, againſt another, or to the Diſgrace of others, or whereby to move Contention amongſt the People.

And, touching this deviliſh Invention of libelling and defaming others, in theſe Days, more frequent than ever, by falſe and horrible Lyes, and Slanders, and Pamphlets publiſhed even againſt the Parliament itſelf, and every Member of it, and every Man that wiſhes well to it, yourſelves can teſtify how frequent it is, and hath been of late, and therefore I beſeech you be careful to find out ſome of thoſe, who have been Offenders in it.

And thus you have here Mention of the Offences againſt publick Peace, which are as ſo many Diſeaſes in the Heart of the politick Body of the Commonwealth.

Next come the Offences againſt publick Juſtice, which are alſo to be found out by us; and theſe are either againſt Juſtice in the general, or are Offences by Officers truſted in particular Adminiſtrations, or by Artificers, and Labourers, and Maſters, and Servants.

Offences againſt Juſtice in general.

If any be a common Stirrer, and Procurer of Law-ſuits, or a common Brabbler or Quarreller, among his Neighbours; this is *Barratry*.

If any buy or contract, for a pretended Right or Title to Land, or other Thing in Controverſy of Suit; this is unlawful Buying of Titles.

If any maintain the Law-ſuit of another, to have Part of the Thing in Demand, or otherwiſe; this is Maintenance or Champerty.

If any get Goods of another into his Hands, by falſe Tokens and Meſſages; this is a Deceit puniſhable.

If any counterfeit any Deed or Writing, and publiſh it as true, this is Forgery.

If any corrupt a Jury-man, by Bribery or Menace, to divert him from giving a juſt Verdict, this is Imbracery.

If any corrupt any of you of the Grand Jury, by Bribes, or otherwiſe, to make favourable Preſentments.

If any Informer, upon Penal Laws, do not duly purſue his Information, or, if he ſue out a Proceſs, before the Information be exhibited, or compound before the Defendant hath anſwered, or after an Anſwer without Licenſe.

If any wilfully and corruptly ſwear falſly, in Evidence to a Jury, it is Perjury; and to procure another ſo to do, is Subornation of Perjury.

If any take more Intereſt upon Loan of Money, than after eight Pounds *per Cent.* for a Year, this is unlawful Uſury and Extortion.

Touching publick Officers, truſted in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and failing in their Duty.

Firſt the Sheriff.

This is a great Officer, and is much truſted in the Service of the People, and, by the Statute of *Articulum ſuper Chartas*, is to be choſen yearly by the People, that they might the better be aſſured of thoſe they truſted: But this Privilege of Election (among others) the People have loſt, and the Court, of later Times, did learn how to make Profit, both by electing Sheriffs, as alſo by keeping them off from being elected.

In his Office you find him a Judge, and a Miniſter of Juſtice: He is a Judge in his Court, called the *Turn*, and ſits as Judge, and hath the Profits in the Court, called, *The County Court.*

Touching the Turn.

If the Sheriff, or his Deputy, do not ſend Indictments, found in his Turn, to the next Seſſions.

If the Sheriff, or Bailiffs, arreſt any Perſon upon an Indictment in his Turn, or levy the Fines, or Amerciaments, impoſed in his Turn, without Warrant indented from the Seſſions.

Touching the County Court.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiffs, enter Plaints in his County Court, in the Abſence of the Plaintiff, or of ſome other known Perſon, authoriſed by him.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiffs, enter more Plaints than one, in his County Court, upon one Cauſe of Action.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiffs, fail to ſummon the Defendant to appear, at the County Court.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiffs, levy the Amerciaments, ſet in the County Court, upon the Defendants for not Appearing, called, *The Sheriff's Amerciaments*, without an indented Eſtreat between him and two Juſtices of the Peace.

As a Miniſter of Juſtice.

If the Sheriff let his County or Bailiwick to Farm.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiffs, collect the Green-wax Eſtreats of the Exchequer, without ſhewing the Eſtreats under Seal.

If the Sheriff's Officer, or Jailer, for any Cauſe, but Court Fees, detain any Priſoner in Jail, after the Court hath diſcharged him.

If any Sheriff make out any Warrant to make an Arreſt, not having the Proceſs then in his Cuſtody.

If the Sheriff, or his Deputy, take for Breaking-up a Common Law mean Proceſs, and making an Arreſt, above two Shillings and four Pence, *viz.* twenty Pence the Warrant, four Pence the Arreſt, and four Pence the Bond, if the Defendant be bound, or four Pence the Jailer, if the Defendant come to the Jail.

If the Sheriff, or his Deputy, take above one Shilling a Pound for doing an Execution, under one-hundred Pounds, and Six-pence a Pound for every hundred Pounds more, and this, after the Execution is levied.

If the Sheriff, or his Bailiff, take any Money, or other Reward, for ſparing an Arreſt, or for letting to Bail Perſons not bailable, or for ſhewing him any other Favour.

If the Sheriffs refuſe to let to Bail Perſons arreſted upon mean Proceſs, who are bailable by Law.

If the Sheriff, or his Deputy, take a Bond, for Appearance of any other Form, than that directed by the Statute.

If the Sheriff return any Jurors, without their true Addition.

If the Sheriff or his Deputy take any Thing, for making and returning Pannels of Juries, or take above Four-pence for the Copy of one Pannel.

If the Sheriff or Jailer deny to receive, without Fee, Felons ſent to the Jail.

If the Bailiff of any Liberty do not perform the

the ſame Duties as are enjoined to Sheriffs, in executing Warrants and Proceſſes directed to them.

Touching the Conſtable.

This is an Officer of Juſtice, and an Officer of Peace, and is of great Truſt, and good Uſe, if he perform his Duty; and therefore, by the Way let me ſay, that Care muſt be taken by the Juſtices of Peace, and Stewards in Leets, that able and honeſt Perſons, and fit for the Service, be put into this Employment.

If he does not endeavour to preſerve the Peace and prevent the Breach of it.

If he does not arreſt Night-walkers, and ſuſpected Perſons.

If he does not haſtily purſue Hue-and-Cry after Murtherers, and Robbers.

If he does not cauſe Watch by Night, and, Ward by Day, to be kept within his Office, from *Aſcenſion-day*, to *Michaelmas-day*, and Ward by Day, the reſt of the Year.

If he does not truly execute and return all Warrants ſent to him, from Juſtices of the Peace.

If he does not appoint in *Eaſter-week* Overſeers of Highways.

If he does not apprehend Beggars, Rogues, and Vagabonds that are wandering or begging within his Office, and if any have hindered him from doing his Duty therein.

If he does not puniſh, by the Stocks, ſuch as refuſe to labour in Hay and Harveſt-Time.

If he does not inventory Felons Goods happening within his Office.

If he does not, once a Month, ſearch Alehouſes, Maltmakers Houſes, and Houſes of Gaming and Bawdery.

If he does not preſent at the Seſſions, or to the next Juſtices, the Diſorders in Alehouſes, Defects in Highways, Recuſants Abſence from Church, and ſuch as keep Dogs, Guns, Nets, and the like, for the unlawful Taking of Wild-Fowls and Hares.

If he does not drive the Commons within his Office for infected and unlawful Cattle, once (at leaſt) in Summer.

Coroner.

If he fail to perform his Duty upon Summons as well where the Fact is by Miſadventures, as by Man's Hand.

If he take any Fee, where the Fact is by Miſadventure.

If he take any Fee, above thirteen Shillings and Four-pence where the Fact is by Man's Hand, and that of the Goods of the Manſlayer, if he be in Cuſtody; or, if he eſcape, then of the Town, where the Fact was done.

Clerk of the Market.

If he take any common Fine for diſpenſing with Faults in Weights and Meaſures.

If he take any Fee for Marking Weights and Meaſures, but thoſe allowed, *viz.* One Penny for a Buſhel and Hundred-weight; Half a Penny for Half a Buſhel, and Half a Hundred-weight; a Farthing for every leſs Weight or Meaſure.

Clerk of the Peace.

If he take any Fee for his Office-doing, but thoſe allowed, *viz.* For an Alehouſe Recogniſance, one Shilling.

For a Badger's or Drover's Licenſe, two Shillings.

For Inrolling Preſentments for Recuſants 0.

For Inrolling of a Recogniſance of a Rogue, taken into Service, one Shilling.

For Inrolling a Deed of Bargain, and Sale of Land, being under forty Shillings *per Annum* Value, one Shilling.

And if it exceed forty Shillings, *per Annum* Value, two Shillings and Six-pence.

Ordinary.

So formerly called, as having had Juriſdictionem ordinariam in Jure proprio. *But that Name and Thing fell away with the Biſhops. And the Officer, who now officiates in that Service of proving the laſt Wills, and granting the Adminiſtration of the Goods of dead Men in the Southern Province, doth it now by the mediate Authority and Power of the Parliament, by Vertue of an Ordinance for that Purpoſe. But, in theſe Northern Parts, the old Authority is both boldly and unlawfully exerciſed, and continued without any Warrant at all. But touching the Fees, taken upon theſe Occaſions, thus much is to your preſent Purpoſe.*

If he take any Fee, but thoſe allowed for Proving of a Will, or Granting an Adminiſtration, *viz.*

Where the Inventory exceeds forty Pounds, five Shillings.

Where it is under forty Pounds, and above five Pounds, three Shillings and Sixpence.

Where but five Pounds, or under, Six-pence.

Or a Penny for every ten Lines, ten Inches long, which Rate is alſo allowed for their Copies.

And what is taken, more than thoſe, is Extortion.

If any Miniſter take any Mortuary, but where the Cuſtom of the Place allows it; or where it is allowed, if he take any Mortuary for an Infant, Feme Covert, or Traveller; or if he take any Thing, where the Inventory is under ten Marks; or, if he take above three Shillings and Four-pence, where the Inventory is above ten Marks, and under thirty Pounds; or if he take, above ſix Shillings and Eight-pence, where the Inventory is above thirty Pounds and under forty Pounds; or, if he take above ten Shillings, where the Inventory is above forty Pounds.

Searchers and Sealers of Leather.

If they be not appointed by the Owner of the Market, in Market Towns.

If they (being appointed) refuſe the Office.

If they do not, in convenient Time, perform their Duty and Office upon particular Occaſions when Leather is brought to them to view.

If they be not furniſhed with a Regiſter-Book and a Seal.

If they fail to ſet down all Bargains of tanned and unwrought Leather.

If they allow ſuch as is inſufficient, or diſallow ſuch as is ſufficient.

If they take any Fee, ſave ſuch as is allowed, *viz.* for every ten Hides, Two-pence, and for every ſix Dozen of Calves-Skins, Two-Pence.

If Triers of Tanned-Leather, ſeized for inſufficient, be not appointed by the Owners and Rulers of Fairs or Markets.

If the Triers refuſe to perform their Duty.

Toll-gatherers.

If Owners or Rulers of Fairs and Markets have not appointed ſome certain Place for Sale of Horſes there, and a Toll-gatherer to attend.

If the Toll-gatherer do not ſit in an open Place, in Markets and Fairs, where Horſes and Cattle are ſold, and continue there from Ten of the Clock in the Morning, till Sun-ſet.

If he do not keep a Regiſter-Book, and therein ſet down the Bargains brought before him, and have the Parties and Vouchers preſent which he knows.

If he take any Fee or Reward ſave that allowed, *viz.* a Penny for one Bargain entering.

If any Perſon, coming in as a Voucher, take upon him the Knowledge of the Seller, and do not in Truth know him.

If the Toll-gatherer refuſe to deliver a Copy of his Entry, or take above Two-pence for it.

Overſeers of the Poor.

If they refuſe to execute their Office, being appointed thereto by the Juſtices of Peace.

If they do not provide a common Stock, and, take Care to keep the Poor at Work, upon the common Stock of the Pariſh.

If they do not meet once a Month particularly to confer about the Performance of their Duty.

If they do not raiſe a weekly Taxation for the Maintenance of the impotent Poor.

If they ſuffer their Pariſhioners to wander and beg out of their Pariſh, or in their Pariſh, without Licenſe.

Overſeers of High-ways.

If they refuſe to execute the Office, being choſen thereto by the Conſtable and Neighbourhood.

If they do not, upon the next *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, appoint publickly in the Church ſix Days betwixt that and *Midſummer*, for the Neighbours to meet for mending the Highways in the Pariſh.

If they do not attend at the Days appointed to direct the Works.

If they do not preſent to the next Juſtice of the Peace, or at the next Seſſions, the Defaults of abſent Pariſhioners.

If they do not preſent to the two next Juſtices of Peace the Defects of High-ways, and of not ſcouring the Ditches, that ſhould lead and avoid the Water from ſtanding in High-ways.

Touching

Touching Artificers, Labourers, Maſters, and Servants.

If Artificers, Labourers, or Servants, conſpire what Wages to take, and not to work under thoſe Rates.

If Artificers or Labourers undertake Work, and depart before it be finiſhed.

If they do not continue from Five of the Clock in the Morning till Seven at Night in the Summer, and from Seven till Five in Winter.

If Labourers or Servants take any more Wages than the Rates allowed by the Juſtices.

If any Servant aſſault Maſter or Miſtreſs.

If a Tradeſman retain a Journeyman for leſs Time than a Year.

If for every three Apprentices they do not keep one Journeyman; and for every Apprentice above three, one Journeyman more.

If they refuſe to labour in Hay-time or Harveſt.

If a Servant depart from one Pariſh to another, without a Teſtimonial from his Maſter.

If any Maſter hire any ſuch Servants wanting ſuch a Teſtimonial.

If any Servant depart within his Term, or at the End of his Term, without a Quarter's Warning, unleſs the Cauſe be allowed before two Juſtices of Peace.

If any Maſter put away his Servant within his Term, or at the End of his Term, without a Quarter's Warning, unleſs the Cauſe be allowed before two Juſtices of Peace.

Braſiers and Pewterers.

If any Braſier or Pewterer buy or exchange any Metal belonging to his Trade, but in open Shop, or Fair, or Market.

If they ſell their Wares of Metal not of the Allay of *London*.

If they uſe any deceitful Weights or falſe Beams.

Cordwainers, viz. *a Tanner, Currier, Shoemaker, and Butcher, dealing with the Hide.*

Tanner.

If he ſet his Fats in Tan-hills.

If he over-lime his Hides.

If he tan any Leather in warm Owze.

If he do not work the Lime well out of the Leather.

If he uſe any Stuff but Malt, Meal, Tapwort, Hen-dung, Culver-dung, Aſh-bark, and Oak-bark.

If he uſe any deceitful Mixture for raiſing his Hides.

If he ſuffer his Hides to be frozen with Winter-froſt, or to be parched with Summer-ſun, or to be dried by the Fire.

If he tan any rotten Hides.

If he do not renew his Owze ſo often as Need requires.

If he do not keep his Soal-leather twelve Months, and Upper-leather nine Months in the Owze.

If he ſell any tanned Leather, which is inſufficiently tanned.

If he ſell any tanned Leather out of a Market.

If he ſell any tanned Leather, before it be ſearched and ſealed.

If any Tanner be a Currier or a Shoemaker, or uſe any other Trade which cuts Leather, or *e contra*.

Currier.

If he dwell out of a Market Town, or exerciſe his Trade in a Shoe-maker's Houſe.

If he curry any Leather but ſuch as is ſufficiently tanned.

If he uſe any other Stuff in Currying Outer-ſoal-leather, but good hard Tallow, and no leſs thereof than the Leather will receive.

If he gaſh or ſcald any Hide, or ſhave any Leather too thin.

If he refuſe to curry Leather brought to him with Stuff to work it, or if he keep it in Summer above eight Days, and in Winter above ſixteen Days.

If he be a Tanner or Shoemaker, while he is a Currier.

Shoemaker.

If he do not make his Wares of good Leather, Soal and Upper-leather well tanned, and well ſewed with Thread well waxed and twiſted, and hard drawn with Hand-leathers.

If he mix his Wares, Part Neats-leather, Part Calf, Horſe, or Bull-hide.

If he ſell any Wares upon *Sundays*.

Butcher.

Butcher.

If he gaſh, ſlaughter, or cut any Hide in Fleaing.

If he water any Hide, ſave in *June*, *July*, or *Auguſt*.

If he ſell any corrupt or rotten Hides.

If he ſell any Hide but in open Market.

If he uſe the Trade of a Tanner.

Tanned Leather.

If any buy tanned Leather, red and unwrought, and do not make it into made Wares.

If any but Tanners buy rough Hides.

If any buy tanned Leather out of a Market.

If any buy tanned Leather before it be ſearched and ſealed.

If any refuſe and reſiſt the Searchers to make Search.

If any ingroſs Oak-bark.

Cloth-makers.

If any uſe Raking of Linnen-cloth, or uſe Lime or other undue Mixture in Whitening Linnen-cloth.

Cooper.

If he make his Ware of unſeaſoned Wood.

If he do not make it of due Aſſize, *viz.* The Barrel Thirty-ſix Gallons of Beer, and of Ale or Soap Thirty-two.

The Kilderkins after the ſame Proportion.

The Firkins after the ſame Proportion.

If he do not ſet his Mark upon it.

Tile maker.

If he do not dig his Earth before the Firſt of *November*, and turn it over before the Firſt of *February*, and turn it again before the Firſt of *March*, and then try and tue it from Stones.

If he make his Tile of leſs Aſſize than ten Inches and an Half long, and ſix Inches and a Quarter broad; and Gutter-tile ten Inches long, and Ridge-tile fourteen Inches long, and half an Inch and a Quarter thick.

And ſo I have done with the Offences of this Kind, which are againſt publick Juſtice; and now I come to thoſe which are againſt the publick Plenty of the Stores of *Food* and *Proviſion* for the People, and are therefore in theſe hard and dear Times to be moſt carefully prevented, if it may be, at leaſt by ſuch Ways as the Law directs.

Touching the Plenty of the Country, and the Diſorders by Victuallers.

In general, whatſoever tends to inhance the Price of Victuals for unlawful Increaſing particular Men's Profits by it, this is an Offence againſt the Plenty of it; and therefore,

If any do buy any Sort of Victuals as it is coming to a Market or Fair, either by Water or Land, it is Fore-ſtalling.

If any buy Victuals in a Market, and ſell it again within four Miles, it is Regrating.

If any buy any dead Victuals, or Corn growing upon the Ground, with Intent to ſell it again, it is Ingroſſing.

If any Victuallers conſpire to ſell their Victuals at unreaſonable Prices.

If any Victuallers ſell any unwholeſome Victuals.

If any buy Corn, having ſufficient for his Houſe-proviſion for a Year, and do not the ſame Day bring ſo much other Corn to the Market to be ſold.

If any Drover or other buy Cattel, and ſell them again alive, within five Weeks.

If any Perſon take upon him to be a Badger of Corn, not being lawfully licenſed by four Juſtices of Peace.

If any buy Butter or Cheeſe in Groſs, and ſell it again in Groſs, or by Retail out of an open Shop.

If any forbear to rear Calves yearly, *viz.* one Calf for every two Kine, or every Three-ſcore Sheep he keeps; or do not keep a milched Cow for every Three-ſcore Sheep.

If any tranſport Sheep, Corn, Butter, or Cheeſe beyond Sea.

If any keep above Two-thouſand Sheep at once.

If any deſtroy Wild-fowls Eggs, or take Wild-fowl between the laſt of *May* and the laſt of *Auguſt*.

If any hawk in ſtanding Corn.

If any, not qualified, keep Dogs, Ferrets, Nets, or Engines, to take Hares, Conies, Pheaſants, or Partridges.

If any trace Hares in the Snow.

If any take or kill Pheaſants or Partridges with Engines, Nets, or Snares, or by Shooting in Guns.

If

If any ſhoot Hail-ſhot in Guns.

If any do unlawfully hunt or kill Deer, or Conies, in a Park or Warren.

If any ſell Pheaſants, Partridges, or Hares.

Alehouſe-keepers.

If any Alehouſe-keeper keep an Alehouſe, not being licenſed thereunto.

If they ſell leſs than a Quart a Penny the beſt, and two Quarts a Penny of the worſe Sort.

If they ſuffer unlawful Tippling or Drinking, Games, Tables, Cards, or Dice in their Houſes.

If Inn-keepers do not ſell their Hay and Oats at reaſonable Prices.

If Tavern-keepers ſuffer People to ſit tippling in their Houſes.

If any Perſon continue tippling and drinking in Taverns, Inns, or Alehouſes.

If any Perſon be drunk.

Bakers.

If any Baker ſell his Bread of leſs Weight than the due Aſſize, *viz.* proportionable to the Price of Corn in the Market, as it is regulated by a printed Aſſize-book, ſet out to that Purpoſe.

If they do not ſet their proper Mark upon their Bread.

If they give above thirteen to the Dozen.

If any but Bakers bake Horſe-bread to ſell.

Butchers.

If any Butcher kill and ſell Calves under five Weeks old, or any weaning under two Years old.

If they ſell any meaſled Hogs, or Beaſt that died of the Murrain, or other corrupt or unwholeſome Meat.

Fiſh.

If any deſtroy the Fry of Fiſh, or fiſh with Nets leſs than two Inches and an half wide in the Maſh.

If any kill any Salmon under ſixteen Inches long, or Kerls under ten Inches long, or Trouts under eight Inches long, or Barbels under twelve Inches long.

If dried Barrel-fiſh (brought in by Strangers) be not of due Aſſize, *viz.* in Barrels of Herrings Thirty-two Gallons, in Barrels of Eels thirteen Gallons, in a Butt of Salmon Four-ſcore and four Gallons.

If any bring any Cod or Ling from beyond Sea, in Barrels to be ſold, or otherwiſe than looſe in Bulk.

If any ſet a Tax, or Toll, or Reſtraint upon Fiſh brought into this Nation to be ſold.

If any cut out or deſtroy Heads or Dams of Ponds, Moats, or Stews of Fiſh, in any Man's ſeveral Fiſhings.

Malt-makers.

If any Malt-maker do not make his Malt of good and ſweet Barley, not mow-burnt or ſpired Barley.

If they do not rub it, and dreſs it well, and fan half a Peck of Duſt out of every Quarter.

If it be leſs Time than three Weeks in the Fat, Floor, and Drying.

Millers.

If any Miller take exceſſive Toll for grinding Corn, *viz.* above a twentieth Part, or twenty-fourth Part, according to the Strength of the Water.

Wine.

If any bring in Wine in foreign Bottoms.

If any bring in Wine in Veſſels, not of due Aſſize, *viz.* the Butt One-hundred twenty-ſix Gallons, Hogſhead ſixty-three Gallons, Pipe One-hundred twenty-ſix Gallons, Terce eighty-four Gallons, Tun Two-hundred fifty-two Gallons.

If any ſell Wine, above the Price proclaimed in Chancery.

And thus you ſee how the publick Plenty of the Country is diminiſhed for a few Men's particular Gains; and you ſee alſo how the Abuſes may be reformed, to a general Advantage of all the People.

Laſtly, *Common Nuſances are to be enquired after.*

Touching common Nuſances, or Offences, done againſt the general Eaſements of the People, as, againſt the Health, Beauty, and good Complexion of the Body Politick, are theſe.

If any erect a Cottage, and do not lay four Acres

Acres of Ground to it, to be occupied with it.

If any continue ſuch unlawful Cottage.

If any keep an Inmate, or Underſitter, in a Cottage.

If any common Bridge be out of Repair.

If High-ways to Market-Towns be not enlarged and cleanſed of Wood, Two-hundred Feet at leaſt.

If any common High-way be out of Repair, or if any Ditches be unſcoured, or undreſſed, which ſhould conveigh and avoid the Water from ſtanding in High-ways.

If the Pariſhioners have not met at the Day appointed, to mend the High-ways, as the Law directs.

If any keep common Gaming-houſes, Bowling-allies, or the like.

If any common Vagabonds and Beggars, or wandering Rogues, or dangerous Rogues do paſs, or be ſuffered to paſs, from Place to Place, or be relieved, in Places where they come.

If any keep, or uſe, unlawful Weights and Meaſures, not according to the Standard of the Exchequer; or if Weights and Meaſures, of the Standard Aſſize, be not kept in every Market Town.

If any uſe any Weights or Meaſures, unſearched or unſealed.

If any profane the Lord's Day, *viz.* by travelling that Day, or by uſing Sports, and unlawful Exerciſes that Day.

If any profanely ſwear or curſe.

If any keep a ſtoned Horſe in any common Ground, not being fourteen Hands high.

And thus you ſee how the Wiſdom of the Common Laws of this Nation, and of the Parliaments, from Time to Time, hath provided for the Security and Eaſe of the People; and hath furniſhed us with a Salve for every Sore, and gives us Rules and Inſtructions, how to govern ourſelves, that we may be helpful and uſeful to one another; and from whence it is, that we may well conclude, If we keep the Law, the Law will keep us; *and that,* If we place the Law in the Throne, the Law will preſerve and protect us, in Safety and Security. *Touching the Offences, which are committed by diſobedient and lawleſs Perſons: You that are culled out from all the Parts of the Country, and choſen to be the chief Agents, and firſt Movers (as I may ſpeak) in this Work of Juſtice, which is the Subject of this Day's Service, and are the Country's Truſtees for that Purpoſe; I do not queſtion, but your publick Spirits are ſuch, and common Love to your Country ſuch (taking in even your own Intereſts and particular Profits and Concernments) that you will be more than ordinary careful to cleanſe the Country of theſe Weeds, and Darnel, and Cockle, that grow up among the Corn; thoſe wicked and unreaſonable Men, which are as Pricks and Goads, in the Sides of others, and live idly, looſly, and wickedly, among the People, and are, as ſo many Plague-ſores, ſpread over the Body of the County; and the Way, to cleanſe the Country of them, is to execute Juſtice upon them; for the Execution of Juſtice is the Work of God himſelf, the End of the Law, the Command of the* Parliament, *the Magiſtrates Honour, the Offenders Terror, and the Expectation of all honeſt Men: And therefore (as once it was ſpoken in another Caſe) let it not ſeem a ſmall Thing to you, who are to begin this Work of Juſtice, that you are ſeparated from the Congregation, and brought near to the God of Heaven, to do the Service of the Tabernacle, and to ſtand before the People, and to miniſter unto them. And, having ſaid thus much, I leave what remains to your Diligence. All our Service begins in you; it is your* Ignoramus, *or* Billa vera, *which opens and ſhuts, which ſhuts and no Man opens.*

A Re-

A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion, with Regard to the late exceſſive Growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs: Drawn up by the Upper Houſe of Convocation, of the Province of *Canterbury*, and tranſmitted to the Lower Houſe for their Approbation. [*Folio*, containing five Pages, printed in 1711.]

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE, *the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops, and the Clergy of the Province of* Canterbury, *in Convocation aſſembled, are deeply ſenſible of the many Bleſſings and Advantages of your gracious and proſperous Reign: Amongſt which, there is none that more affects us, than the tender Care and Concern ſhewn by your Majeſty for the flouriſhing State of Religion, and the godly Zeal you have expreſſed againſt the Wickedneſs of thoſe, who, by looſe and profane Principles and Practices, have endeavoured to undermine and deſtroy it.*

We are thankful to Almighty God, who hath put it into your Royal Heart to repreſs theſe impious and daring Attempts; and, for that End, among others, to order your Clergy to be called together, that they might, in Synod, humbly offer their Counſel and Aſſiſtance.

It is, on many Accounts, our Duty, to do the utmoſt that in us lies, towards promoting ſo excellent a Work. We have, therefore, applied ourſelves, with Diligence, to conſider the Matters to us referred; and do now, in Obedience to your Royal Commands, humbly lay before your Majeſty,

A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion among us, with Regard to the late exceſſive Growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Prophaneneſs.

IT is with the greateſt Affliction and Concern, that we enter upon a Work ſo unpleaſant in all Reſpects, were it not for the Hopes it gives us of ſeeing theſe Evils, in ſome Meaſure, removed; and, therefore, we ſhall not give your Majeſty the Uneaſineſs of a particular Relation, either of the blaſphemous Paſſages that have been publiſhed from the Preſs, or the great Impieties that have been committed: But, in Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, by your Majeſty, we think ourſelves obliged to lay before you ſuch an Account of the Progreſs of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs amongſt us, as may let your Majeſty ſee the Cauſes and Occaſions which have given the greateſt Riſe to them, and the ſad Conſequences with which they are attended.

It is hard to come to the Beginning of theſe great Evils, which all Times have complained of; and, therefore, to confine our own Enquiries, and leſſen your Majeſty's Trouble, as much as we can, we ſhall look no farther back for the Source of them, than that *long unnatural Rebellion* *, which looſened all the Bonds of Diſcipline and Order, and overturned the goodly Frame of our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Conſtitution.

The Hypocriſy, Enthuſiaſm, and Variety of wild and monſtrous Errors which abounded, during thoſe Confuſions, begat in the Minds of many Men, too eaſily carried into Extreams, a Diſregard for the very Forms of Religion, and proved the Occaſion of great Libertiniſm, and Profaneneſs, which hath ever ſince too much

* Againſt King *Charles the Firſt*.

prevailed amongſt us; the Seeds of Infidelity and Hereſy, which were then ſown, did ſoon after appear, and the *Tares* have ſprung up in *great Abundance.*

The Authority of the preſent Canon of Scripture hath been repreſented, as ſtanding upon a very precarious Foundation, and the Inſpiration of the Whole hath been called in Queſtion.

The Miracles, recorded in Scripture, have been diſputed and compared to the fabulous Relations of thoſe that occur in *Heathen* Writers.

All Myſteries in Religion have been exploded as abſurd and uſeleſs Speculations, and ſeveral fundamental Articles of our moſt holy Faith have not only been called in Queſtion, but rejected.

The *Arian* and *Socinian* Hereſies have been propagated with great Boldneſs; the Doctrine of a *Trinity of Perſons in the Unity of the Godhead*, hath been denied and ſcoffed at; the Satisfaction made for the Sins of Mankind, by the precious Blood of *Chriſt*, hath been either directly renounced, or very ungratefully leſſened; the eſtabliſhed Creeds of the Church have been repreſented as unwarrantable Impoſitions.

Even at this Time, when we are thus met by your Majeſty's Writ, and exhorted by your gracious Letter, to conſult of Methods for repreſſing pernicious Errors and Impieties, a Book hath been printed, wherein the *Arian* Doctrine (of which we cannot but declare our utter Abhorrence) is avowed and maintained, and the Truth of it is threatened to be ſhewn by large and elaborate Proofs, in other Treatiſes from the ſame Hand, which are ſoon to follow. To this Book, the Author hath prefixed his Name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of this Province, in Convocation aſſembled, with Invitation to all, to encourage his Deſign by their Subſcriptions to it, and not without laying the Imputation of *Antichriſtianiſm* upon all thoſe who ſhall not approve it.

The Natural Immortality of the Soul hath, upon different Schemes and Views, been oppoſed, as a vulgar Error, and the Neceſſity of all human Thoughts and Actions hath been aſſerted, to the Overturning the Foundations of all Religion, whether Natural or Inſtituted, and to the Rendering all Notions of Good and Evil, of Rewards and Puniſhments, whether in this Life, or the next, groundleſs and vain.

Others have endeavoured to root out of Men's Minds all Notions of a Church, as a Society inſtituted by *Chriſt*, with peculiar Powers and Privileges, and proper Officers to adminiſter the Word and Sacraments; and ſo to blend and confound the ſpiritual Society with the temporal, as to make every Thing in Religion, its divine Truths, and moſt ſacred Ordinances, dependent on the Will of the Civil Magiſtrate, as deriving ſolely from him their Sanction and Authority. Nay, theſe religious Ordinances themſelves, even the chief of them, *Baptiſm* and the *Supper of the Lord*, have been ſpoken of with ſuch a Degree of ungodly Mockery and Scorn, as to fill the Hearts of good Chriſtians with Horror and Aſtoniſhment.

The Frauds of *Pagan* and *Popiſh Prieſts* have been diſplayed, in order to repreſent all Prieſts as Impoſers upon the Credulity of Mankind, and draw Infamy upon the *Prieſthood* in general; and to render the Order itſelf, in what Religion ſoever it was found, equally the Object of publick Averſion and Contempt.

The Books, containing the Errors and Impieties abovementioned, have been the more eaſily publiſhed and diſperſed, ſince the Expiration of the Act for reſtraining the Preſs; and, thro' the greater Liberty of Printing, which thereon enſued, have the Vicious and Profane had more Opportunities to ſcatter their Papers, for corrupting the Manners of Men.

Not only ſeveral Pieces formerly written on the Side of Infidelity, which might have been forgotten without ſuch a Revival, have been collected into Volumes, and publiſhed again, but mock Catechiſms, framed in a light Manner, have been cried in the Streets, to depreciate the excellent Summaries of our Chriſtian Faith, and, as far as poſſible, to root out of Men's Minds the Senſe of thoſe great Truths that are contained in them.

This Profaneneſs hath been much increaſed, by the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, where the worſt Examples have been placed in the beſt Lights, and recommended to Imitation; and the various Images thus painted to the Life, and ſet out with all Manner of Advantage, have made ſuch Impreſſions upon the Minds of the Young and Unwary, as are not eaſy to be effaced: Where the Bond of Wedlock hath been generally treated as a ridiculous and burdenſome Yoke, to the great Prejudice of Society and Virtue, and every Thing ſacred hath been expoſed: Where the Office of the Prieſthood hath been made a Matter of Scorn and Reproach; and where, at the Opening of a new

Theatre,

Theatre, the Building of Churches was impiouſly derided, as a vain and uſeleſs Work, the Effect only of Superſtition and Ignorance.

It is indeed for the Purpoſe of the Irreligious to diſcourage the Building of Churches where they are ſo much wanted, and where the Want of them is, in all Appearance, one great Occaſion of the Irreligion of many. For, by this Means, vaſt Numbers of Souls have, in and about theſe two populous Cities, been excluded from a Poſſibility of attending the publick Worſhip of God, and from all the Benefits of Chriſtian Inſtruction. And the natural Conſequence of this hath been a gradual Defection from Piety and Virtue to irreligious Ignorance, and all Manner of looſe and licentious Living.

And as the Want of Churches here, ſo the Want of competent Maintenance for the Service of many that are in the Country, where two or three Cures do not often afford enough to ſupport a Miniſter, is, though not a late, yet a like Occaſion of Profaneneſs and Ignorance there; for, by this Means, many Pariſhes have no Miniſter reſiding among them, and are ſeveral *Sundays* in the Year without any Service at all; and the Miniſters, by having ſo much Duty upon them, cannot diſcharge it as they ought, nor have Time for the Catechiſing young Perſons, which is ſo neceſſary a Part of Chriſtian Inſtruction.

And to the Increaſe of this Miſchief, both in City and Country, have they alſo contributed, who have taken Occaſion from the Relaxation of thoſe Laws which made Abſence from the Eſtabliſhed Church penal, to withdraw themſelves intirely from all religious Aſſemblies, although the very Act of Exemption, which gave Liberty in one Reſpect, equally reſtrained it in the other.

From theſe ſeveral Occaſions hath enſued a great Neglect of the religious Obſervance of the Lord's Day, too great a Part of which is ſpent, by many, in publick Houſes, and other Diverſions, wholly unſuitable to the Time ſet a-part for the more immediate Service of God; tho' we have Reaſon to think, that, through the Care of Magiſtrates and others, ſome Reformation hath been made of this Matter.

But whatever Share any of the Cauſes and Occaſions abovementioned may have had in that Growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs amongſt us, we cannot but bewail the Effect; conſidering the Diſhonour it brings on our holy Faith, our Church, and Nation; and the Hurt it has done to your Majeſty's People, many of whom have been made worſe Men and worſe Subjects by the Means of it.

It is lamentable to reflect how many Souls have been loſt by imbibing wicked Doctrines from thoſe Books which have been ſcattered for ſeveral Years through this Kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near Approaches to Infidelity (though they have not as yet actually arrived to it) from a Spirit of Indifference and Neutrality in Religion, which hath been infuſed into their Minds by theſe Means.

But what we have farther to apprehend from our Impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the Diſpleaſure of Almighty God, who may juſtly on their Account be provoked to viſit us with his Judgments, by ſtopping the continued Current of Succeſs with which he hath hitherto bleſſed our Affairs, and delivering us into the Hands of our Enemies; by withdrawing the pure Light of his Goſpel from us, and letting in the Abomination of Popery among us.

For the Emiſſaries from *Rome* have been all along very watchful to lay hold of theſe Opportunities for the Advancement of their Cauſe; to which nothing is ſo ſerviceable as Scepticiſm and Looſeneſs of Life. Theſe, therefore, as well as the Errors and Diviſions amongſt us, they have always encouraged to the beſt of their Power, and improved to their own Advantage; repreſenting in ſeveral Books, as well as in their common Converſation, the great Uncertainty of the Chriſtian Religion upon Proteſtant Principles, and filling Men's Minds with infinite Doubts, the better to make them ſubmit to an infallible Guide. They have ſwarmed in our Streets of late Years, as they do more particularly at this Time, and are very buſy in making Converts; nor do we doubt but that divers of your Majeſty's Subjects, either from the Scandal taken at the Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs they ſee, or from ſharing the Contagion of it, have, by their Arts, been perverted.

But, notwithſtanding that we have theſe Things to complain of, ſo much hath been done already toward taking off the Cauſes and Effects of theſe Evils, and to prevent the further Conſequences of them, as to give us great Hopes, that, through the Bleſſing of God upon your Majeſty's Authority and Example, and the Endeavours of your Subjects in their ſeveral Stations, we ſhall eſcape the Danger we have ſo much Reaſon to fear.

For, as Books have been publiſhed in Favour of Hereſy and downright Infidelity; ſo others have been written from Time to Time, as Occaſion required, in Defence of the fundamental Truths, whether of Natural or Revealed Religion, with great Clearneſs and Strength of Argument. The vain Pleas of the ſeveral Advocates for Infidelity have been particularly conſidered and refuted, to the Silencing, if not the Conviction, of ſome of the Principal of them.

A Lecture was founded, not many Years ſince, by Mr. *Boyle* *, in Defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt all the Adverſaries of it; and many excellent and uſeful Sermons have been preached and publiſhed upon that Occaſion.

Societies have been formed for the Reformation of Manners; Funds of Charity have been raiſed for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, and of Chriſtian Knowledge at Home, and for the pious Education of poor Children; great Variety of plain and uſeful Diſcourſes have been diſtributed among the meaner Sort for their more eaſy Improvement; and Parochial Libraries have been ſet up for the Uſe of Miniſters in the Country, that they might be better provided for the Inſtruction of thoſe committed to their Charge.

Authority hath often interpoſed for the Countenancing theſe excellent Deſigns, and for withſtanding the bold Attempts that have been made upon our common Faith; and, for preventing the Increaſe of Irreligion and Profaneneſs, Royal Injunctions and Proclamations have iſſued, Acts of Parliament have paſſed, Proſecutions at Law have been ordered, gracious Speeches from the Throne have been made, and from thence ſuch bright Patterns of Piety and Virtue have ſhone forth, as have, no Doubt, prevailed upon many, though the Influence of them hath not extended ſo far as might have been expected.

But then the Infidelity of ſome hath been attended with this good Conſequence in others, that the Zeal of devout Perſons hath thereby been excited to do every Thing that in them lay towards reſiſting and ſtemming the Increaſe of this great Evil; nor have their Endeavours been altogether fruitleſs; our Eyes daily ſee the happy Effects of them; Divine Service and Sacraments have of late been oftener celebrated, and better frequented than formerly, the Catechiſing of Youth hath been more generally practiſed, and with greater Succeſs; vaſt Sums have been furniſhed by private Contributions to ſuſtain the Charge of educating poor Children in the pious Manner above-mentioned; and many other new and noble Inſtitutions of Charity have been ſet on Foot.

Many Churches have been repaired and adorned at the Expence of the ſeveral Pariſhioners and other Benefactors; and many Chapels opened in the larger Pariſhes, though not ſufficient to anſwer the Wants of the Inhabitants. Great Sums of Money have been by publick Authority provided and applied for the Building, Supporting, and Adorning other Churches; and your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, upon our humble Addreſs, to recommend to your Parliament to find out Means for the Building of ſuch as are ſtill wanting; of which from the great Satisfaction with which your Meſſage was received, and the great Progreſs made upon it, we hope to ſee the bleſſed Effect; when all, who are religiouſly diſpoſed, will have the Opportunity of giving publick Teſtimony of it, and the Careleſs be left without Excuſe.

In the mean Time, other Methods of redreſſing theſe Miſchiefs, may, we humbly conceive, be ſucceſsfully tried, ſuch as your Majeſty's great Wiſdom and Piety, and the foregoing Obſervations, will ſuggeſt to you.

We entertain not the leaſt Doubt of your Majeſty's firſt Reſolution to render the Laws and Proclamations ſet forth for the Suppreſſion of Immorality and Profaneneſs uſeful to that Purpoſe, by an impartial and vigorous Execution of them; and to reform the Corruptions of the Stage, which have been ſo inſtrumental in vitiating young and innocent Minds, and have given ſo juſt Offence to all ſerious and devout Chriſtians.

We are intirely perſuaded, that your Majeſty will, in the moſt effectual Manner, diſcountenance all ſuch Perſons as are profligate in their Lives, or the known Abettors and Spreaders of impious Opinions; and the repeated Aſſurances which your Majeſty, whom God long preſerve, hath been pleaſed to give to your People of your Care to tranſmit the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, as eſtabliſhed by Law, give us great Hopes, that our Enemies of the *Romiſh* Communion will, at laſt, be effectually diſcouraged from attempting the Ruin of that ex-

* To be preached at *Bow* Church in *Cheapſide, London.*

cellent

cellent Church, of which, under *Chriſt*, your Majeſty is the chief Governor and glorious Defender.

From the Application of theſe ſeveral Means, which, we do not doubt, but your Majeſty will uſe, we promiſe ourſelves very great and durable Effects; but that for which we at preſent in moſt earneſt and moſt humble Manner addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty is, that, by your Royal Interpoſition, an Act may be obtained, for reſtraining the preſent exceſſive and ſcandalous Liberty of Printing wicked Books at Home, and Importing the like from Abroad; in ſuch Manner as to the Wiſdom of your Majeſty and your Parliament ſhall ſeem moſt expedient. For as we take this Liberty to have been one chief Source and Cauſe of thoſe Evils whereof we have ſpoken, ſo we queſtion not but the Reſtraint of it would go a great Way in the Cure of them.

There is another pernicious Cuſtom that has very much prevailed amongſt us under the falſe Notion of Honour, which we beg Leave to mention in this Place; and that is the Practice of fighting Duels, which has ſo far obtained, that your Majeſty hath had many Occaſions, and ſome very lately, to ſee the diſmal Effects of it.

We do therefore, in all humble Duty, beg your Majeſty to take the moſt effectual Methods to extinguiſh thoſe falſe Notions, ſo contrary to the Laws of God, and ſo deſtructive of all Society, and to put a Stop to this wicked and unchriſtian Practice by ſuch Means as your Majeſty, in your great Wiſdom, ſhall think moſt proper.

We have alſo good Hope, that all, employed *in Authority under your Majeſty*, will, as we pray, *truly and indifferently miniſter Juſtice to the Puniſhment of Wickedneſs and Vice, and to the Maintenance of true Religion and Virtue*; and wiſh that ſome Way may be found for the Recovery and Improvement of Chriſtian Knowledge and Piety in Families, which, we fear, is too much neglected.

We likewiſe hope, that eſpecial Care will be taken of the Education of young People at the Univerſities, by providing that Tutors make it their Buſineſs to teach their Pupils the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion in the Courſe of their other Studies, and endeavour to make them ſerious in it, with a particular Eye to ſuch as are deſigned for holy Orders.

And for ourſelves, who are called to this holy Function, we beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will take all poſſible Care of the Diſcharge of our own Duty, and do all that in us lies, that the Canons of our Church may be ſtrictly obſerved both by ourſelves and thoſe committed to our Charge.

We have thoſe Parts of our Diſcipline which your Majeſty hath, in your great Goodneſs, thought fit to recommend to us for farther Improvement, under our moſt ſerious Conſideration; and hope, in ſome Meaſure, to anſwer the Wants of the Church, and your Majeſty's Expectations in referring them to us; as we ſhall at all Times hereafter, as often as your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to require our Attendance for theſe Purpoſes, endeavour to make our ſynodical Meetings ſubſervient to the good Order and Eſtabliſhment of this Church, the Intereſt and Advantage of the Chriſtian Religion, the Satisfaction of your Majeſty, and the Honour of God.

And our daily and fervent Prayer to God ſhall be, that your Majeſty may be the happy Inſtrument of theſe and many other Bleſſings to this Church and State; that you may be as proſperous in your Deſigns againſt Infidelity and Vice here at Home, as you have been in all your Undertakings againſt the common Enemy Abroad; and may, by that Means, add, what alone is wanting to compleat the Glory, and crown the Succeſſes of your ever memorable Reign.

The

The Bloody Parliament, in the Reign of an unhappy Prince. [*Quarto*, containing ſeven Pages, printed at *London* in the Year of much Blood-ſhed, 1643.]

THis preſent Occaſion ſerving ſo opportunely fit, I thought it a Labour well worthy the Obſervation, to lay down a true Narration of that memorable Parliament, begun in the tenth Year of *Richard the Second*, both for the great Wonders that it wrought, in the Subverſion of the Malignants, who were near unto the King, and had diſtilled much pernicious Counſel into his ſacred Ears: As alſo, that every good and careful Reader might learn thereby to avoid Diverſities of Miſeries, and the Fear and Danger of a cruel Death. I will therefore give a true and ſhort Narration of that which hath lain hid a long Time in the Shadow of Forgetfulneſs, concerning Men of great and eminent Authority in this Kingdom, who have been led away in the deceitful Path of Covetouſneſs, and have come to an untimely and ignominious End; being famous Examples to deter all Men in Authority, or whom Favour ſhall raiſe near unto the King, from practiſing thoſe, or the like Courſes.

When *Richard*, the Second of that Name, about the Prime of his Youth, ſwayed the Imperial Scepter of our Realm, there flouriſhed in his Court certain Peers, *viz. Alexander Nevill*, Archbiſhop of *York*, a Man more favoured by Fortune, than by the Honour of his Deſcent; *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*; *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and then Lord Chancellor; *Robert Triſſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Nicholas Brambre*, a Man, though low in Parentage, yet ſometime Lord Mayor of *London*. Theſe Men being raiſed by the ſpecial Favour of the King, and advanced to the Degree of Privy-Counſellors, were the Men, who had the only Rule of the Common-wealth, which they, for a little While, governed, under the King, with great Care and Diligence, meriting thereby deſerved Commendations; but this not long did continue, for, overcome either with Ambition, or with Covetouſneſs, or with the Pleaſures of the Court, they deſpiſed the Authority of their too eaſy King, and, neglecting the Commodity of the Realm, in a ſhort Time, the Revenues of the Crown began to waſte, the Treaſure was exhauſted, and the Commons murmured at the Multiplicity of Levies, and Subſidies, and new Ways of Taxations; the Peers repine to ſee themſelves diſgraced, and, in one Word, the whole Kingdom endured an univerſal Miſery. The Nobility, ſeeing the miſerable Eſtate wherein themſelves and the Kingdom was involved, urged the King to ſummon a Parliament, which was done ſhortly after; in which, amongſt many other Acts, *Michael de la Poole* was diſmiſſed of his Chancellorſhip, and, being accuſed of many Crimes of Injuſtice, as, Bribery, Extortion, and the like, he was committed to *Windſor*-Caſtle, and all his Lands confiſcated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided for the whole State, by a mutual Conſent betwixt his Majeſty and the Prelates, the Barons, and the Commons; and, with an unanimous Conſent, they choſe a Committee of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to depreſs all civil Diſſenſions, and to appeaſe the Grudgings of the People. Of the Spiritualty were choſen the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *&c.* Of the Laity were elected, by the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Scroope*, *&c.* theſe, as Men eminent in Virtue, were choſen by general Suffrage, and (the Parliament being then to be diſſolved) were ſworn to carry themſelves as dutiful and obedient Subjects in all their Actions. Soon after the aforenamed Chancellor, *Michael de la Poole*, buzzed in the King's Ears (being moved with implacable Fury againſt the Parliament) that the Statutes, then enacted, were prejudicial to the Crown, and much derogatory to his Princely Prerogative, inſomuch that he ſhould not have the Power in his own Hands to preſerve a

Servant,

Servant, or to beſtow a Largeſs, *&c.* By theſe, and other the like impious Inſtigations, with which the Devil did continually ſupply them, they practiſed to annihilate theſe out of the Parliament, or whatſoever might ſeem, by the Liberty of the Subject, to reflect on the Royal Prerogative of the Prince: And, *Firſt*, by their ſerpentine Tongues, and ambitious Projects, they ſo bewitched the noble Inſtigation of the King, that they induced him to believe, that all the Ill they did was a general Good, and ſo wrought upon him, that he began to diſtaſte and abhor the paſſed Acts of his Parliaments, as treacherous Plots, and wicked Devices. *Next*, they ſtudied to ingroſs the Riches of the Kingdom into their own Coffers, and, to the ſame End, deal ſo cunningly, yet pleaſingly, with the King, that to ſome he gave Ranſoms of royal Captives, taken in the late Wars in *France*; to ſome Towns, to ſome Cities, to ſome Lands, to others Money, amounting to the Sum of a 100000 Marks, to the great Impoveriſhment both of King and Kingdom. *Thirdly*, contrary to their Allegiance, they vilified the Dignity of the King; they cauſed him to ſwear, that, with all his Power, during his Life, he ſhould maintain and defend them from all their Enemies, whether Foreign, or Domeſtick. *Fourthly*, whereas it was enacted, that the King ſhould ſit with his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to conſult of the publick Affairs, through the Perſuaſion of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, he was drawn into the moſt remote Parts of his Realm, to the great Diſparagement of his great Council, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the Kingdom. And when any of his great Council came to make Relation of the State of the Realm unto his Majeſty, they could not be granted Acceſs, unleſs they related the Buſineſs in the Preſence of the Conſpirators, who were always ready to upbraid them, if they uttered any Thing that diſpleaſed them; and though they ſeemed to advance it, they did as much as in them lay, to hinder the King from exerciſing his Royal Prerogative. But, though there were ſo many Plots, Conſpiracies, and Treaſons againſt our State, our ever-merciful God inſpired into the Hearts of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Spirit of Valour and Magnanimity, and every Man, according to his Ability, levied a Power for the Preſervation of the King and Kingdom; all which Forces, being united, amounted to the Number of 20000. And though the Conſpirators, by Vertue of a certain ſpiritual Commiſſion, proclaimed throughout the City of *London*, That no Man, upon the Pain of the Loſs of his Goods, ſhould ſell any Victuals, or Ammunition, to the Army of the Earl of *Arundel*, they could not debar them from it; wherefore they counſelled the King to abſent himſelf from Parliament, and not conſult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, unleſs an Oath were taken, that they (the ſaid Conſpirators) ſhould have no Accuſation urged againſt them: And they cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout *London*, that none, under Pain of Confiſcation of all their Goods, ſhould ſpeak any upbraiding Speeches concerning the King, or the Conſpirators, which was a Thing impoſſible to hinder. In the mean Time, the three Noblemen, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, having muſtered their Troops, ſent an Accuſation in Writing to the King, againſt the ſaid Conſpirators, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Triſſilian*, and *Nicholas Brambre*, wherein they accuſed them of High-Treaſon, for proclaiming throughout all the Shires where the King journied, that all Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, with the greateſt of the Commonalty, able to bear Arms, ſhould ſpeedily repair to the King, for his Defence againſt the Power of the Commiſſion. As alſo, that, contrary to the ſaid Acts, they cauſed the Duke of *Ireland* to be created Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, hereby ſelling Juſtice as they liſted, and for giving Pardons, under the broad Seal, to Felons, Murderers, and ſuch like: As alſo, they taught *Ireland* to look back to her priſtine Eſtate of having a King; for they plotted to have the Duke created King of *Ireland*; and, for to have the Confirmation of this Deſign, they allured the King to ſend his Letters to the Pope.

When theſe Things came to the King's Ears, he ſent unto them, requiring to know what their Demands were: Anſwer was returned, They deſired, that the Traitors, who daily committed inſufferable Crimes, and filled his Ears with falſe Reports, to avoid the Effuſion of more Blood, might receive that Reward their Crimes deſerved, and that they might have free Liberty of going and coming to his Grace. This the King gave Conſent unto; and, ſitting in his Throne, at the great Hall in *Weſtminſter*, the poor Appellants, with humble Reverence, bowed three Times low before his Majeſty on their Knees, and again aſked the aforeſaid Conſpirators, guilty of High-Treaſon; whereupon,

not

not long after, the Duke of *Ireland* withdrew himſelf, and, marching into *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Wales*, raiſed a Power of 6000 Men, in the King's Name, to overthrow and confound the Appellants; and, marching towards *London*, when he found the Army of the Appellants was marching down the Mountains, near *Whitney*, like a Hive of Bees, ſuch a violent and cold Palſy cowed them, that they flung down their Arms, and yielded themſelves to the Mercy of the Appellants; the Duke of *Ireland* himſelf, putting Spurs to his Horſe, took the River, where he hardly eſcaped Drowning. The Conſpirators, hearing of this, ſtruck with Fear, under the Cover of the Night, did fly by Water to the *Tower*, and ſeduced the King to go along with them.

Not long after, there was a Conference in the *Tower*, betwixt the King and the ſaid Appellants, at the End of which the King did ſwear to adhere to their Counſels, ſo far as the true Law of Reaſon and Equity did require; and, becauſe the Harveſt was now ripe, preſently divers of the Officers of the King's Houſhold were excluded, as *John Beauchamp*, *Peter Bourtoey*, Knights, and many others; and of the Clergy, *John Blake*, Dean of the Chapel; *John Lincolne*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *John Clifford*, Clerk of the Chapel, were kept under Arreſt. And thus this hideous Brood of Monſters, ſo often ſhaken, was quite overthrown.

On the Second of *February* the King came to his Parliament, and after him appeared the five Noblemen, Appellants; who, leading one another Hand in Hand, with ſubmiſſive Geſtures reverenced the King, and, by the Mouth of *Robert Pleaſington*, their Speaker, they thus declared, That the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and themſelves, came to purge themſelves of the Treaſons laid to their Charge, by their Conſpirators. To whom the Lord Chancellor, by the Command of the King, anſwered, That the King conceived honourably of them all, eſpecially of his Couſin the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who, being of Affinity to him in a collateral Line, could never (he ſaid) be induced to attempt any Treaſon againſt his Majeſty. On [illegible] given to the King, the Appellants requeſted the King, that Sentence of Condemnation might be given againſt the Conſpirators; but the King, being moved in Conſcience, and in Charity, perceiving that in every Work they are to remember the End, deſired, that the Proceſs might ceaſe; but the Peers again importuned him, that no Buſineſs might be debated, until this Treaſon were adjudged: To which the King, at length, graciouſly granted his Aſſent; and, when nothing could be produced by the Conſpirators to juſtify themſelves, they were adjudged this heavy Doom, That the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Treſſilian*, and *Brambre*, ſhould be drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged upon a Gibbet, until they were dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiſcated, that none of their Poſterity might by them be any Way inriched. After this many more of their Accomplices were taken, and indicted of High-Treaſon, whoſe Names here follow underwritten.

The Names of ſuch as were charged and condemned of High-Treaſon in the aforementioned memorable Parliament.

Alexander Nevill, Archbiſhop of *York*; *Robert de Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, who being baniſhed into *France*, was killed with a wild Boar; *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Chancellor; *Robert Treſſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*; Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, ſometime Lord Mayor of *London*, made a Privy-Counſellor; *John Blake*, Serjeant at Arms; *Thomas Uske*, an Intelligencer of *Treſſilian*'s. All theſe, except the Duke of *Ireland*, were hanged and drawn at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburn*.

Robert Belknap, *John Holt*, *Roger Falthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John Locton*, and *John Carey* were Judges; and, altho' condemned, yet their Lives were ſaved at the Interceſſion of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and were afterwards baniſhed into *Ireland*; Sir *Simon Burleigh*, who was condemned and beheaded; Sir *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Houſhold to the King; Sir *James Beverſous*.

There were alſo condemned and detected of the aforeſaid Treaſon the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the King's Confeſſor; Sir *Thomas Tainit*, Knight; Sir *William Ellington*, Knight; Sir *Nicholas Neyworth*, *John Blake*, and *John Lincoln*, which laſt were three of the Clergy. Behold theſe Men, who feared not God, nor regarded Men, but, having the Laws in their own Hands, wreſted them now this Way, and now that Way, as pleaſed beſt their Appetites, wreſting them, at their Pleaſures for their own Commodities,

were

were at the laſt brought down to the Depth of Miſery, from whence they were unable to free themſelves.

Richard, Son of the valiant and victorious *Edward the black Prince*, was born at *Bourdeaux*, and Grand-child to King *Edward the Third*; being eleven Years old, he began his Reign, the Twenty-firſt Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1377, and was crowned King at *Weſtminſter*, the Sixteenth Day of *July*; in Bounty, Beauty, and Liberality, he far ſurpaſſed all his Progenitors, but was over much given to Eaſe and Quietneſs, little regarding the Feats of Arms; and, being young, was ruled moſt by young Council, regarding little the Council of the ſage Men of the Realm; which Thing turned this Land to great Trouble, and himſelf to extreme Miſery. For being firſt diſgraced by his Couſin *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, Duke of *Hereford*, Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, he was, at length, by the general Conſent of Parliament, depoſed from his Crown and Kingdom, the Twenty-ninth of *September*, 1399, and commited to Priſon, and afterwards wickedly murdered; for, being ſent to *Pomfret* Caſtle to be ſafely kept, and princely maintained, he was ſhortly after, by King *Henry*'s Direction and Command, who feared, leſt his Eſtate might be ſhaken while King *Richard* lived wickedly aſſaulted in his Lodging, by Sir *Pereu* of *Exton*, and eight other armed Men; from one of whom with a princely Courage he wreſted a Broom-bill, therewith ſlew four of them, and fought with all the reſt, until, coming by his own Chair, in which the baſe cowardly Knight ſtood for his own Safety, he was by him ſtruck with a Pole ax in the hinder Part of his Head, ſo that preſently he fell down and died, when he had reigned twenty-two Years, ſeventeen Weeks, and two Days.

Strange News from *Plymouth*: Or, a wonderful and tragical Relation of a Voyage from the *Indies*; where, by extraordinary Hardſhips, and Extremities of the late great Froſts, ſeveral of the Seamen, and others, miſerably periſhed; and, for Want of Proviſion, caſt Lots for their Lives, and were forced to eat one another; and how a *Dutch* Merchant eat Part of his own Children, and then murdered himſelf, becauſe he would not kill his Wife: With the miraculous Preſervation of *George Carpinger*, an *Engliſh* Seaman, and the *Dutch* Merchant's Wife, now a-ſhore at *Plymouth*. In a Letter to Mr. *D.B.* of *London*, Merchant. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages, printed at *London* for *J. Conyers*, at the *Black Raven* in *Duck-Lane*, 1684.

SIR,

ACcording to Promiſe in my laſt, I have inquired into the Particulars of that ſo tragical a Relation therein mentioned, the which, without any Prologue, I ſhall lay down in its naked Truth, as I had the ſame from the Mouth of the Survivors who are now at my-Houſe, which, if you pleaſe, take as follow:—

A Gentleman called the *Heer van Eſſell*, Native of the *Low-Countries*, having had the Education of a Merchant at Home, was reſolved to improve his Patrimony in ſome Foreign Parts: To which End, being thereunto the more encouraged by the Promiſe of a ſtrict Correſpondence with ſeveral of his Countrymen, he undertook a Voyage to the *Indies*, whither he arrived about the Year 1670. And, by

by the industrious Management of his Affairs, increased his Estate so considerably, that few Men in those Parts lived in greater Splendor; being thus settled about seven Years; afterwards he came acquainted with the Daughter of a *Dutch* Merchant of great Fortune, a Gentlewoman of many worthy Accomplishments, and exceeding beautiful. Our Merchant, being much taken with her Port and Beauty, made his Addresses to her, and, resolving to change his Condition, found her not altogether averse to his Happiness; which, by Degrees, he raised to Consent, and obtained her for his Wife, with whom he lived very happily for several Years, till he had increased his Estate to such a Portion, as made him think to return to his own Country, where he first drew Breath, and had left his Relations; communicating which Design to his Lady, she readily assented to the Voyage, and accordingly he made Preparation to gather his Estate into a Bottom, and take Leave of the *Indies*, which in a short Time he effected; and being supplied with a Vessel that had discharged herself at the said Port, he hired the same for *Rotterdam*, and therein imbarked himself, his Wife, two Children, and one Servant, with all his Estate, which amounted to a very considerable Cargo, and, in *August* last, took Shipping. The flattering Sea, which too often beguiles us to our Undoing, promised him for the first two Months a very happy Voyage, and filled his Heart with Hopes of touching the Shore, the long Absence of his Friends rendered very desirable to him, and buoyed up with the Expectation of a Happiness cruel Fate had designed to deprive him of, was on a sudden becalmed; insomuch that, for several Weeks, they could scarce tell whether they were forwarded a League's Space; in which Time, of the sixteen Seamen and Master that was on Board, by a Disease that increased amongst them, several died, and, by Degrees their Provision growing short, they were forced to deal the same more sparingly about, hoping, by their Care, they might have enough to serve them through their Voyage, and made the best Way they could to their desired Port; yet, such was their Misfortune, that they failed of their Expectation, and came to see the last of what they had spent, and for four Days lived without any Sustenance; and, the Wind being cross, they could not make Land, where they might revictual, but were forced to keep on their Voyage. Their Extremity was such, that the two Children, not so well able to bear the Hardships as others, both died, on whose Bodies, notwithstanding the Tears and Intreaties of the Merchant and his Wife, they were forced to feed; which being in a short Time consumed, it came to be considered, having no Sight nor Hope of any Shore, that they must either all of them submit to the Fate that threatened them, or contrive some other Method to save themselves, which at present they had not the least Prospect of, unless, in the common Calamity, they consented by Lot, or otherwise, to destroy some one in the Number to save the rest; which unwillingly they were at length inforced to, and jointly agreed, that, according to the Number then on Board, they should number so many Lots, and on whom Number One fell, he should be slain, and Number Two should be his Executioner. But here a Dispute arose, whether the Merchant's Wife, whose two Childred had to her great Grief been already eaten, in Favour to her Sex, should not be exempted from the fatal Lot; some were of Opinion she ought, and particularly one *George Carpinger*, a stout *English* Seaman, used his Endeavours to work the Company to assent thereunto; but as nothing is so voracious or cruel as the Jaws of Hunger, on the one Hand, or so estimable as Life on the other, he could not effect his Design; so that, the Majority having over-ruled his Arguments, they drew in common, and such was their Misfortune, that the Lot fell on the Woman for Death, and on her Husband for Executioner. Miserable was the Lamentation of the Husband and Wife, that so fatal a Mischance should for ever part them; yet Tears and Intreaties were ineffectual, so that nothing but Submission was left, though the Merchant's Servant and *Carpinger* stood resolutely against the rest, and resolved to spare them; which the Merchant perceiving, and knowing their Force was too little to accomplish their Wishes, with a settled Countenance, spoke to them to the following Porport: 'Honest Friends, for such 'you have approved yourselves to me, you have 'seen the Hardship of my Fate; and, since it 'is drove to this Point, I am resolved never to 'be her Executioner, who hath been so loving 'and just a Wife to me; but in her Stead am 'resolved myself to be the Sacrifice; and 'therefore what I have to say to you is, that you 'stand her Friends, when I am dead; what 'is in this Vessel does, as you know, belong to 'me; spare nothing of it to serve her, and with 'these N es, if ever that you arrive at *Rotterdam*,

'*dam*, though all in this Cargo be loſt, you 'ſhall be plentifully rewarded'. Which after he had ſaid, and they with Tears had heard, being about to anſwer him, he drew a Piſtol from his Bosket, which he ſo unexpectedly diſcharged, that they had not Time to prevent it, and ſhot himſelf in the Head, of which Wound he immediately died.

The Cry they made at his Fall, and the Noiſe of the Piſtol, were quickly heard by the reſt of the Ship's Crew, which ſoon called them thither; nor was his Wife long abſent, who, poor Lady, had been preparing herſelf for her End, which, by this leſs pleaſing Diſaſter ſhe ſaw prevented. The Tears ſhe ſhed and Extravagancies ſhe acted at ſo diſmal a Tragedy, were but needleſs to recount, ſince none are ſo heard-hearted but may in ſome Meaſure judge; ſhe ſounded and almoſt died with Grief, and begged to be her own Executioner, but ſhe was too narrowly watched by her Servant and *Carpinger*, to effect ſo cruel a Purpoſe; their Eyes never left her, and their Cares were more for her Preſervation than their own; but in vain was all their Watchfulneſs againſt the Enemy from without, when ſhe harboured in her own Breaſt a Foe ſufficient to deſtroy a greater Strength than Grief had left her; for no Intreaties could perſuade her to feed on that dear Corpſe ſhe had ſo often cheriſhed, but what Share thereof, the Hardſhip of her Fate allowed her for her Food, ſhe embalmed with her Tears, and by renewed Vows promiſes to ſhare Fortunes with it, and be buried in the ſame unwonted Grave in which that Fleſh was diſtributed, ſhe once ſo much admired; which ſhe had near accompliſhed, having had no Food in that Time but two Rats, which were fortunately taken, and preſented to her by *Carpinger*, at ſuch Time as the fatal Lot was to take its ſecond Round, in which ſhe was reſolved to ſhare, notwithſtanding all the Intreaties of *Carpinger* and her Servant; and, in ſhort, ſhe had her Wiſh, and drew again a ſecond Time her own Sentence, which ſhe welcomed more than a Bridal day; and, being juſt ready to yield her Throat to the Executioner's Knife, ſhe had certainly fell, had not *Carpinger*, with two more, whom he hired, ſtepped in, and reſolutely withſtood the Execution; upon which Quarrel they drew their Faulchions, and four Perſons were ſlain, amongſt whom the faithful Servant was one. This was a ſufficient Morſel for the preſent, and ſtaid the bloody Hunger of the Survivors, who were now reduced to five or ſix Perſons beſides the Lady; with the Bodies of the Slain they were then fed more plenteouſly than for ſome Months preceding, but ſuch was the Rigour of their Fate, that, by the unuſual Diet, moſt of their Men were dead, juſt as they got Sight of the Lands-end of *England*; and, having but very few Hands to work their Veſſel, they found that, from the Dangers they had been ſo long in, a ſecond threatened them from the Severity of the late Seaſon, for, the Ice being there in very great Flakes, they found themſelves drove amidſt the ſame towards the Shore, from whence they could not diſengage the Ship; in which Time, *Carpinger*, being a Perſon of a voluble Tongue, and formerly well bred at *Stepney* near *London*, where his Father, Captain *Carpinger*, had long lived, uſed all the Conſolation he could, by Words or Device, to comfort the deſpairing Lady, till, at length, ſhe was prevailed to hearken to him, and give her Promiſe to ſpare all Violence on herſelf, and wait her better Fortune; in this Caſe they lay for ſix Days, till all but two Perſons, beſides themſelves, were dead, and theſe ſo miſerably weak they could not leave their Cabbins, ſo that, being froze in, they could not ſtir. *Carpinger* with the Lady reſolved to venture on the Ice, and ſet forward towards the Shore; which ſhe the rather undertook, for that ſhe hoped hereby to find a Grave in thoſe Waves on which ſhe had loſt what ſhe loved above her own Preſervation; with this Reſolution *Carpinger*, taking Charge of the Lady, got a Plank and a long Pole in his Hand, and with theſe left the Ship, and, with great Danger and Difficulty, in ſix Hours got ſafe to Shore, having Opportunity only of ſaving a Caſket of Jewels, which he brought off with him, where, at my own Houſe, the ſaid Parties now remain, in reaſonable Health; and, conſidering the Care and Kindneſs of *Carpinger*, the Lady ſeems much to favour him, and, when the Time of Mourning is over, will, undoubtedly, make him happy in her [illegible]

SIR,

YOU may, according to the Credit I have with you, communicate this to the Publick, if you think fit; after *Easter* I intend to see you at *London*, and, in the mean Time, I am

Your Servant,

Plymouth,
Feb. 3, 1683.

J. G.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Should have given you some Account of the Ship, called the *De Ruyter* of *Rotterdam*, which we see at a Distance; but as yet the Frost is so hard we cannot get to her, but have small Hopes of preserving her.

J. G.

This Relation is justified for Truth, by us,

John Cross, *William Atkins*, } Seamen.

The Quacks Academy : Or, The Dunces Directory. A new Art to cross the old Proverb, and make a Man a Fool and Physician both at a Time. Discovering the several Methods whereby so many ignorant Pretenders obtain Repute and Practice.

----- *Cur ludere nobis*
Non liceat, licuit cum jugulare tibi. MART.

With Allowance.

Quarto, containing 6 Pages, printed at *London*, for *A. B.* in MDCLXXVIII.

BEfore we enter upon the Subject Matter of this Sheet, we must declare, that we do except out of our Design all those learned and worthy Persons, whose Experience and Labour, in the Arts of Medicine, may any Way contribute to the common Good of Mankind, intending only to reflect on those illiterate Pretenders to Physick, whose Practices are as well shameful as dangerous to the Place they live in; of which latter Sort we are about to speak.

Having observed the prodigious Success of modern Quackery, and that the Practice of it is lately become a *Last Shift*, more common and thriving too, than Selling of Ale, or Setting up a Coffee-house: And finding still Abundance of indigent idle People, that could never make their untoward Handicrafts fadge to Purpose, who would be glad to exchange them for so genteel and advantageous an Employ, had they but the secreet Knack, whereby other Bankrupts, with small Pains and less Parts, have in an Instant raised themselves from Beggary to competent Estates: Out of our great Respect to such hearty Well-willers, to secure so gainfull a Science, we have thought fit to unfold the whole Mystery, as it is this Day practised with so much Profit and Applause. Draw near then with Attention, all you decayed Ragamuffins of the Town; you by whose Dulness no Mechanick

Mechanick Myſtery but ſcorns to be maſtered, whom neither Sea nor Gibbet will accept; we will put you in a Way of feeding yourſelves and the Worms too. Honeſt, no Doubt, becauſe common and ſafe, for why, your Miſcarriages ſhall never be heard for the Din of Knells you ſhall occaſion.——But to deliver our Documents in Order:

Firſt, To paſs for current, you have no more to do but to call yourſelves *Doctors*; *Pliny* hath affirmed it before; and, though I neither expect nor deſire you ſhould underſtand *Latin*, yet, becauſe a Scrap may do you a Kindneſs, one Time or other, to ſwagger with, I will give it you in his own Language:

Hâc ſola artium, evenit quod cuilibet ſe medicum dicenti facile credatur, cum ſit periculum in nullo mendacio majus.

'In this Art alone it comes to paſs, That 'any one, but profeſſing himſelf a Phyſician, 'is preſently believed, though in no Caſe the 'Belief of a Lye be more dangerous.'

I have *engliſhed* this for the Benefit of thoſe that do not underſtand *Latin*; and I have no Quarrel at all againſt thoſe that do.

However, in the *ſecond Place*, to ſupport this Title, there are ſeveral Things convenient; of which ſome are external Accoutrements, others internal Qualifications.

Your outward Requiſites are a decent black Suit, and, if your Credit will ſtretch ſo far in *Long-lane*, a pluſh Jacket; not a Pin the worſe, though threadbare as a Taylor's Cloke; it ſhews the more reverend Antiquity.

Secondly, Like *Mercury*, you muſt always carry a *Caduceus* or conjuring Japan in your Hand, capped with a Civet-box; with which you muſt walk with *Spaniſh* Gravity, as in deep Contemplation upon an Arbitrament between Life and Death.

Thirdly, A convenient Lodging, not forgetting a Hatch at the Door; a Chamber hung either with *Dutch* Pictures or Looking-glaſſes, belittered with Urinals or empty Gally-pots, and Phials filled with Tap-droppings, or fair Water, coloured with Saunders. Any Sexton will furniſh your Window with a Skull; in Hope of your Cuſtom; over which hang up the Skeleton of a Monkey, to proclaim your Skill in *Anatomy*.

Fourthly, Let your Table be never without ſome old muſty *Greek* or *Arabick* Author, and the fourth Book of *Cornelius Agrippa*'s occult Philoſophy, wide open, to amuſe the Spectators; with half a dozen of gilt Shillings, as ſo many Guineas received that Morning for Fees.

Fifthly, Fail not to oblige neighbouring Alehouſes, to recommend you to Inquirers; and hold Correſpondence with all the Nurſes and Midwives near you, to applaud your Skill at Goſſipings.

Now to your neceſſary Qualifications, They are in general two, *viz.* *Loquacity* or *Talkativeneſs* and *Impudence*.

As for the *Firſt*, It is a mighty Setter-off among the Vulgar; be ſure, therefore, you learn to pronounce *Oppilation* and *Obſtruction* of the Spleen, and *Schirrus* of the Liver, with a full Mouth; at leaſt ſpeak hard Words, though never ſo wretchedly miſapplied, and obſcure common ordinary Things in Terms of Art (for all the Uſe, you are to make of ſuch Terms, is the ſame Jugglers do of *Hictius Doctius* and *Preſto*; to amuſe People's Brains, while you pick their Pockets) if you can but get ſo far as to call the Fit of an Ague, a Paroxyſm, Fits of the Mother, Hyſterical Paſſions; thunder out ſympathetical and antipathetical Cures; prate of the Mechaniſm of Nature, though you know no more of it than a Ploughman does of Clockwork; tell them of appeaſing the irritated, archaical, microcoſmical Monarch; increaſing the radical Moiſture, and relieving all the Powers, vital, natural, and animal; the admiring Patient ſhall certainly cry you up for a great Scholard, provided always your Nonſenſe be fluent, and mixed with a Diſparagement of the College, graduated Doctors, and Book-learned Phyſicians; againſt whom you muſt ever bring in your high and mighty Word Experience.

But ſince every Man is not endued with the Gift of Tatling, and that it is fit you ſhould learn, like a *Dutchman*, to ſail with every Wind; if niggardly Nature, or more penurious Education, have not afforded you a Tongue well hung, make a Virtue of *Neceſſity*; look grave and big, decline all Diſcourſe, eſpecially if ingenious Men be by; tell them Diſeaſes are not to be frighted

frighted away with Words; that you do not come to talk but to cure, *&c.* This will at once conceal your Ignorance from the Judicious, and increaſe your Eſteem for a notable reſerved pretty Fellow with others: If any aſk the Cauſe of their Diſtempers, or Reaſon of your Preſcriptions, ſatisfy them both by producing a Liſt of your mighty Cures; wherein, if one Half be falſe and the other hired, there is no great Danger; for he muſt be a ſtrange inquiſitive Infidel, that will not rather believe them, than give himſelf the Trouble of diſproving them——Which brings me to the *ſecond* Property, *viz.*

A convenient Audacity. There is nothing more neceſſary, nothing more advantageous. Make People believe that no pitched Field ever ſlew or wounded half ſo many as you have recovered; that you have made Death retreat, where Nature was more fiercely beleaguered than ever was *Stetin*, and diſappointed him of more Bits than civil or foreign Wars have furniſhed him with theſe forty Years; that you have even beckoned Souls back again, that have been ſome Leagues onwards their Journey from their Bodies; boaſt the Wonders you have done at *Leyden* and *Hamburgh*, the *Lazaretto* at *Venice*, and the *Maiſon de Dieu* at *Paris*; that your Cloſets are Immortality-offices, and that you can let Leaſes of Lives of a larger Date than Popiſh Indulgences; pretend to the Cure of all Diſeaſes, eſpecially ſuch as are incurable; and to know which are moſt in Seaſon, conſult the Bills of Mortality, and next Week vary your Bill accordingly.

In particular, ſince the whole Art of Phyſick conſiſts in the Diagnoſticks, Prognoſticks, and Therapeuticks; for the firſt two you muſt either pretend to be Waterologers, or (which is more abſtruſe and modiſh) Aſs-trologers, or Piſs-prophets, or Star-wizards; either Way will do well enough, and, to ſpeak Truth, are much of a Certainty; in both there is neceſſary a previous Pumping, by apt and wary Queſtions, and their Anſwers, handſomely turned into other Words, will extremely gratify the Patient or Querent. If you practiſe by the Urinal, though it is as like to diſcover the Colour of a ſick Man's Cloaths as his Infirmities; yet a Thouſand to One, but with diſcreet Handling, you may ſhake it into the Scurvy, the Pox, or the Conſumption: Nay, you may venture to tell what Trade your Patient is of, by his Working-day's Water, and, if you ſee his *Sunday*'s Water, what Religion he is of. But, if you proceed by the Scheme, there is nothing ſo probable as to ſay, He is bewitched under an ill Tongue; that he has a Take upon him, or is Planet-ſtruck, and the Lord of the Seventh ſhews you to be the only Doctor in the World that can help him. Only here beware that you never pronounce a Common-Council-Man with Child, or a Conſtable ſick of the Mother; and in other Caſes, if your Judgment chance not to hit the Nail on the Head, it is but having Recourſe to neceſſary Prudence, called by the Superſtitious, *the Art of Lying*, as to tell them their Stomach is fallen out of the Place, but you doubt not but to fetch it up again. That they have Straws in their Lungs, as big as Beams, and their Livers are waſted with Venery and Drinking. Then as for Therapeuticks, if your Medicines be *Galenical*, though never ſo common, diſguiſe them with ſtrange Names; call *Sena* a *Specifick*, *Mithridate* an *Elixir*, *Extractum Ruddii* an *Arcanum*, and add a *Noſtrum* to *Album Græcum*. But if you would rather betake yourſelf to Chymical Devices, and want Nonſenſe to cant their Vertues; there are Pamphlets enough Abroad to furniſh you. The Tincture of the Sun's Beard; the Powder of the Moon's Horns; or a Quinteſſence extracted from the Souls of the Heathen Gods; will go off rarely for an univerſal Medicine; and bubble the Simple out of their Money firſt, and their Lives afterwards.

But to deal ingenuouſly, I will teach you a far more ready and curious Way, both of finding out and curing all Diſeaſes, than has yet been diſcovered; which is thus: Take two large Sheets of Paper, on the one write down (or get the Book-learned Scribe that writes your Bills to do it for you) the Names of all ordinary Diſtempers; on the other all celebrated Medicines, whether Catharticks, Diureticks, Diaphoreticks, or Emeticks. Then when any Patient comes or ſends, and you have heard the Story, retire a While, telling them a true Phyſician muſt firſt ſtudy and then preſcribe. In the mean Time, by yourſelf, on the Roll of Infirmities, fling a Dye, and, as many as the Chance is, ſo many Diſeaſes, you may aſſure them, the Party has; but principally that whereon the Dye falls; then the ſame on the Paper of Remedies, and preſcribe or adminiſter that which the Dye lights on, to be taken ſo many Times as there are Spots on the Chance. And, if the Sick be pained in the Head, you may eaſily diſcourſe them into a Perſuaſion that the Diſeaſe, or at leaſt the Cauſe, is in their

their Hand or Toe; by which ſafe and ingenious Courſe, you ſhall honeſtly refer it to Fortune, to diſcover both the Diſeaſe and Medicine; whereas others through a conceited Knowledge, or unhappy Ignorance, render themſelves more than acceſſary to the Death of many.

There are ſeveral other Directions fit to acquaint you with, which we ſhall reſerve for the *ſecond* Part of this moſt uſeful Directory. In the mean Time (as your Predeceſſors have done before you) practiſe this and give Thanks

To your old Friend,

Miſo-Agyrtes.

A Queſtion, Whether there be Nothing new? Being one of thoſe Queſtions handled in the Weekly Conferences of Monſieur *Renaudot's Bureau d'Addreſſes*, at *Paris*. Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1640. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages. *London*, printed by *R. B.* for *Jaſper Emery*, at the *Eagle and Child*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, near St. *Auguſtine's* Gate.

THE Deſire to *learn* is *natural*, and no leſs pleaſing to the Mind of Man, than his Deſire of *getting*; and, indeed, it is one Kind of getting: And as Men receive more Contentment, in one new Purchaſe, than in often thinking on all thoſe, which they had made before; ſo our Underſtanding takes a great deal more Pleaſure, in feeding upon new Nouriſhment, than in chewing the Cud upon that, which it had already; yea, and among thoſe new Repaſts, if it light upon any, which it never taſted before, it receives it, as our Palate is wont to do, with ſo much the more Pleaſure: For Nature is more pleaſed with the *Change*, than with the *Continuation* of the Uſe of any Thing; the Reaſon is, becauſe, ſeeking the ſupreme Good, and not finding it in any of thoſe Things, which he hath yet made Trial of, ſhe always hopes to find it elſewhere. This Sweetneſs is that which allays the Bitterneſs of Learning to *Children*, who are raviſhed with the Pleaſure of learning all thoſe Hiſtories, and pedantical Conceits, which we can ſo hardly endure, when we are grown to more Age. It may be, it makes *old Men* ſo melancholick, becauſe you can hardly tell them any Thing, that they know not; and, therefore, Men's Talk is tedious to them; whereas ignorant Youth admires and takes Pleaſure in every Thing. And we are ſo delighted with *Novelty*, that there is no Beaſt ſo ill-favoured, which ſeems not pretty, when it is young, witneſs the *Aſs's Foal*; nor no Plant of ſo little Delight, as that Novelty cannot commend it, as we ſee in the *Hop*, and the *Primroſe*. But,

I diſtinguiſh *Novelty* into *Phyſical*, or *Natural*, *Moral*, and *Artificial*. The *Firſt* of theſe is in *new Productions*, whether of Subſtances, or Accidents, or of Diſeaſes unknown to the Ancients. The *Second* of *new* and *unuſual Actions*. The *Third* of *Inventions*.

According to which Diſtinction, we may ſtate this Queſtion, and that, in my Opinion, muſt be done thus: *There are no new ſubſtantial Productions*; Nature having diſplayed all her Forces, almoſt theſe ſix Thouſand Years (according to the true Account, and much more, if we believe the *Egyptians* and *Chineſe*) and having run through all imaginable Varieties of Species, by the divers Combinations of all her Matters; and, alſo, through all Mixtures of *Qualities*, and other *Accidents*; which makes it impoſſible to ſhew any *Diſeaſe*, that is new and unknown to the foregoing Ages. But, for *Actions*, it is another Caſe; their Number cannot be determined, becauſe they depend upon the Liberty of Man, which could be no longer Liberty, if our Will were not free to paſs ſome ſet Number. Much leſs can *Inventions* be

be ſaid to be determinate, and reducible to a certain Number, becauſe they depend, in their Productions, upon the Wit of Man, which is infinite in its Duration, and in its Conceptions, which cannot be bounded, no not by that *Vacuum*, which ſome have imagined on the further Side of the Heavens. Of which all our Inventions are Proofs ſufficient.

The Second ſaid, that this Exception is unneceſſary, there being nothing at all new, in any of thoſe fore-named *Claſſes*, according to the Teſtimony of him, that was beſt able to judge, as being the wiſeſt, and who had made the moſt Experiments; I mean *Solomon*, who, boldly pronounces of his own Times, that there was not *then*, nor ſhould *ever* be, any *new* Thing. How much more then is it true in our Time, being ſo many Years after him? For, to begin with the *Formæ ſubſtantiales*, as they call them, there is not one of that Sort new, not only in its Species, but even in its individual Qualities, which, indeed, appear new to our Senſes, but yet are not ſo, for all that; as the Shape of a Marble Statue was in the Stone not only *in Poſſibility*, but alſo *in Act*, before the Graver made it appear to our Eyes, by taking away that, which was ſuperfluous, and hindered us from ſeeing it. And if we believe, that we have ſo good a Horſe, that his like was never found; it is not, becauſe it is ſo, but, becauſe it ſeems ſo; other Horſes, as good, or better than that, never coming to our Hands. Much leſs likely is it, that new Diſeaſes ſhould be produced, as ſome have believed, imagining that the Ancients were not curious enough to deſcribe all thoſe of their Times, or their Succeſſors, diligent enough to examine their Writings, to find them there. As for human Actions, do we ſee any now-a-days, that have not been practiſed in Times paſt, whether good or bad, valiant or cowardly, in Counſel or in Execution? And that, which they call *Invention*, is, for the moſt Part, nothing but a ſimple Imitation in Deeds, or Words. Thus, *Printing* and *Guns*, which we believe, were invented, within theſe two or three hundred Years, are found to have been in Uſe, among the *Chineſe*, above twelve-hundred Years. So ſaith *Terence* of Speech, *Nihil eſt jam dictum, quod non dictum ſit prius.* Our very Thoughts, though they be innumerable, yet, if they were regiſtered, would be all found ancient.

The Third ſaid, That Nature is ſo much pleaſed with Diverſity, which is nothing elſe, but a Kind of Novelty, that ſhe hath imprinted a Deſire of it, in all Things here below, and, it may be, in Things above alſo; for they are pleaſed in their Work, and the ſupreme and univerſal Cauſes produce us theſe Novelties. Thus, the different Periods of the Heavens make new Aſpects, and new Influences, not only every Year, but alſo every Month, every Day, yea, every Moment. The Moon, every Quarter, ſhews a ſeveral Sort of Face; and particularly, when ſhe ſends all her Light towards the Sun, ſhe is called *new*. The Sun, at his Riſing, is *new*, and ſo he appears inceſſantly to ſome Country or other in the World; in each of which he makes *new* Seaſons; and amongſt the reſt, *Spring*, becauſe it is the moſt pleaſant Time, is commonly called, in *France*, *le Renouveau*, becauſe it *renews* all Things; the Air decking itſelf with a more chearful Light, the Trees cloathing themſelves with Leaves, the Earth with Greenneſs, the Meadows being enamelled and embroidered with *new* Flowers. The young Man, that feels the Down upon his Chin, acknowledgeth his moſſy Beard to be *new*; upon his Wedding-day, he is a *new* married Man; it is a pretty *new* Caſe to his Bride, to find herſelf made a Woman; her great Belly and Lying-in are alſo *Novelties* to her; the little Infant then born, is a *new* Fruit; his firſt Sucking is *new*; his Teeth, at firſt Coming, are *new*. And ſo are all other Conditions of Clerkſhip, and Prieſthood, and Widowhood, and almoſt infinite others, Yea, many Things, that ſeem not at all to be *new*, yet are ſo, as a River ſeems very ancient, and yet it *renews* itſelf every Moment; ſo that the Water, that now runs under the Bridge, is not that, which was there Yeſterday, but ſtill keeps the ſame Name, though it be, altogether, other indeed. We ourſelves are *renewed* from Time to Time, by our Nouriſhment's continual Reſtoration of our waſted triple Subſtance. Nor can any Man doubt, but that there are *new* Diſeaſes, ſeeing nothing is written of them, in the Books of the Ancients, nor of the Remedies to cure them, and that the various Mixtures of the Qualities, which produce them, may be in a Manner innumerable; and that both Sorts of Pox were unknown to the Ancients. But this Novelty appears yet better in Men's Actions, and divers Events in them, which are, therefore, particularly called *News*. Such are the

the Relation of Battles, Sieges, Takings of Towns, and other Accidents of Life; ſo much the more conſiderable, by how much they are ordinarily leſs regarded. It were alſo too much Injuſtice to go about to deprive all Inventors of the Honour due to them, maintaining, that they have taught us no *new* Thing. Do not the Sectaries and Hereſiarchs make *new* Religions? Moreover, who will make any Queſtion, whether we have not Reaſon to aſk, what *new* Things *Africa* affords now-a-days, it having been ſo fertile in Monſters, which are Bodies intirely *new*, as being produced againſt the Laws of Nature. And, when the King calls down Money, changeth the Price of it, determines its Weight, is not this a *new* Ordinance? In ſhort, this is to go about to pervert, not only the Signification of Words, but alſo common Senſe, in maintaining, that there is *Nothing new*; and it had not been amiſs, if the Regent, who printed ſuch Paradoxes in a youthful Humour, had never been ſuckled with *new* laid Eggs, nor changed his old Cloaths, and, if he had complained, Anſwer might been made, That *there is Nothing new.*

The Fourth ſaid, That there are no *new* Subſtances, and, by Conſequence, no *new* ſubſtantial Forms, but only accidental ones; ſeeing *Nothing is made of Nothing*, or returns to nothing; and, in all the other Claſſes of Things, there are no new Species, but only new Individuals, to which Monſters are to be referred. Yea, the Myſteries of our Salvation were always *in intellectu Divino:* Which made our Saviour ſay, that *Abraham* had ſeen him. And, as for Arts and Inventions, they flouriſhed in one Eſtate, whilſt they were unknown in another, where they ſhould appear afterward in their Time. And this is the Senſe, wherein it is true, that, *There is Nothing new.*

Vindex Anglicus: Or, the Perfections of the *Engliſh* Language defended and aſſerted. Printed *Anno Dom.* MDCXLIV. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

AMongſt all Things requiſite to noble Actions, I never ſaw Fear recounted; neither can I acknowledge it due from ſo excelling a Creature as Man to any but the eternal Majeſty of his Creator. Which Conſideration makes me adventure the Hazard of many Cenſures, reſolving to account thoſe ſlender Scars, they ſhall be able to inflict upon me in this Attempt, as Characters of Honour, decyphering to every ingenuous Eye my Love to my Country. Whatever enſue, it will ſuffice me with Content enough, if my honeſt Endeavour ſerve as an Incitement to ſome more able Pen, to handle ſuch a worthy, though almoſt neglected Subject, as is the Patronage of our truly excellent Language.

I ſeek not to compaſs any ſuch Miracle as to convince the prepoſſeſſed Judgments of Foreigners, but ſhall think to retreat with Victory enough, if I can but foil thoſe unnatural Domeſticks, who degenerately do either with a certain fond affected Idolatry adore the Language of other Nations, contemning their own; or elſe imperiouſly (as if Cenſors in this Particular) do add, detect, mangle, and transform her, according to their weak Fancies; vainly ſpoiling the beſt of vulgar Languages. I will not ſtick to avouch it a Language, though that very Affirmation be a received Paradox; nor will I bluſh to parallel it with the beſt of the minor Languages.

And, to make it good, I will not deduce it, from *Babel*'s Confuſion, for truly I believe it had a nobler Beginning; neither will I traffick with *Scaliger* ſo far for it as *Perſia*, or *Cherſoneſus:* Seeing I look upon ſuch Deductions, as learned Fancies conducing little to prove our Antiquity, neither needful; ſince we together with our Language are extracted from the *Germans*, whoſe Title is ſo glorious in that Kind, that the reſt of *Europe* gives Place unto them. There are two main Objections which ſeem to exclude us from the Title of a Language, our *Mutability* and *Mixture*, happy Faults; and ſo univerſal, that I preſume the beſt of our Oppo-

nents are hardly free from: Though (it may be) not equally guilty of, for I confeſs our Mutability to be more frequent, yet choicer than theirs; and our compoſed Mixture conſiſting of greater Variety, yet accompanied with more Purity and Felicity. The *Italian* is compounded of *Latin*, *Barbarous Greek*, and *Gothiſh*: The *French* of *Latin*, *Dutch*, and the old *Gallick*; the *Spaniſh* of *Latin*, *Gothiſh*, and *Moriſco*; *Germany* hath a Taſte of the *Roman* Empire, and her bordering Neighbours; if I be not deceived, in us you may diſcover all theſe with Advantage; yet their pureſt Expreſſion fitly ſeated, and ſeparated from their Barbariſms, which by others are ſwallowed together with the reſt. All of them are ſo mutable, that our Frequency is excuſable: Nay, Mixture and Mutability are Things ſo natural to Languages, that none but the *Hebrew* (if that) are free from them.

What is become of the ancient *Latin*, uſed in the Reigns of *Latium* and *Carmenta*; or in the Times of the *Tarquinii*, or *Decemviri*; nay, or under the very Conſuls or Emperors, if Books did not conſerve it? The ſame Queſtion may we make unto the *French*, *Spaniſh*, the latter *Italians*, and *Germans* alſo: Though *Becanus* would make us believe Wonders of their Antiquity, Immutability, and the hidden *Cabala* or Myſteries contained in their Language, like as, in the *Hebrew*, to which, by his Account it is not inferior in Age, he deriving it even from the Days of *Adam*: Which Perfection, ſuppoſed true, we alſo might partly lay hold of, as a Branch of the ſame Tree. But,

——*Credat Judæus Apella, non ego:*

Let him that pleaſe, believe the ſame,
For I the Fable quite diſclaim.

For my Part I believe, that what the learned Phyſicians pronounce of human Bodies, that they are by Time often renewed, Excretions, Cold, Heat, Sickneſs, Wounds, and Sweat conſuming the preſent, and giving Place to new Subſtance, may be ſaid of Languages, altered by every Age; and as Antiquity hath given Place to us, ſo we ſhall yield to our Poſterity, not only in our Lives and Fortunes, but our Language alſo.

By this Time, I hope you will grant us the Name of a *Language*, and ſtay us no more upon the ſimple Term of *Speech*; wherefore now will I direct myſelf againſt thoſe Admirers of foreign Tongues, ſlighting their own, inferior to none of them in true Excellency: None, I preſume, will deny the Perfection of a Language to conſiſt in *Facility*, *Copiouſneſs*, *Sweetneſs*, and *Significance*; in all which, if I can make good that our Language is equal, if not ſuperior to the reſt, I hope he muſt be very far tranſported with Paſſion, and deeply factious, that will not aſſent unto me.

The great *Facility* of our Language is evident by a double Demonſtration, the Eaſe wherewith others commit ours to Memory, and the ſingular Help which it affords us to the attaining of others. Our Monoſyllables, and the Exemption we have from Flexions (whereunto moſt others are incident) do greatly facilitate ours; which though ſome may reckon as a Defect, I will eſteem a Bleſſing, accounting that Multiplicity of Caſes, Genders, Moods and Tenſes (which puts us to School to learn our Mother-Tongue) the Emblems of *Babel*'s Curſe, and Confuſion. For our Facility in learning others, let us renew but the old Obſervation: Turn an ingenious *Engliſhman* into what Country ſoever, and quickly you ſhall for the moſt Part ſee him profit ſo well, that his Speech will little or nothing differ from the genuine Dialect, of what Language ſoever is there uſed by the Natives; no common Privilege.

Our *Copiouſneſs* I need not uſe much Art, to demonſtrate, for, beſides the Treaſures of the ancient *Dutch*, which we retain in our *Saxon* Monoſyllables, the choicer Wits of our Nation have fetched hither the very Quinteſſence of thoſe other Languages, and by their excellent Induſtry ſo happily improved our *Engliſh* Soil, that I dare ſafely affirm many of thoſe foreign Scions bear better, and more plentifully than in their former Climate. The *Latin* and *French* are defective in the Expreſſion of many Words, which we utter with Eaſe, and they have none, whereunto our Ability extendeth not; our Abundance ends not here. We have Court and Country *Engliſh*, Northern and Southern Dialects, which differ not only in Pronunciation, but alſo in Words and Terms. There is no Language can deliver a Matter with more Variety than ours, plainly by Synonyma's, or by Circumlocution with Metaphors; which any mean Judgment will inſtance with ſundry Examples. We almoſt equaliſe the *Greeks*, and even exceed the *Latins* in a peculiar Grace of com-

compounding many Words together, which is one of the greateſt Beauties can be in a Language.

Our Significancy and Abilities in Expreſſion, in the ſeveral Parts both Letters, Words, and Phraſes, is very eminent; in Number and Uſe of Letters we exceed both *Greeks*, *Latins*, *French* and *Italians:* Our Words are incomparably ſignificant, inſomuch that many of them have four or five ſeveral Significations. Our Interjections are ſo fit for the Expreſſion of our Paſſions, that they ſeem to be derived from the very Nature of our ſeveral Affections; when many of thoſe of other Tongues are almoſt ridiculous. What Variety doth any other Nation brag of, that we have not almoſt with equal Felicity made our own? The *Italian Courtier*, the *French Saluſt*, the *Spaniſh Guzman*, the *Latin Naſo*, and the *Greek Polybius*; who would read that matchleſs Eſſay of Mr. *Sandys*, upon the *Æneids*, and, would not think it writ ſo by the peerleſs *Maro* himſelf? How properly hath the renowned Lord *Bacon* taught us to ſpeak the Terms of Art, in our own Language? We judged it impoſſible, till we ſaw it performed; which Difficulty when I ſee overcome, makes me deſpair of Nothing. What matchleſs and incomparable Pieces of Eloquence hath this Time of Civil War afforded? Came there ever from a Prince's Pen ſuch exact Pieces as are his Majeſty's Declarations? Were there ever Speeches uttered in better Language, or ſweeter Expreſſions, than thoſe of the noble and learned Lord *Digby*, and ſome other worthy Perſonages? Did ever Nation expoſe choicer, more honourable or eloquent Diſcourſes, than ours hath done in our Sovereign's Behalf, ſince theſe unhappy Diviſions? There is no Sort of Verſe either ancient, or modern, which we are not able to equal by Imitation; we have our *Engliſh Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Seneca*, *Lucan*, *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and *Catullus:* In the Earl of *Surry*, *Daniel*, *Johnſon*, *Spencer*, *Don*, *Shakeſpear*, and the Glory of the reſt *Sandys* and *Sydney*. We have eminent Advantages of all other vulgar Languages in Poetry. The *Italian* is ſo full of Vowels, that he is ever cumbered with Eliſions; the *Dutch* with Conſonants, that his Verſe is ſick of the *Sciatica*; the *French* cannot afford you four Words, whoſe Accents are in the *Antepenultima*, and therefore unfit for *Dactyls*, which the Accent and Metre do ſo naturally ſquare with us, that in both we deſervedly bear the Prize from all the reſt. The *Spaniſh* and *Italian* want our *Cæſura* in the midſt of the Verſes; the *Italian* cannot afford you a *maſculine* Rhyme. Nor, the *French* make Metre of the *Antepenultima*, and yet there is not any of the three Syllables, whereunto our Ability extendeth not.

The *Sweetneſs* of our Language I doubt not to compare with any vulgar whatſoever; let us put it to the Trial and compare it with others. The *Italian* I confeſs is an excellent, princely, and pleaſant Language, upon which the beſt Judgments look with great Reſpect; yet it wants Sinews, and paſſes as a ſilent Water. The *French* are truly delicate, but too affected and effeminate. The *Spaniſh* majeſtical, but terrible and boiſterous. The *Dutch* manly, but very harſh. Now we, in Borrowing from each of them, give the Strength of Conſonants to the *Italian*, the full Sound of Syllables to the *French*, the Variety of Termination with milder Accents to the *Spaniard*, and diſſolve with more Facility the *Dutch* Vowels; like Bees, gathering their Perfections, leave their Droſs to themſelves: So, when Subſtance combineth with Delight, Plenty with Delicacy, Beauty with Majeſty, and Expedition with Gravity, what can want to the Perfection of ſuch a Language?

——*Omitte mirari beatæ*
Fumum, & opes, ſtrepitumque Romæ.

Admire not then the ſmoaky Fume,
The Wealth and Train of mighty *Rome.*

For one of our great Wits (who underſtood moſt Languages in *Europe)* affirms, 'That in 'Uttering ſweetly and properly the Conceit of 'the Mind, which is the End of Speech, we 'parallel any other Tongue in the World; and 'that our Language is ſuch, that Foreigners, 'looking upon it now, may deſervedly ſay,

Ipſa, ſuis pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri.

She now abounds in proper Store,
And ſtands in Need of us no more.

Certainly the Mixture of our Extractions from others, joined with our own Monoſyllables, make up ſuch a perfect Harmony; that ſo you may frame your Speech majeſtical, pleaſant, delicate, or manly according to your Subject, and exactly repreſent, in ours, whatſoever Grace any other Language carrieth. Yet let none think that I ſtand in any Competition with the ſacred *Hebrew*, learned *Greeks*, or fluent *Latins*, or

claim a Superiority over the reſt; my Ambition extends not ſo high, though you ſee I want not Pretence for it: Let us look upon our own as a Language, equal to the beſt of vulgar; and, for my own Part,

Let others retain their ancient Dignity and Eſteem.

Upon fair Terms I have ended the Controverſy, and muſt now begin a fiercer Combate againſt a ſecond Enemy.

Moths and *Cankers*, who, with their ſhallow Inventions and ſilly Fancies, muſt ſtill be engrafting new coined Words in our *Engliſh* Nurſery, without either Art or Judgment. I ſeek not to diſcredit their worthy and immortal Labours, who, with unmatchable Induſtry, have fetched hither the beſt Inhabitants of other Climates, and made them Denizens in our Colonies: Theſe who with a ſkilful Felicity have bought, brought, or borrowed the richeſt Ornaments of other Languages, to make ours abound with Plenty and Variety; but thoſe I diſclaim, who, when the Work is excellently performed already, muſt ſtill be fingering; and, when the Quinteſſence and Life of other Tongues are ours already, muſt now traffick for the Dregs, to the End they may be ſaid to have done ſomewhat.

Languages, as all other mortal Things, have their Infancy and Age; their Wax and Wane; the States where they are uſed, are the Loadſtars;

Ad cujus nutum motumque moveri.

At whoſe Motion or Command,
They climb, decline, or make a Stand.

With their Proſperity and Adverſity they for the moſt Part riſe and fall, which the beſt of Languages can largely teſtify, who, had they not, even miraculouſly by Providence, been hitherto conſerved in Books, had long ſince periſhed, and been buried in the Duſt of Oblivion; they being now as ſtrange to their own Birthplaces, as to us. Our Language hath long been in the Aſcendent together with our Monarchy, and at laſt, by excellent Artiſts, is even brought to the Height, which already our over diligent and intruding Spirits, with their Botching, ſeek to bring to the Wane.

God grant it prognoſticate no greater Ruin, it is an evil Symptom of further Detriment.

Notwithſtanding, I hope it is no inevitable Deſtiny, but that our Language and Empire ſhall yet enjoy a far long Noon, and not ſo ſoon poſt towards the *Weſt*; let theſe buſy Creatures be checked and reſtrained from ſuch preſuming Liberties, and no Doubt but it will be a Sovereign Antidote, to maintain the Splendor of the *Engliſh* Language in the *Meridian* of Purity a long Time, which theſe active Perſons ſtain and obſcure.

How ridiculous, if well conſidered, is the Merchandiſe they ſeek to ſell for Current.

Let me afford you a few Examples, and I am deceived if they will not move both your Anger and Laughter; read and cenſure. *Adpugne, Algale, Adſlupiate, Daffe, Defuſt, Depex, Brochity, Bulbitate, Extorque, Ebriolate, Capricious, Contraſt, Catillate, Fraxate, Froyce, Imporcate, Incepabe, Incaſſe, Gingreate, Glabretall, Halitate, Ligurition, Lurcate, Remand, Mephitick, Mirminodized, Obſalutate, Orbation, Nixious, Nauſtible, Plumative, Prodigity, Puellation, Raption, Rereſt, Rumatize, Sudate, Soteſtick, Sracone, Subgrund, Tridiculate, Triſtful, Wadſhaw, Xantical, Yexate, Vitulate, Undoſous, Vambraſh, Zoografe.*

A thouſand other ſo unnatural Phraſes, that they cauſe a Loathing in a curious and judicious Eye. Theſe and ſuch as theſe, that ſet up Mints for ſuch baſe Coin, would I have the Arts to perſecute and not ſuffer them to mix their counterfeit Stuff amongſt our purer Ingredients, ſo to canoniſe them for Current. Our Language is copious enough already, we need traffick no more to inrich it; at leaſt, not ſo oft, for yet I will not deny, but ſome Pearl or other may be left behind uncheapened by our former Factors, which is worth the Buying, yet would I have it naturaliſed here with Judgment and Authority.

Let us improve what Grain we have already, and we ſhall find it full as much as is needful, or at leaſt as much as our Soil is well able to bear. Let us not therefore, with a baſe and buſy Avarice, abuſe our Language with the Dregs of others, being poſſeſſed with the Perfections of them all already, for by Enfranchiſing, Refining, and Implanting ſtrange, old, and new Words, it is happily become even the Prince of all the vulgar; from the Dignity of which Nothing but [illegible] much detracted, as our own vain affecting

ing, admiring, and applauding Foreign Tongues above Measure: Which makes Strangers judge our own contemptible. Our Separation from the Continent World doth make our Language insular, which is one chief Reason of its Want of Esteem amongst Foreigners, the Use having Use of it; few of them frequenting our Climate, and we swarming into theirs. Though some of the wisest of them now acknowledge the Worth of it, and with Envy look upon the Perfection of our Language, as well as upon the Excellency of our Country.

Though in this Conclusion I here strike Sail, and vail to the learned Languages; let that not detract from the Worth of ours, which is parallel, if not superior to the best remaining; it is as courteous as the *Spanish*, and court-like as the *French*, as amorous as the *Italian*, and as fluent as any; wherefore think me not overweighed with Affection, if I believe the most renowned of other Nations, to have laid the very *Elixir* of their Tongue's Perfection in Trust with our Island.

The Honour of the *Gout*: Or, a rational Discourse, demonstrating, that the *Gout* is one of the *greatest Blessings* which can befal mortal Man; that all *Gentlemen*, who are *weary* of it, are their own Enemies; that those *Practitioners*, who offer at the *Cure*, are the vainest and most mischievous *Cheats* in Nature. By Way of Letter to an eminent Citizen, wrote in the Heat of a violent *Paroxysm*, and now published for the common Good. By *Philander Misaurus*. *Duodecimo*, containing sixty-seven Pages, printed at *London*, in 1699.

The Publisher to the Reader.

This Piece, which I present to you, as appears from many Passages in it, was wrote towards the Beginning of the Reign of King William; *whether or no the Author be living, I cannot satisfy you; but this I will engage: Greater Profit, and more agreeable Entertainment, were never purchased of a Bookseller cheaper.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author is of Opinion, that some Epistles Dedicatory would do best, standing after the Pamphlet; therefore, good Reader, pass on, and expect mine in its proper Place.

SIR,

I OWE you a greater Observance, more profound Respects, and hearty Thanks, for Favours to which I had not Merit to pretend, than I am able to express, should I make Words and Phrase my Study; but I am not like to do that at present; for you have used me so of late, that you tempt me to think you are going to put as much Despight in one Scale, as ever you put Obligation into the other. Why! Sir, I am informed, that your Worship, not having a right Sense of Things, nor the Fear of God before your Eyes, should; to the Disgrace of your own Virtue, give your Tongue

Tongue the Liberty, in an open Coffee-houſe, to ſpeak ill of the *Gout*? Of the Gout, Sir! which if you look on as a Diſeaſe, you ought to welcome, as the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Thing that could have happened to you; but, if you conſider it as becomes you, then, with me, you muſt reverence it as a Power Divine,

On whoſe ſacred internodial Altars I,
Each Spring and Fall, at leaſt, will ſacrifice
Morbifick, painful Loads of Matter tartarous,
With Recrements of nervous Juice impregnate.

Would you yourſelf, Sir, patiently endure the Honour of our great Maſter, our rightful and lawful King, to be contemptuouſly reflected on by ever a recreant Piece of conſciencious Prieſtcraft *, that infeſts the Town? Then, why ſhould not I be concerned for the Honour of my great Maſter, the Gout? Who claims not, it is true, the Power, he exerciſes over me, by any hereditary Pretence, but from an Origin altogether as ſacred and indiſputable, *viz.* ſome voluntary Acts and Deeds of my own. Yet you could ſay, that, when the Almighty God had, out of rude *Chaos*, built this goodly Frame of Nature, which we ſee, and formed his noble Creature, Man; he indulged the Devil to create ſome one Thing, and his damned Envy gave Being to the Gout. Now I am confident, Sir, and have great Authorities for it, that, if the Devil ever created any Thing, it was the Doctor, of whom, ſince you have made ſo much Uſe, I know not, but it may be rationally inferred, that you have dealt with the Devil. The Gout, Sir, whether you know it, or no, was poſtnate to the Creation, and younger, ſomething, than the Fall of Man; who having incurred the Sentence of Death, the friendly Gout was ſent in Mercy, down from Heaven, to lengthen waſting Life. By my Conſent, you ſhould never have the Gout, who have no more Conſideration in you, than to blaſpheme it.

I always took your Worſhip for a Perſon the moſt accompliſhed our City has ever bred; I imagined, that you thoroughly underſtood moſt Things; but it could never enter into my Head, that you ſhould fall into ſo profane an Error, as to think, into ſo raſh a Practice, as to ſpeak ill of the Gout. But, becauſe my Soul has been full of humble Deference to your Worſhip, I will be at ſome Pains to recover you to your right Mind, and a due Veneration of that friendly Dæmon, the Gout. For, though you may value yourſelf, and reckon, that no gibing Satyriſt can take up the old Proverb againſt you, and ſay, That you are afraid of your Friends, when there is none near you; yet, what is worſe, they may reproach you with this diſgraceful Truth, You are afraid of your beſt Friend, when he kiſſes your very Feet.

Now, upon this Subject, having no Need to uſe the inveigling Arts of Oratory, I ſhall not with Tropes and Metaphors, with Flouriſhes and Amuſements of inſinuating Words, ſeek to divert your Mind, and cheat your Judgment; but, to make my Work the ſhorter, and do it effectually, preſs you with plain Demonſtration. Your Error, Sir, was this: That the Devil created the Gout. I prove he did not. You know, Sir, that the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, beſt known by the Name of Antichriſt, is the Pope. You muſt not doubt of this; for, till the Days of that excellent Prelate, Archbiſhop *Laud*, the whole Stream of Proteſtant Interpreters gave it ſo; a learned Chaplain of his has put that Character upon the Grand Seignior; and a famous Annotator has taught our Church to ſplit Antichriſt into *Simon Magus* and his *Gnoſtick* Followers. I muſt confeſs, I have a Sort of Reſpect to theſe Authorities; but the Body of modern Diſſenters, and the general Agreement of Interpreters, Whig and Tory, in the Age before, weighs them down: Take in, then, the Lay-mobility of the Nation, who ſhould know ſomething, but are confident of nothing more, than that Antichriſt is the Pope; and your Worſhip will agree with me, that that is the plain Truth of the Matter: By the Way, I will obſerve one Thing, which will not trouble my Demonſtration, but let your Worſhip ſee, how ready I am to allow you, in your Speculation, all that can reaſonably be deſired. A celebrated Author notes, that the Ancients deſcribed Antichriſt by the Phraſe of πρωτότοκος τῦ Σατανᾶ, *The Firſt-born of the Devil.* Suppoſing now, that the Devil created ſomething, as you contend, you ſee, it could not be the Gout; at leaſt, not if you will be judged by the Fathers; but rather Antichriſt, or the

* Alluding to Biſhop *Burnet*'s unbecoming Inſinuation againſt King *Edward*

Pope.

Pope. I deſire your Worſhip to conſider next, that you ſhall not read, in *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, or any later Antichriſtian Biographer, that ever fetid Toe of Pope was viſited with the beneficial Gout. But, had ſo great a Bleſſing been created by the Devil, as you fondly imagine, the Devil had, for certain, beſtowed it on his Firſt-born, the Pope: Nay, and then too, inſtead of the filthy Scrutiny, through the Porphyry Chair, for old and waſted Teſticles, the Deacon had only pulled off the Stocking of the Elect, and the ratificatory Report had been, *Dominus noſter Papa habet Podagram* *. In ſhort, Sir, Antichriſt, or the Pope (for they are one and the ſame Firſt-born of the Devil, according to the Ancients, being never favoured with the Gout, it is plain, that the Devil did not create it; ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, which was the Thing to be demonſtrated.

Having thus, Sir, utterly confounded your Error, my next Labour ſhall be, to inſtruct you in a ſounder Perſuaſion. The Gout was ſent, in Mercy, down from Heaven, to lengthen waſting Life.

The Seat of this friendly Dæmon, by whom every afflicted Man receives a Thouſand Times more Benefit, than ever *Socrates* by his; his Seat, I ſay, is in the nervous Parts; he commonly viſits the *Internodia* of the Bones of the Feet; ſometimes the Hip, the Knee, the Elbow, Shoulder, Wriſt, and Ancle: But, to prove its Divine Original, I will proceed methodically, and, from his loweſt Commendations, aſcend, by ſix juſt Steps, or Degrees, till I have raiſed him above the Stars, and entered him among the celeſtial Spirits; to whom, Sir, you will then be tempted to offer up your Oraiſons, in the preſcribed Form, at the End of an old Manuſcript-Miſſal, communicated to me by a learned Antiquary, a great Collector of thoſe Rarities. The Form is this: 'Bleſſed 'Gout, moſt deſirable Gout, ſovereign Anti-'dote of murdering Maladies, powerful Cor-'rector of Intemperance, deign to viſit me with 'thy purging Fires, and throw off the tophous 'Injury, which I may have ſuffered by Wine 'and Wit, too hard for the Virtue of a Devotee 'upon a holy Feſtival; but fail not thy humble 'Supplicant, who needs thy friendly Help to 'keep his tottering Tenement in Order; fail 'him not, every vernal and autumnal Æquinox.'

I know, ſome preciſe Doctors are againſt all Invocation of Saints; at preſent I ſhall not diſpute with them; but they muſt grant me, That there is more to be ſaid in Juſtification of ſuch a Prayer to the Gout, than can be ſaid for the Offices directed to any other Saints, not excepting the Virgin. For I defy their Worſhipers to prove, that there has been the Tithe of ſo much Good done by them all, as, I ſhall prove, has been done by the beneficial Gout. I begin at the loweſt Step, and note,

Firſt, *The Gout gives a Man Pain without Danger.*

It is poſſible, I confeſs, that a ſick Man, if he were directly aſked to declare his Senſe of the Matter, might refuſe to acknowledge the Benefit of *Pain without Danger*, for Sickneſs and Peeviſhneſs commonly go together; but mind his Diſcourſe at another Time, when he talks from the Heart, and is not upon his Guard: Then, O then, *Pain without Danger is a bleſſed Thing.* For Inſtance, ———Suffering under a painful threatening Diſtemper, What is his firſt Queſtion to the Phyſician, but this? Doctor, pray be plain with me, and let me truly know what I am to expect, don't flatter a ſick Man, but tell me, am I like to recover, or no? That Pain, you ſee, which he ſuffers, does not at all trouble him, he is only afraid he ſhall die, ſecure him againſt that Danger, and all is well with him: Cut, flaſh, burn, no Pain is grievous, if it promiſe to ſet us out of the Danger of Death.

When the other Doctor comes, the Phyſician of the Soul I mean, whoſe Coming bodes no Good to the Body, he tells the Decumbent a long Story of the Pains and Miſery of Life, in order to make his *Nunc dimittis* go down the eaſier; but that Method ſeldom takes, for not one of a Hundred is ſo bad, but he is content to live, and put the reſt to the Venture. The Fear of Death is generally more grievous, than all the cruel Pains of a wretched Life. But, ſince we muſt have Pain while we live, give me the Pain of the Gout, which has no Danger attending. Here ſome malevolent Adverſary may importunately object, Did ever any Man die of the Gout? To this I anſwer, 1. I have not yet affirmed, That the Gout can make a Man immortal, though I will boldly ſay thus much, it very often keeps a Man alive till all his Friends are weary of him. But, 2. Should I venture to

* Our Lord the Pope has got the Gout.

ſay

ſay, that the Gout has in itſelf the Power to make a Man immortal; it ought not to ſeem ſo very ſtrange, all Things being conſidered. If that be true, which ſome Authors write of the noble *Paracelſus*, He had the Secret to make a Man immortal, and I will not ſay he lyed, though himſelf died about forty; for, perhaps, he did not like his Company; but it muſt have been by Way of his Diſcovery to give any Man the Gout when he pleaſed; in that I am poſitive. Here the Objector will ſcornfully put me in Mind, that gouty Perſons eſcape Death no more than other Men; which is very true, but that's becauſe Men are Fools, and don't know when they are ſafe; they muſt be curing the Gout, forſooth, and, to that End, they deal with the Doctor, *i. e.* with the Factor of Death, the Emiſſary of Hell, the Purveyor of the Grave, damned Alchymiſt, good at calcining nothing but living Bodies into Duſt and Aſhes. Let every one bear his own Burthen; the Gout has nothing to do with the Carnage of the Doctor. All, that can be rationally ſaid againſt the Gout, is, that it does not actually preſerve Man, in Spight of their own Folly, and the Doctor's Ignorance: And yet there is the Right Honourable Sir *R. H.* the Gout is ſo ſalutary to him, that two *Swiſs* Doctors can't diſpatch him; what would a certain Lord give, that thoſe two coagulating Spirits could remove his Honour's Gout; but, ſay I, *Gout, hold thy own*; for Earth has more Need of the Cripple, than Heaven of the Saint. And now, Sir, let me tell you a Story, the famous *Willis* ſhall be my Voucher, who diſſected the Body of the reverend, learned, and pious Doctor *Hammond*, killed purely by his Friend, who, unhappily, taught him a Medicine to cure the Gout; upon the Succeſs of that Medicine, the Doctor's old Nephritic Pains returned, and in a Fortnight diſpatched him.

Therefore, for your own, for your Lady's, and for your Childrens Sake, Sir, welcome the Gout to your Houſe, and ſhut all your Doors againſt the Phyſician, I'll warrant you for upwards a Hundred. Lord! how glad ſhall I be, to ſee them pick Chalk-ſtones out of your Worſhip's Feet, ſome forty or fifty Years hence; by that Time you will have learned ſo much Patience, as never to roar for the Matter. But if you do roar (for that may be then as you uſe yourſelf now) they that look on, if they have Life, will envy, not pity you: Indeed you are already a fit Object for the Envy of thinking Men, for I have heard you confeſs, that yours is an hereditary Gout, and that is for the better; an hereditary Gout is a far greater Happineſs than an acquired one; what a deal of Intemperance, and amorous Exceſſes, might it have coſt your Worſhip to have got the Gout before Forty, whereas now you have the mighty Bleſſing for nothing, *ſorte naſcendi*, it is your Birth-right, Sir, never think of parting with it.

Perhaps, you may be now tempted to aſk me, how I acquired my Gout? I ſhall not be ſhy to ſatisfy your Curioſity, for I came by it honeſtly: We Scholars have a Way, by ourſelves, to come at the Bleſſing, without ever being beholden to the God, that chears the genteel Candidate of the Gout by Day, or the Goddeſs that entertains him on Nights; we lead ſedentary Lives, feed heartily, drink *quantum ſufficit*, but ſleep immoderately; ſo that, the Superfluities of our ſober and grave Fulneſs not exhaling, we very honeſtly prepare tartarous Matter for the Gout, for the beneficial Gout, which gives us Pain without Danger. Aſcend we now the next Step, which advances the Honour of the Gout.

2. *The Gout is no conſtant Companion, but allows his Patients lucid joyous Intervals.*

Human Nature is ſo framed, that no one Thing is agreeable to it always; therefore it is well for us, that the World is ſo full of Changes; the Earth we tread on, the Seas we ſail on, the Air we breathe in, the ſtarry Firmament expanded round us, have their continual Viciſſitudes, which all make for our Advantage and Delight. The Body of Man is a true Microcoſm in this Reſpect, for it never continues in one Condition; and, upon the ſame Account, his Mind is a very fit Gueſt for his Body; for, at different Times, he thinks and ſpeaks different Things,

——*Modo Reges atque Tetrarchas,*
Omnia magna loquens, modo ſit mihi——

'Sometimes he'd talk, of Heroes, and of Kings,
'In mighty ſwelling Numbers, mighty Things;
'And then, again, let gracious Fortune give
'A little Meat and Drink enough to live;
'Let her a Coat to keep out Cold preſent,
'Altho' 'tis thick, and coarſe, he'll be content.
Mr. *Creech*.

How welcome is a Gueſt that knows when to be

be gone; but if his Stay be longer than ordinary, we are ready to thruſt him out of Doors. For theſe, and the like Conſiderations, the Way of the Gout's dealing with his Patients can never be enough eſteemed. Whatever ſome impatient weak Minds may think, it is manifeſt, that the Gout, by his Coming and Going, takes the right Courſe to be very agreeable and obliging. Weak People may curſe the Gout, and wiſh to be wholly excuſed from his intermitting Viſits; but I look upon ſuch People, as Men that are weary of the World, and, being willing to leave it, I grant, they have Reaſon to be angry with the Gout; with the Gout, that folds their Mortality ſo faſt about them.

Your Worſhip has been guilty of this Impatience, but I hope to recover you to a better Mind. I have already ſhewn you, that, to a wiſe Conſiderer, the Abſence of Danger takes off from the Pain of the Gout; but ſome Pain there is, and ought to be, for conſtant Health has no Reliſh, it is an inſipid dull Thing: That reverend *Calviniſt*, Dr. *Twiſs*, affirms, That it is better to be damned, than annihilated. I might, I ſuppoſe, with leſs Offence, affirm, that it were better to be dead, than never to be ſick of the Gout; nay, this I am ſure of, that all the ſober and experienced People will be ſo far from taking Offence, that I ſhall have them on my Side, if I venture on that Paradox; for, how often have I heard a grave Adviſer, one that had tried Health and Sickneſs, alternately, for many Years, tell the robuſt, young, riotous Fellow, that he knew not the Value of Health. No, how ſhould he, having never been ſick? But why ſhould his ſober Adviſer preſs him to be careful of his Health? That is the Way never to underſtand the Deliciouſneſs of it; by that Time he gets the Gout, he will thoroughly underſtand the Matter, I'll warrant him. Set me two Men together, one that never knew Pain, and another newly recovered of the Gout; obſerve them both narrowly; in the former, perhaps, you may perceive an eaſy, even Temper; but the latter is raviſhed with Joys and Satisfactions, which, if his Tongue does not declare, his Hands, and Feet, and Geſture ſhall.

Homer ſays, that the Beauty of *Helen* was a Prize, worth all the Blood ſpilt through the long Courſe of the ten Years War. *Homer* would not have redeemed thoſe Lives by the leaſt Injury to that adorable Lady: Such are the lucid Intervals between Heart-breaking Fits of the Gout, worth all the Ravings, and Roarings, which the violent Paroxyſm forces from the tortured Patient; and who would ſpoil the refined Pleaſure of his Recovery, by wiſhing to have one angry Throb, one heavy Groan abated him? *Si parvis componere magna liceret*, if we might compare great Things with ſmall, the Gout is to Health, as Ham, and Tongue, to Wine, or rather, as Ζώη καὶ Ψύχη, to the Lovers Congreſs. Courage, Sir, and be adviſed by me, it is good Advice I am giving, and you ſhall have it *Gratis*. When your Foot ſwells, and burns, and throbs, baniſh all fooliſh Sorrow and Repining, inſtead whereof, let ſwelling Joys dilate your generous Breaſt; when ſharp, fermenting Juices, not eaſily miſcible, ſhall meet, and, by their furious Conteſt, cauſe cruel Twitchings of your nervous Fibres, comfort your Heart, and be extremely pleaſed; when maſculine, acetous Recrements ſhall, with female, tartarous Matter, mix, ingender, and beget a tophous Maſs; when that ſame tophous Maſs ſhall lodge in the *Internodia* of your Worſhip's Bones, entertaining you with a rending Solution of Continuity, then let your Soul triumph; but touch not, taſte not, the *Crumen-Emulgent* Doctor's Emulſions, Juleps, Apozemes, nor let his Repercuſſives, or Reſolvents, Cataplaſms, and Anodynes touch you; ſo let your Friend, the Gout, take his Courſe, and maul you ſoundly. O! ſo eaſy, ſo pleaſed, ſo joyous, ſo happy, ſo bleſſed will you be, when the Turn of Health ſhall come; why, Sir, you will be in Heaven, in Heaven while you are on Earth; you will be intirely beatified on this Side the Grave, and that is more than *Solomon* has arrived at yet (if you can give any Credit to a Catholick Painter) for but one Half of him is glorified, the other fries in Flames, vexed by tormenting Devils, like the Noble *Shaftſbury* in *Windſor-hall*; beſhrew the Painter for——his Pains, *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri*. Learn of our common Enemy; Sir, I fancy, the late Tyrant ſolaces his Exile, with the Expectation of a Return to trample on the Liberties, and riot in the Blood of *Hereticks*; but, before ever that diſmal Day come, may the Gout, my Life's kind Preſerver, and my dear Life itſelf forſake me; only I will make it in my Bargain, I will not ſtand to this Wiſh, if my Help can contribute any Thing to oppoſe this Invaſion. I am much of the Mind, Sir, that, by what I have ſaid already, you are a coming Proſelyte; but, before I have done with you, you ſhall chuſe to part with your Eyes, rather than your true Friend,

the Gout. The mighty Bleſſing whereof, that you may the better underſtand, mount with me one Step higher, and then take Notice of this farther Advantage of the Gout.

3. *The Gout preſents you with a perpetual Almanack*; and that it may never be out of the Way, but ready always for your Worſhip's Uſe, ſafely depoſits it in the *Internodia* of your Bones. *Barometers*, *Thermometers*, and other the Inventions of Men, not yet perfect Maſters of their Art, ſerve more for the Delight, than the Uſe of the Curious; but the uſeful Pains of the Gout give your Honour truſty Prognoſticks of the Seaſons. As often as a moiſt Conſtitution of the Year, *South* or *North* Winds, or Snows are at Hand, you predict thoſe Things from the Acceſſes of your Pains; and by the Abſence of your Pains you foreknow the Contrary; ſo, one Way or other, your *Bone-Almanack* ſerves for all Changes.

Our *Lilly*'s and *Gadbury*'s foreknow, when it ſhall be Rain-like, or Snow-like, but what your Honour foreknows, by Means of the Gout, does afterwards actually come to paſs. Doctor *Goad* knew more of the Stars, and their Poſitions than you, but not half ſo much of their Influence. *Spinoza* will have it, that, when a *Jewiſh* Prophet foretold any Thing, he gave a Sign, a preſent Sign, which was a Confirmation of his Prophecy; you have the Sign within you, Sir, and are a true Prophet all over.

Majora animalia diutius viſceribus Parentum continentur, ſays *Pliny*. Nature gives to larger-ſized Animals a longer Stay in the Womb of their Mother; their mighty Limbs, and vaſt Frame of Body, are not ſo ſoon faſhioned and perfected, as is the compendious Texture of leſſer Animals: So it is with the moſt noble Arts and Sciences, with the moſt uſeful Inventions, when firſt brought to Light; every Man is taken up with unactive Extaſy, and lazy Admiration, greatly pleaſed to be taught, and let into Myſtery, and as well content to know no more than is taught him; Time paſſes ſilently on, and Ages ſteal away, before there ſtarts up a ſtudious inquiſitive Perſon, who bends his Wit to improve the Diſcoveries of his Anceſtors, and raiſe them to their juſt Perfection.

Now of this Obſervation, I am of the Mind, there is not again in Nature ſo clear an Inſtance as the Gout affords us. The Gout, at firſt, paſſed for no other but an evil Spirit, which an exorciſing Prieſt attacked with Charms, before ever the Phyſician fell foul upon him with poiſonous *Recipe's*. The Phyſician, purely to force a Trade, impoſed upon the People, that the Gout was a Diſeaſe; having cheated them with this falſe Opinion, he plagued them with real Tortures, all which he was pleaſed to chriſten by the general Name of *Therapeutick Method*, in which his barbarous Executions thus follow one another. Firſt *Phlebotomy*, then *Cathartick*s, *Emeticks*, *Hypnoticks*, the——— and all; and, while the Inſide of the poor Patient is thus miſerably racked and confounded, he dawbs the Outſide with Anodyne Applications, Unguents, and Cataplaſms; and, when all is done, I will give them my Body to practiſe on (though I had rather the Executioner had it to diſpatch outright) if plain Cathartick-Gruel, and the Cataplaſm of a freſh Cow-turd, do not work greater Wonders, than any Thing they can pretend to. From *Germany*, nay, from beyond the *Alps*, they come, with hard Names, Exotick Cant, and baneful Poiſon, to allay the Paroxyſm and remove the *Procatarxis* of the Gout; but, God be thanked, their Practice decays, and muſt do more and more every Day, now that it is ſo plainly diſcovered, that the Gout needs no Remedy, not being, in Truth and proper Speaking, a Diſeaſe, but a Sovereign Antidote, againſt the moſt dangerous Diſeaſes; and therefore People of the beſt Senſe are content to let it take its Courſe; and not only ſo, but they are proud to publiſh the Satisfaction they take, in one or other Advantage, which the Gout affords them. For Inſtance, as to the Foreknowledge of Weather: The Gout never twitches their Nerves, but they will be telling others what Changes are towards. Now, that which I propoſe is this, that People ſhould not think it enough to know thus much of the Gout, but ſtudy to improve and increaſe their Knowledge; for, no Doubt, more may be made of this Bleſſing, than ever yet was done by the happy Man that has enjoyed it longeſt. I am perſuaded, that if the fortunate Patient would be at the Pains to obſerve all the Motions of the Gout, in his pinching, ſmarting, gauling Acceſſes; in his gnawing, ſtabbing, burning Paroxyſms; in his evacuating, tender, remitting Receſſes, he might quickly come to wind a Storm, ſo long before, that, in a ſhort Time, no Owners would think their Ship ſafe, but with a gouty Maſter, nor would any experienced Seaman, that wanted a Ship, offer himſelf to the Merchants, but upon Crutches. Poſſibly here ſome nice Perſon

ſon may object, That it is a ſad Thing to be a Cripple; I reply, in Lameneſs two Things are to be conſidered, the unſightly Gate, and the afflicting Pain. *As to the unſightly Gate*, ſet the *Italian* Proverb againſt it:

He knows not Venus *in her perfect Sweetneſs,*
Who has never lain with a lame Miſtreſs;

And *Montaigne* tells us, that the ſame is ſaid of Men, as well as Women; for the Queen of *Amazons* anſwered the perſonable *Scythian*, who courted her to Love, ἄρτα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ, Lame Men make the beſt Gallants. In that Female Republick, to prevent the Dominion of the Males, they lamed them Arms and Legs in their Infancy, believing that they would be rather the better, for the Uſe which they ſhould make of them thereafter. *Montaigne* gives a Philoſophical Reaſon for the Advantage accruing by Lameneſs, either to Men or Women, *viz.* The Legs and Thighs not receiving their due Aliment, it falls out, that the Genital Parts above are the fuller, better ſupplied, and more vigorous.

2. *As to the Pain proceeding from Lameneſs*, I will not, to diminiſh that, tell the Objector a long Story from the Reaſonings of *Ariſtotle*, or the Practice of *Cato*; but only pray him to conſider the lower Sort of People, who know little of Example, and mind as little of Precept; Nature is their Guide, and this their familiar Practice; they call the Phthiſick, ſays *Montaigne*, a Cough; the Bloody Flux is no more with them than a Looſeneſs; a Pleuriſy, but a Stitch in the Side; and as they ſoftly name, ſo they patiently endure theſe Grievances.

If the mercenary Adverſaries of the Gout, the Doctors, have any other Objections againſt a *Bone-Almanack*, beſides what I have anſwered, let them be publiſhed; I will fairly and fully anſwer them alſo, or renounce my Reverence for the Gout.

O! That I had an infallible Medicine, which would both certainly and ſpeedily cauſe the Gout (Wine and Women are tedious and uncertain Ways of purchaſing the mighty Bleſſing) I would not doubt but to make more of it, than ever *Daffy* did of his *Elixir*, or any ſtrolling *Mountebank* of his *Noſtrum*. The Fair for *Ridd*'s Almanack, *Partridge*'s Almanack, *Al—ch*'s Almanack, laſts but one Month in the Year; but I might vend *Gout-Almanacks*, and *Bone-Almanacks*, all the Year round. Here I ſuſpect, that the malevolent Doctors, that get their Living by their miſchievous Craft in Practiſing on the Gout, will object, That all, which I have hitherto urged in its Commendations, has a very great Allay; for, though it is not dangerous, yet it is painful; though the Patient has lucid Intervals, yet he has violent Paroxyſms; though he be a Prophet, yet the Spirit, which inſpires, rends him. But of theſe Objectors I would fain know, whether holy precious *Enthuſiaſm* be not a furious ungovernable Impulſe; whether lucid Intervals are not more eligible than a conſtant, weak, and ſullen Light; whether Pain, without Danger, is not better than Eaſe without Security? I am of Opinion, that our Compoſitions are no more able to endure pure and unmixt Felicities, than *Semele*, the half-gone Mother of *Bacchus*, to abide the warm Congreſs of the *Olympick Jove*, circled with all his Glories. Yet, to ſilence Envy itſelf, the next Step we aſcend, we ſhall ſee the Gout dealing to his Patients a Benefit, ſo wonderous, refined, pleaſant, and uſeful, that he muſt be a very dull Creature, that can ſeriouſly think on this, and not paſſionately wiſh, deliberately conſider it, and not heartily labour, by all honeſt Ways and Means, to deſerve the Gout.

4. *Gouty Perſons are moſt free from the Headach*; the Reaſon of which is this:

— The heavy Recrements of the Blood and nervous Juice always fall downward to the gouty Joints. The Nerves of the Head, the Fibres and the Membranes, whereof there are many placed above and under the Skull; the two *Meninges*, the Tunicles of the Nerves, the *Pericranium*, and other *Perioſtia*, the Muſcles, the *Panniculus Carnoſus*, and laſtly, the Skin itſelf, are all freed from a World of Torment by Means of the Medicinal Gout, which attracts to exterior remote Parts vicious Humours of various Denominations, and there ſets them on Fire, waſtes and evacuates them. Perſons much favoured by the Gout, upon every long Abſence of that beſt Friend of theirs (whether occaſioned by unknown Accidents, or unwiſe Recourſe to the miſchievous Tampering of a wicked Doctor) exchange their Freedom from the Gout, for Pain more intenſe and dangerous; but, of all other Pains, they are extremely ſubject to the Headach; ſomething of a Cloud, more or leſs, always hangs over their Brain; but as ſoon as ever the Gout pleaſes (forgiving their Ingratitude) to reviſit them, preſently the Weather breaks up, the Nerves are relaxed,

the Fibres unmoleſted, the Membranes and Muſcles recover their right Tone; while the inimicous conteſting Particles, thrown off from boiling Blood, and turgid nervous Juice, fall down to the remote Parts of the Body; and then the Underſtanding grows clear, the Thoughts briſk and active; and the Patient is fitted, whatever his Station and Employment is in the World, to do the Duty thereof better than ever. I have been told of ſeveral Sea-Captains (and I have Reaſon to believe the Relator) who, during a Fit of the Gout, happening to meet the Enemy, beſtirred themſelves with a Vigour that forgot their Pain, and gave their Order with a ſteddier Preſence of Mind, than ever they were Maſters of before. I have the Honour to be known to a Perſon of Quality, who has obliged the Age with ſeveral inſtructive Pieces, who never publiſhed a ſorry Trifle, nor ever any Thing ſo abſolutely perfect, uſeful, and entertaining, as when he lay under a Courſe the Gout. Then would he dictate like an Angel, or, which is much the ſame, a Man inſpired, to his raviſhed *Amanuenſis*. That *Amanuenſis* of his has told me, though he loved his Maſter very well, yet he was always ſorry for his Recovery; for then his Strength failed him, and he was no more than another Writer, I mean a Writer of the firſt Rate though. I know nothing that a Man, when he enjoys the Gout, is unfit for, but Jumping, Running of Races, or Foot-ball. The *Amazons*, if they be not belied, coveted to admit Strangers, *fidgrante Paroxyſmo*: Had *Montaigne* ever met with the MS. whence I have the Notice, he would have given us a Philoſophical Reaſon for it. The Gout being thus beneficial, I bleſs myſelf to think, that any Patient ſhould be ſo much his own Enemy, as to be weary of it; any Doctor ſo much an Enemy to Mankind, as to offer at the Cure; but cure it they cannot, whatever they pretend, unleſs they kill the Patient. For my Part, I know no Difference in the Earth between a Doctor of Phyſick and a Tinker, ſave that the Doctor has more of the Tinker, the Tinker more of the Doctor in him: For, the Tinker effectually ſtops that particular Hole which he is hired to ſtop, tho' he makes two or three for it; but the Doctor does but diſturb the Gout, which he undertakes to cure; and, when the vicious Humours of the Body are not ſuffered to have their Courſe to the exterior remote Parts, there to be ſacrificed on the *Internodial* Altars of the Gout, they revert with Fury and Indignation, dangerouſly aſſault the Vitals, diffuſe their Venom over all the *Viſcera*, corrupt the Stomach, but more eſpecially affect the Head, with violent Pains, which are often followed by dangerous Swooning, a *Vertigo*, a Failing of Memory; nay, and ſometimes a downright *Delirium*. Thus Phyſicians cure their Patients of the Gout! Then doubly bleſſed are the Poor and Needy, who, when they have the Gout, and do not underſtand their own Happineſs, cannot be at the Charge to get rid of it, by a Cure of the Doctors. Nay, beſide the miſchievous Conſequences of their Meddling, their very Meddling itſelf, is a ſorer Pain, than the Gout, a thouſand Times: ſo that Man's Intellectuals muſt not be right, who would not wiſh to have his Head-ach cured by the Gout, rather than by the Doctors Methods, *i. e.* by being purged and blooded, cupped and fluxed, ſtifled with Spirit of Hartſhorn and Soot, drenched with Cephalick Juleps and Waters — Cold as thoſe that extinguiſhed the Vital Heat of that renowned thrice illuſtrious Heroe, hight old *Simon* the King. The Gout is a Specifick, a ſingle, proper, and effectual Remedy for the Head-ach; by a ſtrong Revulſion it attracts morbifick Matter from the nobler Parts, and, ever while you live, ſay I, keep Pain from your Head, and Sorrow from your Heart. The honeſt old Beldame made Sport for her Neighbours, when ſhe applied the Clyſter to her Forehead, the Part affected: Again, when her Neighbours turned up her Blind-ſide, and plaid her Pipe at her Virgin Avenue, that was a Jeſt to her: *Marry Gap*, quoth ſhe, *it is the Upper End that akes, and you give Phyſick to the Lower*; but the Clyſter was a good Remedy for the Head-ach, tho' planted at a Diſtance, and ſo the Gout. How neceſſary a Friend to the Head the Medicinal Gout is, keeping it eaſy, clean, and free from all morbifick Matter which diſturbs the Brain, we might partly gueſs, from the ſubtle Obſervation of the famous *Confucius* upon gouty Perſons, which is communicated to us, by one of the chaſteſt Hiſtorians among the veracious Emiſſaries (for the *Chineſe* are bleſſed with the Gout, as well as the *Europeans*:) It is poſſible, ſaid the wiſe *Mandarin*, for a lame, gouty Perſon to be a Knave, even in our own Country have I known ſome ſuch; but who ever knew a gouty Cripple that was a Fool? In a Book of that great Maſter of Morals and Politicks, preſented by a *Mandarin* of *Confu-*

cius's

cius's own Race, to a learned Jeſuit, who has inriched the King of *France*'s Library with it, (but, I ſuppoſe, the Book was there repoſited, ſince a certain Perſon finiſhed his Travels:) These farther Remarks are delivered, Natural Fools never acquire the Gout, the Sons of gouty Perſons are defended from Dulneſs and Folly by the Sins of their Parents; or, if in their Minority, their Underſtandings happen to lie a little backward, they ſhall no ſooner enter on their gouty Inheritance, but a bright Illumination brings the ſame forwards: Whatever a Man's natural Powers are, they are ſo improved by the Gout, ſo refined, ſo heightened in the Paroxyſm, that I am almoſt tempted to call it a Sort of a Natural Inſpiration. *Facile eſt inventis addere*, what the noble *Confucius* has admirably well obſerved of the Gout, *viz.* *That it is a perfect Deletory of Folly*, prompts me to think, that it would be worth Inquiry, whether the Gout is not as effectual againſt Madneſs; and we may reaſonably believe that it is ſo, if, upon Examination it ſhould be found, that that there are no gouty People in *Bedlam*; and then for the Recovery of thoſe poor Creatures to their Wits, again, it will not need much Conſideration, whether they ought not to be excuſed the hard Blows which their barbarous Keepers deal them; and the Therapeutick Method of Purging, Bleeding, Cupping, Fluxing, Vomiting, Clyſtering, Juleps, Apozemes, Powders, Confections, Epithemes, and Cataplaſms, with which the more barbarous Doctors torment them; and, inſtead of their learned Torture, indulged, for a Time only, a littleIntemperance, as to Wine, or Women, or ſo; or the Scholar's Delight of feeding worthily, and ſleeping heartily, whereby they might get the Gout, and then their Madneſs were cured.

Many and great are the Advantages which accrue to mortal Men from the Gout, as cannot but ſufficiently appear to your Worſhip from what I have, in running Haſte, obſerved; but far more numerous, and unconceivably vaſt, are the Improvements, which a Man, worthy of the Gout, and ſenſible of his Happineſs, might, with attentive Care and ſedulous Obſervance, make. Yet I ſhall not inſiſt on conjectural Topicks to do Juſtice to ſo effectual a Promoter of the Safety of human Life; but proceed on thoſe Benefits, which are the Objects of Senſe; ſo that, if there be any Perſon, that ſhall think, or ſpeak ill of the Gout, he muſt be one, that does not deſire, or deſerve to live.

It is a lofty Height to which I have advanced your Worſhip; four ſteep Aſcents you have already climbed, but the Honour of the Gout

——— *Caput inter nubila condit.*

Can your Head bear to mount a Fifth? But, why do I ask that Queſtion? The Gout itſelf will enable you.

5. *The Gout preſerves its Patients from the great Danger of Fevers.*

Gouty Perſons, by Reaſon of a fixed Dyſcraſy of the Blood, are not obnoxious to Fevers; as they live free from the dreadful Pains of the Head-ach, ſo, likewiſe, from the ſcorching Heat of Fevers. Every one knows, that a Fever is a diſorderly Motion, or Over-boiling of the Blood, which ſeldom, or never, happens to gouty Perſons; becauſe the malignant Recrements of the Blood and nervous Juice, which occaſion Fevers, are continually depoſited in the Joints of gouty Perſons, are there impriſoned, watered, and conſumed by the purging, healing, cleanſing, ſanative Fire of the burning Gout. There is a natural Motion and Heat in the Blood, depending, partly, on its proper *Craſis* and Conſtitution (for, being compoſed of Spirit, Salt, and Sulphur, Principles vigorous and active, it ſpontaneouſly grows turgid and tumultuous, like generous Wine in narrow Veſſel pent;) and, partly, to the Ferment implanted in the Heart, which rarefies the Liquor paſſing through its Channels, and forces it to riſe with Effervescence frothy. The preternatural Ebullition of the Blood is raiſed, either by ſome extraneous, heterogeneous Mixture, or from the immoderate Exaltation of its own natural Spirit or Sulphur; which, when it happens, preſently a high and quick Pulſe follows; the Blood, like a ſulphurous Liquor, taking Fire, diffuſes its burning Heat all over the Body.

The vaſt *Sicilian Chaſms*, which vomit flaming Heaps of Matter ſulphurous and combuſtible, what are they, but Nature's Emblems of a burning, fiery Fever? And, when the Poets fable, that haughty *Typhœus*, big *Eryx*, and bald *Enceladus*, deep buried in the Earth by angry *Jupiter*, belch out thoſe Fires, which waſte the Country, and fright the Inhabitants, what meaned they to denote, but the

Reſtleſneſs

Reſtleſneſs of ſtrenuous Heroes (for Want of the Gout to withdraw the feveriſh Fewel) frying in Flames mercileſs and deſtructive?

Methinks, I pity the Young and Healthy, whoſe Blood flows temperately, and never knew Diſorder; I pity them, I ſay, not for their preſent Eaſe, but becauſe of their imminent Danger. For, when a Royal Sun of *France* blazes, and periſhes in Flames painted by a brave *Ruſſel*'s maſterly Hand; when a vanquiſhed Admiral ſhifts off in Boat inglorious, a King of equal Valour, from a ſafe Station, all the While beholding the *Monſieur*'s prudent Care to preſerve a great Commander; when a haughty *Mareſchal* is beat out of the ſtrongeſt Bulwark, that fenced his Maſter's treacherous Rapine; and, to induce that Maſter of his for once to keep the Cartel, can, in Spight of all his Bluſtering, part with his Sword: When Rebel Invaders are diſappointed, and execrable Aſſaſſines puniſhed; on ſuch tempting Occaſions as theſe, who can forbear a rightful, lawful, and brimful Glaſs? Yet, on ſo ſolemn a Feſtival, if the Healthy gives Nature but a Fillip, it may, perchance, throw him into a Fever, and that Fever, perchance, coſt him his Life; whereas the Man, that is obnoxious to the Gout, chearfully ventures the Duty of the Day, well knowing, that, when the worſt comes to the worſt, it is but Roaring in Purgatory ſome forty Days, or ſo; and, by that Time the Gout has waſted and cleanſed off the tartarous Recrements of undigeſted *Falern*, who knows, but good News may come, to make another Holy-day?

Purgatory, which cleanſes the Souls of the Departed from their Filth, which ſets them out of the Danger of the Lake, and renders them (like burnt Tobacco-pipes) clean and pure, and fit for Paradiſe, is a true Picture of the Fire of the Gout, which ſpends the morbifick Matter, that might otherwiſe throw the Body into a helliſh Fever. Indeed, *Infidels* and *Hereticks* may object, and ſay, That, perhaps, Purgatory is but a falſe Story; but no Matter for that; for grave Authors teach, That a falſe Story may be a true Picture, and ſerve to illuſtrate as neceſſary a Doctrine as that of Purgatory; but in this I am poſitive, that neither a falſe Story, nor a true one, can illuſtrate a more infallible Maxim than this, That the purging Fires of the Gout withdraw the Fewel from the deſtructive Fires of burning Fevers.

Thoſe learned and worthy Authors, that write of Devils and Spirits, and know the Natures and Orders of them as perfectly as Heart can wiſh, tell us, that there be two ſorts of them, *White* and *Black*, *Good* and *Bad*: So is it certainly with Diſeaſes. The Gout, if it be lawful to call it a Diſeaſe, is a good and uſeful Diſeaſe, a *white* Devil; the Fever, a bad, hurtful Diſeaſe, a *black* Devil, the Devil of a Diſeaſe, or a Diſeaſe that is the Devil; whom if ever the Phyſician caſts out, I will ſwear, it is by Compact: Whereas the Gout is an honeſt Febrifuge, the Operations thereof natural and intelligible; ſomething painful indeed, but there is no Magick in them. By the Way, if the Phyſician cures, or caſts out *black* Diſeaſes, or Devils, by Compact with *black* Devils, may it not be ſaid to be a double Wickedneſs? For I took it to be the *Roman* Prieſts ungodly Office, with rumbling Exorciſms, to eject them; but this is the Fault alſo of other Dealers; there is nothing more common, among them, than to incroach on one another's Trade: Could Tyrants inflict Fevers, they would never make Uſe of Rack or Gibbet, Ax, or unjuſt Judge, unleſs the Object of their Fate were an honeſt gouty Fellow; for the Gout would ſoften the feveriſh Infliction, as the Popiſh Printer did his Father Confeſſor's Penance, when he boiled the Peaſe, which he was required to put in his Shoes, before he took his Walk. There is not, certainly, a ſeverer Torment than a burning Fever, nor a more ſovereign Antidote than the medicinal Gout; ſo that it is a Truth clear as the Sun, if more People had the Gout, fewer would die of a Fever. Having placed theſe Things in ſo clear a Light, I am ſtrongly perſuaded, that not your Worſhip only, but the Generality of the Age will ſet their Prejudices aſide, and yield to the happy Force of the many uſeful Truths, which, by the bright Illumination of a violent Gout-Paroxyſm, I have here diſcovered; ſo that, hereafter, inſtead of the old parting Compliments, —— *Save you, Sir*; *God keep you in good Health*, I queſtion not but we ſhall ſay, —— *The Gout defend you, Sir*; *God give you the Gout*; for we ought not to hope for a Bleſſing without the Means. To wiſh a Man the Gout is to wiſh him that, which withdraws Fewel from Diſeaſes, and preſerves Life at ſo cheap a Rate; it coſts a Man not a Penny more than Patience.

It has been the Opinion of ſome Writers, that

that none can be ſaved, who die of the Plague; but, in judging of the future State of others, I think it beſt to venture being miſtaken on the charitable Side; and therefore, I would ſooner believe, that none can be damned, who have the Gout; and, I muſt tell your Worſhip, that I have known a leſs probable Sign of Salvation given by a Diſſenting *Rabbi*, to his Hearers.

When *Mercury*, by the mighty Power of a Verſe, borrowed from that great Architect *Homer*, heaved up the aſpiring Mountain *Pelion*, and piled it intire on Heaven-ſhouldering *Oſſa*, and then helped *Charon*, up to the Top; the poor old Ferry-man complained, that the Diſtance from the Earth was ſo great, that he could not ſee what was done there: I am much afraid, Sir, that this uppermoſt Step of Aſcent, on which I am going to ſeat your Worſhip, that you may have a full View of the amazing Excellence of the Medicinal, Uſeful, Health-reſtoring, Soul-enlivening Gout, will place you at ſuch a vaſt Diſtance above terrene Things and Notions, that you will not be able to diſcern the true Proportion of that Benefit, which crowns the Honour of the Gout; at leaſt, not ſo plainly as I could wiſh.

6. To crown the Honour of the Gout, *It is not to be cured.*

The Gout defies all your groſs *Galenical* Methods, and all your exalted Chymical Preparations; for the conjunct Cauſes thereof (as the learned *Willis* confeſſes) lie in Parts ſo very remote, that the Vertues of no Medicines can reach them; and, Heaven be praiſed for it, for why, Sir, would you *cure* (as you call it) the Gout, which gives you Pain without Danger, a better Taſte of Health, by an Acquaintance with Pain, a Knowledge of future Things, Freedom from the Head-ach, and from Fevers?

Bleſs us! That any Man ſhould wiſh to be rid of the Gout, for Want of which he may become obnoxious to Fevers, and Head-ach, be blinded in his Underſtanding, loſe the Taſte of his Health, and the Security of his Life. I hope you and I, dear Sir, ſhall be better adviſed, and to ſhew that we are ſo, and at the ſame Time, to ſet the World a good Example, I hope we ſhall neither of us ever tamper with the Doctor for the Cure of the Gout, which really and truly is incurable, unleſs the Patient be to be killed; which is what the Doctor's Medicines aims at, perhaps not what he directly aims at himſelf: For his Heart is chiefly upon his Fee; his Prayers, that his Patient may neither die, nor recover; at leaſt not die, while he is worth a Penny; but, when his laſt Penny is ſpent, then the miſerable Creature is forſaken, like the poor Woman in the Goſpel, and may periſh for all him, unleſs Heaven has a Miracle in Store for a poor Sinner, that has been tormented by a naſty D——, before his Time. But, leſt I ſhould be thought, in Vindication of the Honour of the Gout, too ſevere againſt the Pretenders to cure it, I ſhall argue againſt them, from their own Confeſſions: We may ſay of every Medicaſter, whether a College, or a Stage-Doctor, *habemus confitentem reum*; the whole Clan of them are Homicides, by their own Confeſſion. Other wicked People put on the Guiſe of Honeſty, for the better perpetrating their Crimes; but Phyſicians own the Roguery of their Art; indeed, to ſave themſelves from publick Infamy, they give this ſoftening turn to their ſcandalous Cauſe. The Principles of their Art, they ſay, are difficult to be underſtood, and, uncertain to be relied on; and, then, alſo the Temperament of the Body, on which they practiſe, can be but gueſſed at; ſo that the Succeſs of the moſt learned Practitioner can be but caſual. Now, that, after this, theſe Men ſhould be entertained, and ſo general Admittance, given to their Practice, does evidently prove, that the Generality of Men, when they loſe their Health, loſe their Wits together with it. I will allow, that it were reaſonable for a ſick Man liberally to part with his Guinea's for his Health, if the Doctors, that have their Money in Hand, were ſure of reſtoring Health, or upon Failure would refund; but, to pay down ready Money for a Lottery-Chance, where it is great Odds, but the Adventurer increaſes his Malady, and haſtens his Death! I, for my Part, declare againſt it, and am perſuaded, that, no one, who conſiders rightly, but would keep his Money, and bear his Burthen. A ſpare and eaſy Diet ſhall be always my Phyſick, and I will leave it to Nature, to do her own Work. But let us come to ſome more particular Acknowledgements of theſe deadly Enemies of Mankind.

Galen, that is ſtill revered as a God by modern Practitioners, acknowledges it impoſſible to find out a Medicine that ſhall do any great Good one Way, and not do as much Hurt another. The learned Dr. *Hammond* fatally experienced the Truth of this Acknowledgment; the Medicine, which was preſcribed him to cure the Gout,

Gout, moved the Gravel from his Kidnies, which, being too big to paſs the Ureters, choaked the Channel, and deprived him of his Life that Way. *Cornelius Agrippa* tells us of one *Raſis*, a Phyſician of Note, who, conſidering the fooliſh Credulity of Patients, and the contentious Ignorance of Profeſſors in Phyſick, adviſed, that never above one Doctor ſhould be made Uſe of at a Time, giving this Reaſon, becauſe the Miſtake of a ſingle Man was leſs dangerous: And I would adviſe never to uſe any; for, as the Miſtake of one Man is leſs dangerous than of a Conſult of them, ſo the having nothing to do with any one, is leſs dangerous than the Miſtake of one; for Nature can commit no Miſtake, but if not loaded with Luxury, nor diſturbed with Phyſick, will vigorouſly ſtrive to throw off every noxious Diſeaſe. Such the Gout is not, for Nature, throwing off morbifick Matter to the remoter Parts of the Body, does deſignedly beget the Gout, and make Uſe of that admirable Remedy, to cure Diſeaſes already gotten, and to prevent others. But it is not mere Reaſon which I rely upon, when I adviſe Men to truſt Nature alone for their Recovery, and never go to a Phyſician, I have the greateſt Authority to ſupport my Advice. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 12. *Aſa*, in the 39th Year of his Reign, was diſeaſed in his Feet (as I am now, which hinders me from running to my Commentators) but I remember the Phraſe of the Septuagint is, ἠμαλακίσθη τὰς πόδας, his Feet were ſoft and tender, (ſwelled with the Gout, that muſt be the Meaning) until his Diſeaſe (Gout) was exceeding great, yet in his Diſeaſe (ἐν τῇ μαλακίᾳ αὐτοῦ, in the extreme Softneſs and Tenderneſs of his Gout) he ſought not to the Lord, but to the Phyſician. I do not ſee how our Doctors of Phyſick can evade the Force of this Text, in Defence of their Profeſſion; for it is a very weak and precarious Reply, which they make, when they tell us, That *Aſa* is blamed, not directly for Seeking to the Phyſicians, but not for Truſting in the Lord when he ſought to them. Now, I will grant theſe Gentlemen, that it is the Duty of Patients to truſt in the Lord, when they ſeek to the Phyſicians; nay, it is their Duty to truſt in the Lord, then, above any other Time; for then they run themſelves into thoſe Hazards, that, if the Lord does not help them, 'tis Odds but they miſcarry. But I would have theſe Phyſicians, who make but ſorry Interpreters of Scripture, to conſider, that the Text ſets Seeking the Lord, and Seeking the Phyſician, in Oppoſition to one another; plainly enough implying, that the former was his Duty, the latter his Fault. But our Phyſicians, it ſeems, would have the Sick ſeek to the Lord, and them both; as if the Lord could not do his own Work without them. *Odi profanum Genus.*——Hence, Sir, it is plain to me, that they are an Order of Men, that care not much what they ſay, or do, to uphold their own Honour, and keep their ungodly Trade a-going: But therefore I would wiſh all unhealthy People, who have bought their Miſery of the Profeſſors; and all honeſt Gentlemen, who are preſerved by the ſalutary Gout in the Land of the Living, to prefer a Bill in Parliament againſt this deſtructive Order of Men, that, by a ſtrong *Cathartic* Act, they may be purged out of his Majeſty's Dominions; I will engage, that there's never a Family in the Nation, but ſhall, by this Means, beſides their Health, ſave their Taxes, ſo that a vigorous War may be continued againſt *France*, till the *Monſieur* is not worth a Livre, and no Body with us ever the poorer. For ſuch an uſeful Decree, we are not without a Precedent in Hiſtory. The wiſe *Romans*, under *Marcus Porcius Cato*, baniſhed Phyſicians, not only from *Rome*, but alſo from *Italy*, which Council, it may be reaſonably thought, contributed not a little to the Increaſe of their People; for, as where the moſt Lawyers are, there are the moſt Quarrels and Contentions; ſo, where the moſt Phyſicians, there the moſt Funerals; and ſome ſay, where the moſt Divines, there the moſt Differences about Religion; but that is not the Fault of the Divines; for, if the Magiſtrate would let the ſtrongeſt Party alone, they would force all the reſt to be of their Opinion. But I am afraid I forget myſelf in too long a Digreſſion; what I ought chiefly to inſiſt on, is, the ſuperlative Excellence of the Gout, which is never to be removed. The Fear of loſing a Bleſſing takes off from the Pleaſure of enjoying it. Thieves may plunder your Houſe, Age will ruin your Beauty, Envy may aſperſe your Reputation, Bribes corrupt your Faith, but the Gout is a ſure Inheritance; neither Thieves, nor Knaves; neither Time, nor Envy, nor any Thing elſe, can deſpoil you of it. A Man may, himſelf, if he has a Mind to it, ſquander his Eſtate, blemiſh his comely Form, injure his Fame, and renounce his Honeſty; but let him get rid of the Gout if he can; that Bleſſing we may take Comfort in, being ſecure that it is for his Life. They ſay, there is more Care and Trouble

Trouble in keeping an Eſtate, than getting it; as for the Gout, there may be ſome Trouble in getting it, tho' that is mixed with Pleaſure too, but no Man is put to the leaſt Care or Trouble for the Uſe Keeping of the Gout; he may endure Miſery enough, indeed, if he ſeeks to the Phyſician for the Cure of it. You cannot be always young and handſome; but gouty once, and gouty ever; thence came the Proverb, *Drink Claret, and have the Gout; and drink no Claret, and ſtill have it:* The Gout, it is true, is the Reward of ſome Works, but there is no Forfeiting it, and therein it is preferable to a Crown Imperial. Poſſibly a wiſe and worthy Perſon may ſecure his Virtue againſt dangerous Temptations, but then he muſt be always upon his Guard; but let him take as little Care of himſelf as he pleaſes, he ſhall never have the leſs Gout for his looſe Way of Living. But, poſſibly, it may be objected, That the Gout, curing other Diſeaſes, and not being to be cured itſelf, becomes an Encouragement to Intemperance and Luſt. The Luſtful and Intemperate drink, and love on, reckoning that the Gout will carry off the evil Conſequences of wild Exceſs, and fooliſh Paſſion. Now, I will not lye for the Gout, as much as I honour it: If it were not for this one——Abatement, it were Phyſick for an Angel. But, that the Reader may not reproach me for a groſs philoſophical Error, I declare, that I do not mean, *for the ſpiritual Subſtance of an Angel*, for that, I well know, needs no Phyſick, of one Sort, or other; but for the corporeal Vehicle, which an Angel may chance to aſſume; which Vehicle, being rectified by the Gout, may, with leſs Trouble, be actuated by the Angel.

Sir, I thought to have taken a longer View of the Excellency of the noble Gout, from this ſublime Aſcent, which repreſents it with its greateſt Advantage, the Advantage of being incurable: But, alas! the violent Paroxyſm, which I have laboured under for theſe three ſhort Days and Nights, abates; the Intenſeneſs of my Pains conſiderably remits, and therefore I am forced to break off abruptly; for I am ſenſible, that no Man can do Honour to the Gout by a juſt and adequate Panegyrick, but he that, at the Time of Writing, feels it in Extremity.

The DEDICATION.

To all the numerous Off-ſpring of *Apollo*, whether *Dogmatical* Sons of Art, or *Empirical* By-blows.

To all *Pharmaceutick* Reſidentiaries in Town or City; alſo to all ſtrolling Practitioners and Impoſtors.

Gentlemen,

IF this Letter ſhall happen in any Meaſure to ſpoil your Trade, Heaven make me thankful; for well I know, that yours is the very Trade of two famous Princes, that have, by one Method or other, rid out of the Way very great Numbers of Men.

A Malefactor, condemned to die, ought to be free from all Manner of Inſults as he goes to Execution. I know it, and therefore do not dedicate this Letter to you, by Way of Inſult, but friendly to mind you, that, ſince your unrighteous Trade is broke or breaking, you would timely bethink yourſelves, what honeſt Employment you may be fit for; if you will take my Advice, you ſhall travel; for, to your Sorrow, you have known an over-grown Farrier, *from abroad, make a great* Doctor *in* England; *why ſhould not you make as good* Farriers *abroad, as they do* Doctors *here? This is certain, like true* Farriers, *you have preſcribed to many a weak Man a Medicine for a Horſe; ſo then, for the* Materia Medica, *it is the ſame, nothing will be troubleſome and uneaſy to you, in your new Profeſſion, but that you ſhall never get as much by practiſing on the* Spavin *as the* Gout; *but you muſt be content with leſs Earnings; what! you cannot, in Conſcience, expect as much for killing a Horſe as a Man.*

To this Change of your Profeſſion, not only the Diſcovery of the Frauds and Dangers thereof, but alſo the Name of your great Patron, Hippocrates, *invites,——What are you more than he? Come, come,* τέκνα ἐμὴ τέχνη μεταμείψατε, *change Name and Profeſſion, better a Murrain among Horſes than a Plague among Men.*

Having thus obliged you, Gentlemen, in an Epiſtle Dedicatory, *by minding you of the imminent Decay of your Practice upon human Bodies, and teaching you how to make the beſt of a bad Market,*

Market, by trying Experiments upon Horſe-fleſh; I hop' you will make me that grateful Return, as to prevent the Obligation I confer on you from turning to my Prejudice; therefore, if any gouty Perſon that may happen to malign you, ſhall object againſt me, and ſay, I had better have made a forlorn Regiment of you, and ſent you to have been knocked on the Head in Flanders, *than given you a Licenſe to kill Horſes, remember to ſay this for yourſelves, and your Benefactor,* That, when the Devils were ejected out of human Bodies, they were ſuffered to enter into Swine.

The Character of an ill Court-Favourite: Repreſenting the Miſchiefs that flow from Miniſters of State, when they are more *great* than *good*; the *Arts* they uſe to *ſeduce* their *Maſters*, and the *Unhappineſs* of *Princes*, that are *curſed* with ſuch *deſtructive* Servants. Tranſlated out of *French*. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-two Pages. *London*, printed in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*.

HE that ſtands by, and obſerves the *ſimple* Addreſſes and ſedulous Applications of *Courtiers*; how greedily Men, reputed to be *wiſe*, ſell their Liberties, and ſacrifice their Time; with what *Patience* they undergo *Attendance*, more grievous than the Toil of *Algier Galley-Slaves*, or *Popiſh Pilgrims*, will be ready to imagine, that it muſt needs be ſome *wonderous Myſtery*, which deſerves ſuch Superſtition; nor can expect leſs than the *Philoſopher's Stone*, where he ſees ſo many *Furnaces* ſet on Work, and ſo rare *Alchymiſts* engaged.

If he caſt but a ſuperficial Eye on the *lofty Flights* of the *Favourites* of *Princes*, how, in Effect, they manage all the *Reins* of the Commonwealth, though their Maſters ſit in the *Saddle*; how they give *Laws* to the People, by recommending *Judges*; nay, biaſs *Religion* itſelf, by beſtowing *Eccleſiaſtical Dignities*, and the *fatteſt Benefices*, and make the braveſt *Swordmen* kiſs their Feet, ſince they can neither get, nor hold any *Command* of Honour and Profit, but through their *good Graces*.

He, I ſay, that remarks all this, and alſo how their *ſeeming* Virtues, and, perhaps, but *imaginary* Abilities, are *magnified* and *multiplied*, and even their *Errors*, with Veneration, *concealed*, extenuated, or *juſtified*; with what Eaſe they trample upon their Adverſaries, and prefer their *Dependants*, How can he refrain from Drawing at ſo tempting a *Lottery*, or eſcape thoſe delicious *Charms*, which would almoſt delude a *Stoick* to miſtake ſuch a Fortune for his *Summum Bonum*?

But, alas, theſe are only *Outſides*, to amuſe the Ignorant; theſe ſtately *Eſcutcheons* ſerve but to hide a *dead Corpſe*, and theſe excellent Odours, to perfume a *Sepulchre*: The Factions wherewith every Court and State is perpetually pregnant; the *Envy* and *Emulation*, which, though not ſo loud, is yet, perhaps, *fiercer* than open *War*; the Spies which (like Eunuchs in *Turky*) are there ſet upon all Men's Actions, and the *ſlippery Paths* on which they walk; the *keen* and peſtilent Slanders againſt which Innocency itſelf is ſcarce *Armour of Proof*. Theſe, and a Thouſand other Inconveniencies, are not preſently diſcovered; and, indeed, it is, perhaps, fit they ſhould be concealed, leſt, otherwiſe, Men of Senſe and Integrity *avoid Courts*, as Perſons in Debt do *Priſons*, and dread Greatneſs like *Infection*.

Which would yet be more apprehended, if they could have either the *Prudence* or *Leiſure* to reflect, How many Perſons, that, in a private Station, were *honeſt*, *juſt*, and *reſolute Patriots*, when once preferred to the Misfortune of being *great*, have abandoned all Thoughts of the Publick-weal: Their Integrity retired to give

give Place to their *Fortune*, too rank *Preferment* ſtifled their *Honeſty*, and thenceforward they aimed only to advance their own *narrow Intereſt*, and blow ſhort-lived *Sparks*, to warm their *private Fingers*, out of the *publick Aſhes* of their ruined Country.

Their *Innocency* laſts ſcarce ſo long at Court, as the firſt Man's did in the *terreſtrial Paradiſe*: Though they were not wicked before, yet they believe they ought to become *ſo*; and, therefore, as the fooliſh *wiſe Man* of old flung all his *Goods into the Sea*, that he might more freely *philoſophiſe*: They reſolve to rid themſelves of their *Conſciences*, that, with leſs *Incumbrance*, they may manage the Affairs of State. They conceit *Pride* neceſſary to ſupport their Dignity, and that, ſhould they not ſwell, and look *big*, their Condition would be nothing changed; that Civility would reduce them to that *Equality*, whence they had forced themſelves with ſo much Trouble; to avoid *Contempt*, not being able to render themſelves *reſpected*, they ſtudy to make themſelves *feared*. They eſteem, that there is no Way left to blot out the Memory of their former Quality, but by the preſent Objects of their Tyranny; and, that they ſhall not hinder the People from *Laughing* at their Infirmities, but by employing them to *weep* for their own *Miſeries*, and complain of their Cruelties.

One would think it *Bedlam-Folly*, that Men, not unacquainted with *Hiſtory*, and ſufficiently warned by *Experiences* of their own Times, ſhould adventure on the very *ſame Precipices*, on which, all, that went before, *broke their Necks*; but, we muſt remember, that *Ambition* is as *blind* as *Love*: They (like the famous *fond Philoſopher*) are gazing at *Stars*, till they tumble into the *Ditch*: Their Eyes are always fixed on the *glittering Vanities* above, ſuggeſted by a deluded Imagination, ſo they never look down on the *Wrecks* and *ſhattered Fortunes*, and *diſmembered Bodies* and *forfeited Heads*, and *infamous Memories* of their Predeceſſors. For few have the Wiſdom to foreſee, how hard it is, in Greatneſs, to purſue *honeſt* and *ſafe Maxims*, what Reſolution is required for the Potent to be *innocent*, what ſordid Intereſts they are forced to eſpouſe, and by what *inſenſible Degrees* they are brought at laſt to ſwallow thoſe Actions and Compliances without Reluctancy, which, at firſt, they looked upon with Deteſtation: What, long ſince, was obſerved of *Sejanus*, holds true of many latter *Tympanies of Grandeur*, that their *Favour* is not to be purchaſed without ſome notable *Crime*: You muſt part with your *Honour*, nay, your *Soul*, if you expect Promotion from ſuch Spirits: If this were ſufficiently weighed, we may juſtly preſume, ſuch, as have a ſtrict Regard to *Honeſty*, would not precipitate themſelves into *publick Affairs*, and ſtand gaping, like *greedy Camelions*, to be puffed up with the tainted Air of *haughty and luxurious Courts*, where Intereſt can ſcarcely be preſerved (unleſs by Miracle) without a Shipwreck of *Conſcience*.

But (to make our Approaches a little nearer) if it be ſo *tickliſh* a Thing for even a *good Man* to abide long in Honour, without becoming like *the Beaſt that periſheth*, and acting diſhonourable Things, what then ſhall we ſay of thoſe *portentous Meteors*, that ſometimes *blaze* in that ſuperior Orb, noxious *Exhalations* drawn up by the *wanton Beams* of Favour, from the *Slime and Filth* of the World, and which preſage more *Calamities*, than a *Comet*, to thoſe Nations in which they appear? *Inſolent Giants!* that combate, with diſplayed Colours, the Authority of the *fundamental Laws*, and all Methods of *Juſtice*, who, in the Government of a State, produce a Deſign formed for *its Ruin*, who grow *fat and burley* from the Juice and Subſtance of exhauſted Provinces, who build their own Houſes with the *Wreck* and Diſſipation of a whole Kingdom. Princes and *great Men* would be happy, if, without *Dying* by *Proxy*, they could *live in Perſon*; they are born oftentimes with excellent Qualities, and are *calm Seas*, filled with Riches and Power, that might do Good to all the World, if the *Winds* would but let them flow gently, according to their own Nature.

But, as extraordinary *Beauties* are courted by Variety of Lovers, ſo ſuch *exalted Conditions* rarely want a Swarm of *Flatterers*, meer *Inſects*, bred out of Putrefaction, by the Warmth of *Royal Sunſhine*, that, under the Umbrage of *Adorers*, make themſelves *Maſters*, and, by a Colour of Service, exerciſe an *Empire*, even over thoſe that think they command the *Univerſe*; whoſe *ſacred Names*, in ſuch a Caſe, become but a *Paſs-port* to Miſchiefs; their *Authority*, a Sanctuary of *Crimes*; their *Revenues*, but *Tinder* to Debauchery, and Supplies for *Riot*; their Power, an Inſtrument of *Revenge*, and a Scourge and Plague to thoſe very People whom it ought to cheriſh and protect.

What ſhall we ſay of theſe *inſufferable Grandees*,

dees, who wreck their *private Spleens*, with the *Hands* and *Arms* of their Maſter? Who declare all thoſe guilty of *High-Treaſon*, who do not fall proſtrate before them? Who, by *fatal Wars*, and diſhonourable *Treaties* of Peace, by abandoning the *true Intereſt* of their Country, and playing the *Mountebanks* with the *Body-politick*, till they caſt it at once into a *Fever* and *Conſumption*, endeavour all they can to bring the People into *Deſpair*, and would gladly reduce the honeſter Sort of Men to ſo miſerable a Condition, as to be unable to ſave themſelves, but in a *Revolt*; that ſo they may palliate their *own Villanies*, by others *forced Diſobedience*, and trip off with the Spoils of a Nation, in a *general Combuſtion* of their own Kindling?

Obſerve them in *Ancient Hiſtory* (for meddle not with our Times) they firſt ruin the People, and then, if not themſelves, their Maſters, and many Times bring Deſtruction on all three. Their Courſes are all violent and domineering, they own no Laws but Will and Pleaſure, their Pace is always *Full-ſpeed*, they whip and ſlaſh like Maſters of a *Bride-well*, rather than Perſons intruſted with the Governance of Free-men. All to them is Plunder, all is *Prey*: They cannot feed but on *dead Bodies* they; firſt *rifle the Ship* they ſail in, and then wilfully *ſtrand her*, to conceal their own *Robberies*: Though they came only out of the *Dirt*, and, to ſpeak truly, are of *Kin* to no Body, yet they believe themſelves the Heirs of all the World; there is no *Officer* of the Crown, no *Governor* of a Place, whoſe Succeſſion they do not pretend unto; they think they are not in Safety, ſo long as there is any Man in Credit or Authority, that is not a *Creature* of their own Raiſing.

Such People commonly introduce themſelves by *low Means*, and, for the moſt Part, ſuch as are *diſhoneſt and vile*; they not ſeldom owe the Commencement of their Fortune to a *well danced Saraband*, to Agility of Body, to the *Beauty* of their Face, or the Intereſt of a *Strumpet*: They make themſelves valued by *ſhameful ſecret Services*, whoſe Payment is not publickly to be demanded. In a Word, though wiſe Antiquity allowed no Entrance into the Temple of *Honour*, but through that of *Virtue*, yet theſe croud themſelves into *Credit*, by the Recommendation of *Vice*; their Crimes, which truly deſerve the *Halter* and the *Ax*, are the *ſole Rondels*, whereby they mount the Ladder of *towering Preferment*.

Nor is their *Progreſs* unſuitable to their *Riſe*; their Deſign being only to make complaiſant Propoſitions, they enquire not whether they *profit* or incommode; if they do but *pleaſe*, it is enough. They inſinuate themſelves into their Maſter's Favour, by the Intelligence they endeavour to keep with his *Paſſions*. And, having once poſſeſſed themſelves of his Mind, they ſeize on all the *Avenues*, and leave not ſo much as an Entrance for his *Great* or *Privy-Council*, nay, ſcarce for his *Confeſſor*: How weak and tender ſoever his Inclinations may be to *Evil*, they water and cultivate them with ſo much Art and Diligence, that preſently there ſprings up a *great Tree*, from a little *Seed*, and a violent and opinionated *Habit*, from a light Diſpoſition.

Theſe are the *Petroniuſſes*, and the *Tigellinuſſes* about *Nero*; theſe are the *Advocates of Voluptuouſneſs*, the Peſt of a Realm, and the *evil Genii* of Kings.

It is incredible to think how many *Charms* they uſe, without employing thoſe of Magick (of which yet the People forbear not to accuſe them.) How ingenious are they to invent new Pleaſures, to a *ſated* and diſguſted Soul, and with what *pungent Sharpneſſes* do they awaken the *ſleeping Luſts*, which languiſh and can no more?

Yet do they not, at the firſt Onſet, become *abſolute Conquerors*, but for a Time diſpute with Virtue, which ſhall gain the Aſcendent in the Court of a Prince of *Eighteen*; ſometimes ſhe gets the better, ſometimes is *repulſed*, ſo that, for a ſhort Seaſon, there is a divided or alternate *Empire* over his Affections; a Kind of Twilight between Good and Ill, juſt Government and Tyranny, *party per pale*. Projects brave and good are *reſolved* upon, but, before they can come to *Execution*, the Humour is altered; good Counſels are *given*, but, before they take *Impreſſion* on his Mind, a *Debauch* is contrived, which daſhes them out of his *Memory*, and they are thought of no more. Honeſt *Burrhus* is *hearkened* to perhaps, but theſe *Court-Earwigs* will take care he never ſhall be *believed*.

However, thus far, they are like *Seneca*'s *Balance*, and Things are not yet grown deſperate, but, at laſt, they carry away *all before them*: The *Epicure* deſtroys as much in three Days, as the *Stoick* built in five Years: Having undermined or ſtormed the *Fortreſs*, they by Piecemeals diſmantle it, and undo the whole Frame: They aſſault their *Maſters* good Parts one after another, from petty *Sallies* of Humour, and *ſo-*

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ciable Revels, and a *refreſhing Glaſs*, and *bluſhing Gallantries*, they lead him on *Step by Step*, to the utmoſt Degrees of *Debauchery*, *Adulteries*, *Perjury*, *Cruelty*, and *Tyranny*.

At firſt they content themſelves to breathe in his Ears, that it is not neceſſary for a *Prince* to be *ſo preciſely religious*, ſo *ſtrictly juſt*, ſo *nicely temperate*, or ſo very *much an honeſt Man*. That it is ſufficient, if he is *not wicked*; that *Wine* and *Women* were deſigned to ſweeten the Toils of Empire, and the *Fair* created on Purpoſe for the Diverſion of the *Great*. That he would put himſelf to too much Trouble, to make himſelf beloved, that he only ought to prevent his being *hated*: Or, if that cannot be, to render himſelf *feared* will do as well. That ſolid and perpetual Probity is too heavy and too difficult, ſince its *Umbrage* and Counterfeit, hath no leſs Splendor than the Original, and produceth the *ſame Effects*; that a virtuous Action or two, *kind and popular* (which is no great Matter of Coſt) being *fitly* performed, may ſerve to entertain his Reputation; nor will they leave him in *ſo fair a Way*; after having made him eſteem Good, as an *indifferent* Thing, they make him approve *Ill* as reaſonable, and afford *Vice* the Colour of *Virtue*, and repreſent thoſe Things, which are the *Shame* of all the reſt of Mankind, as peculiar *Ornaments of Majeſty*.

To authoriſe his *worſt Actions*, great Examples ſhall not be wanting; they tell him, it is not in *Turky*, and amongſt *Barbarians*, that he is to look for *Precedents*, that all Things are *lawful to the Powerful*, or, at leaſt, any Thing may be made appear to be ſo, to the *Simple*. God's own People, the *Holy Nation* (ſay they) Sir, will furniſh you with Inſtances, more than enough. The very King, that built the *Temple*, was alſo the Founder of a *Seraglio*, and we, at this Day, ſee, at *Conſtantinople*, but a Copy of what was formerly to be ſeen at *Jeruſalem*; you content yourſelf, even in the Heat of full Veins and Vigour of Youth, with half a Score, or forty or fifty Women only, whereas he that was the *wiſeſt Prince*, the Earth could boaſt of, even the ſuperlative *Solomon*, in his old Age, had *ſix-hundred*, which the Holy Scripture implies to be *legitimate Wives*, without reckoning thoſe, which were his Concubines; and, have you not heard of the *laſt Will* of his Father *David*, and of thoſe *gallant* Things, he commanded by his Teſtament? We ſhall not exaggerate them, only beſeech you to conſider, by how *many Deaths*, he counſelled his Son to ſecure his *own Life*.

Nay, Sir, ſince the Law of Grace, and amongſt *Chriſtian Princes*, you cannot find more *Sweetneſs*; you are nice, perhaps, to abandon a *Child*, or ſtagger to expoſe a *Son*, that never diſobliged you. But (to omit the Practice of *Mahometans*, and the modern Example of the moſt Catholick King, in the unfortunate *Don Carlos*) the great *Conſtantine*, that *moſt holy*, *moſt religious*, and *moſt divine* Emperor (as he hath been called by the Mouth of *Councils*) did much more than this, for he cauſed his *own Son* to be put to Death, upon the *firſt Suſpicion*, which was *falſly ſuggeſted* to him. It is true, he regretted his Execution, and acknowledged his *Innocency*, but this Acknowledgment came too late, and his Regret laſted, but *four and twenty Hours*; he thought himſelf quit, by cauſing a *Statue* to be erected in Memory of the *Deceaſed*, with this Inſcription, *To my Son* Criſpus, *whom I cauſed to die unjuſtly*.

Do you reſerve your *abſolute* Authority? Will you always ſtand upon *Juſtice* and *Title*, and vain Punctilio's of *Equity*? Dare you not uſe *Force*, when the Good of your Affairs requires it? The Example of the mighty *Charlemaign*, who is one of the *Saints* of the Church, as well as one of the *Nine Worthies*, may ſecure you againſt all the *Scruples*, your Conſcience can make; he knew neither a *better*, nor *greater* Right, than that of *Arms*; the *Pommel* of his Sword ſerved him for his *Seal* and *Signet*. To this Day, there are Privileges found granted, and Donations of Lands made, by that good and *orthodox* Emperor, *Rowland* and *Oliver* being preſent, ſealed with the *Pommel*, and, which he ſwore, he would warrant with the *Edge* of the ſame *Sword*.

Would you rule abſolutely? At your Pleaſure leavy *Taxes*, and diſpoſe of both the *Goods* and *Lives* of your Subjects? You ſhall therein do nothing *new* or *extraordinary*, all the mighty *Monarchs* of the *Eaſt* have done it theſe many hundred Years. And the *moſt Chriſtian King* practiſes it, at this Day. Diſcover not ſo much Weakneſs, as to regard the *Sighs* and *Groans* of your People, who are but animated Dirt, prattling Beaſts, Creatures deſigned to be *Slaves*, as well by *Nature* as *Fortune*; what elſe were they *born* for, what elſe are they *good* for, but to be *Inſtruments* of your *Pleaſures*, and Sacrifices to your *Glory*? The only Way,

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to preſerve your Authority, is to curb the *Vermin*, and keep them miſerable; do they *winch* under your *Rods*; then ſcourge them with *Scorpions*. Are they not your Vaſſals? Why then do they complain? Shall Slaves be allowed to *murmur* and *capitulate*? If their *Tears* grow troubleſome, waſh them away with their *Blood*.

There have been *Favourites* mentioned in Hiſtories, that have inſtructed Princes, in theſe, and the like *pernicious Leſſons*, and being at laſt tired out with defending Crimes, with Precedents, to excuſe ſome new *unparalleled* Extravagance, they freely have told their Prince, that, when there was *no Example* to be found, he might make one. That what had formerly been *unheard of* would, being done, ceaſe to be ſo: That it would be *ſhameful* for the *Sovereign Authority*, to give an Account of any Thing it commands, and miſbecome him, who hath *Armies* and *Fleets* to maintain his Actions, to ſeek *Words or Pretences*, either to diſguiſe or juſtify them.

There is not a Man (this is the Language of the *Sejanuſſes*, and the *Plautuſſes*) innocent in all the Parts of his Life, and who in his Soul *envies* not his Superiors, and whom they envy, they hate. Therefore the Prince cannot but condemn the *Guilty*, nor ſtrike *any*, but *his Enemies*; conſequently he gratifies him, whom he bereaves only of his *Goods*, in that he takes not away his Honour, and leaves him his Life. *Honeſty* and *Juſtice* are Virtues proper for *Merchants* and *Lawyers*, not for Sovereigns; that to be Slaves to their Words is to depoſe themſelves, and abandon their Prerogatives; that even in Heaven (if there be any ſuch Place above a Lady's Lap) the *Oaths* of Princes are put in the ſame Scales with thoſe of Lovers. That *Jupiter* commands them to be thrown into the *Wind*, as Things of no Obligation, and never to be regarded farther than preſent Intereſt requires.

Thus, in a Way of *fooling* and telling of *Fables*, they perſuade the Prince, that he is not obliged by his Promiſes, nor ought to hearken to the *Fancies* of Preachers or *Dotages* of Legiſlators, but ſtands exempted, by his *Quality*, from all Laws *Divine* and *Human*, nor is obliged by Ties of Juſtice or Prudence: And that it belongs to him, *Jure Divino*, to define unto Men what is *Good* or *Ill*, to declare unto the World, what, for the Future, he will *have* to be *juſt* or *unjuſt*, as well in *Morality*, as *Policy*.

Thus are *Tyrants* made, from this Stock *Monſters* are ingendered; from ſuch Commencements, we are to ſet *Rome* on Fire, to *butcher* the *Senate*, to diſhonour *Nature* with Debauches, and declare War againſt it by *Parricides*. Theſe wheedling Whiſperers are the firſt *Cauſes* of ſo many *Miſeries*, and, did not theſe Winds blow, we ſhould be ſenſible of none of theſe *Tempeſts* and *Hurricanes*, able to diſcompoſe the Harmony of the beſt *ſettled Governments* in the World.

Wherefore, ſince, in the whole Bulk of ſublunary Beings, there is no *Good* of ſo great Uſe, and which ſo univerſally communicates itſelf as a *good Prince*, nor any *Ill*, which diſperſeth itſelf farther, or is more pernicious than a *bad one*: Can there be any Puniſhments great enough, in all the Extent of human Juſtice, for thoſe who *change* this Good into Ill; who corrupt ſo *ſalutiferous* and ſo excellent a Thing? They had far better have poiſoned all the *Wells*, and all the *Fountains* in their Countries; nay, ſhould they infect the *Rivers* themſelves, Water might be gotten from elſewhere, even Heaven would ſtill furniſh us with ſome *refreſhing Drops*: But here of Neceſſity we muſt either *choak*, or drink *Poiſon*; againſt theſe domeſtick Ills, we are not permitted to uſe *Foreign* Remedies; we are obliged to continue *miſerable* by the Laws of our *Religion*, and to obey *Furies* and *Madmen*, not only out of *Fear*, but for *Conſcience* Sake.

For which Cauſe, ſince the Perſons of Princes, *whatſoever they be*, ought to be inviolable and *ſacred*, and that the *Characters* of God's Finger makes an Impreſſion, which we are to reverence, on what *Matter* ſoever it be engraven, no Wonder if *Subjects* turn all their Hatred againſt theſe *Flatterers*, which caſt them into theſe Miſeries without Redemption: If they purſue, with all Manner of *Execrations*, theſe evil Counſellors which give them *ill Princes*, which provoke Innocents to *Murther*, and good Natures to barbarous Cruelties; it is their pernicious Advice, which occaſions all fatal Reſolutions. Their Maxims of *Fire and Blood* aſſure and fortify Malice, when it is as yet timorous and doubtful; they *ſharpen* what cuts, they precipitate what is falling, they encourage the *Violent* to run after the Prey, they inflame the Deſires of the Avaricious to invade their People's *Goods*, and thoſe of the Laſcivious to *debauch* their Daughters, and *raviſh* their Wives.

But, if they meet with Natures, which are not ſuſceptible of thoſe *ſtrong Paſſions*, and which,

which, by their Complexions, are, in an equal Degree, distant from Vice and Virtue; if they light on those *soft Princes*, who are without Sting or Spirit, and have small Inclinations to great and mighty Evils, but rather propense to *Ease* and *effeminate* Delights, such as divide Time between the *Cup and the Bed*, and are more intent at the *Theatre* than the Council-Chamber: It is still so much the *worse* for those People, who live under them, for abusing the Simplicity of their *pliant Master*, and taking the Advantage which their Spirit hath over his, they *reign* openly, and their just Dominion adds, to the Weight of Tyranny, the *Shame* that occurs from suffering it from a particular private Person and *Fellow-Subject*.

You cannot imagine the *Wiles* and *Artifices*, they use to attain hereunto, and totally to subject to themselves the Prince. Their Method is, to sour him with Glory in the Establishment of the Fortune. They give him to understand through several *Trunks*, that his Predecessors, who were nothing more powerful than he, made some far *greater Creatures* of their own; that it is more safe to raise up *new People*, who have no Dependance, and who shall only hold from his Majesty, than to use Persons of *ancient Birth*, and of known Probity, whose Affections and Party may be already made; that it concerns his *Honour*, not to leave his Works *imperfect*, but to labour for their Embellishment, after he has established their *Solidity*. That he ought to put them in a Condition, that they may not be ruined, but by themselves. That, if he yields to the Desires of his *ancient Nobility*, who will endure no Companions; or if he consents to the Complaints and *Petitions of his People*, who are ever Enemies to all *growing Greatness*, he will not for the Future have the Power to *reward a Servant*, or to gratify those that oblige him: But must live a *precarious King*, a meer *Duke of Venice*, a *Shadow of Royalty*, and be forced to call an Assembly of the *States*, to dispose of the least Office in the Kingdom; besides, they represent, that he cannot abandon a Person, who hath been so dear unto him, without condemning the Conduct of *many Years*, and rendering a publick Testimony either of *past Blindness*, or present Fickleness. Nor wants this Argument its Force, for it is certain, that, having begun to love any Object, for the *Love of itself*, Time presently adds our own Interest, to the Merit of the Thing; the Desire that we have, that all the World should believe, that our Election was good, makes the Action of Necessity, which before was *voluntary*; so that what hath been done against Reason, being not to be justified, but by an *headstrong Perseverance*, we never think that we have done enough, and upon this fond Conceit, though never so much *Reason* be offered to discontinue our Affection, yet it seems, we are obliged, in Point of Honour, to defend our *Judgment*.

Now, if these *Temptations* can shake stable Minds, and sometimes make *wise Men* fail, we need not be astonished, if they easily overthrow *weak Princes*, who make Use only of borrowed Reason, and who will yield themselves to be persuaded by a very mean Eloquence, so it but suits with their already biassed Inclination.

And when once a Prince is engaged in the making of this Subject (whom as much without Merit, as beyond Measure, he dotes upon) *great*, he speaks of him no more, but as his Enterprise, and the utmost Effort of his *Prerogative* and creative Power, and so goes on in a blind Zeal, till, without minding it, he even adores what he hath made, like the Statuaries of *Athens*, who, from their own Handy-work, chose their Gods: His Thoughts, which should be employed for *Glory*, and the publick Good of his Realm, and have no other Object, but the Safety and Welfare of his People, are all at an End in this pitiful Design, in blowing up a *gaudy Bubble* of Honour, as *vain and trivial*, and yet no less *gay*, than that which Children raise with a Quill from Water and Soap. He opens to him all his Coffers, and pours out Treasures on him, as much in Despight of others, as to benefit him; and, at last, when he hath conferred on him all the Offices of the Kingdom, and all the Ornaments of his Crown, and has nothing left to give him but his own Person, he surrenders that too with so absolute and so total a Resignation, that, in the very Monasteries, there is not an Example of a Will more subjected, and more perfectly renouncing itself.

Henceforward he appears at Council, but when his Presence is necessary to authorise some extravagant pre-resolved Design, in the Debate of which he never bore a Part, and is content to shew himself for no other Purpose, but to justify what those, that advised him to it, are both afraid, and ashamed to own; he is amused with petty Divertisements, unworthy of his *Condition*, and of his *Age*: They take from about him all that dare speak *Truth*; they ruin, under several Pre-

Pretences, all that is eminent and virtuous in the State; and he imagines, becauſe they tell him ſo, that all this is abſolutely neceſſary for his *Service*, and the Support of his Government. Thus *Seneca* muſt be butchered, before *Nero* could turn perfect Monſter, and *Boetius* baniſhed by *Theodoricus*, at the Perſuaſion of his three fatal Favourites, becauſe that good and wiſe Stateſman was an Obſtacle to their lewd Deſigns.

To ruin honeſt *Patriots*, that would ſtop the unhappy Torrent, Slanders are raiſed, and *Calumnies* advanced, and falſe Informations encouraged; they are ſeized on general Rumours, without ſpecifying their Crime, and condemned unheard, as Enemies to *Religion*, and the *State*. Thoſe that are rich and peaceable, are entrapped by *Informers*, and penal Edicts let looſe upon them: Thoſe whoſe *paſt Services* and undoubted *Loyalty* maintain them in Repute, and whoſe *Fidelity* is without Reproach, are employed in chargeable, or put upon hazardous Attempts, and ungrateful Offices, either that they may loſe their *Reputation*, or *themſelves*. Some are driven away by an abſolute Command to retire, others honourably *baniſhed* by an Ambaſſy; and, in the Room of all theſe, the ambitious *domineering Cabal* place Perſons at their own Devotion, who never look farther than their Benefactors, and ſtop at the next Cauſe of their Fortune, and therefore ſtudy to ſerve and advance their Intereſts, who raiſed them, not the Prince's, though ſtill they call themſelves his *Servants* and would be thought the greateſt *Zealots* for his Honour.

Thus may an *unfortunate Prince* come to be at the Mercy and Diſcretion of his *Favourite*; he ſhall not caſt a Look, but preſently a Spy renders the other an Account, nor utter one Word, but what is told him again; ſo that, in the Midſt of his own Court, and amongſt all his *Guards*, he ſhall be invironed with none but *Savages*, that prey upon him, not having one *faithful Tongue* about him, that dare truly repreſent his People's Sufferings, nor one *honeſt Ear*, to whom he may tell his own: Beſides, he quickly becomes ſo far engaged, that there is no Way to releaſe himſelf, the other making all the World his *real* Enemies, or ſuſpected for ſuch, that he may have none but him to truſt: And by having long had the Poſſeſſion of Affairs, which he communicates with none, he alone underſtanding all, and knowing the *State*, he at laſt becomes a *neceſſary Evil*, which neither can the Prince be cured of, but by a dangerous Remedy.

After this Manner, in an abſolute *Peace*, being at Amity with his Neighbours, no Foreign Enemy appearing on the *Frontiers*, without ſtriking a Stroke, or having ventured farther than from the *Palace* to the *Theatre*, may a Prince inſenſibly fall into *another Man's Power*, which, after the Defeat of an Army, is the worſt Thing that could happen: And, to ſpeak home, the Battle of *Pavia* was not ſo fatal to *Francis the Firſt*, nor the Taking of *Rome* to Pope *Clement the Seventh*; for, if their *Diſgrace* was great, it was not *voluntary*; if they loſt their Liberty, they, in their Afflictions, preſerved the Glory of their *Courage*, and, if they were taken *Priſoners*, it was by a great Emperor, who was their Enemy, and not by one of their *petty Subjects*. There is no Captivity ſo miſerable, ſo baſe, nor ſo infamous, as that of a Prince, who ſuffers himſelf to be *ſhackled* in his Cabinet, and by one of his own; he can never exerciſe a more cowardly Patience, nor be more ſhamefully happy. Suppoſe a King ſhould eat his People to the very Bones, and live in his own State as in an Enemy's Country, he would not ſo far eſtrange himſelf from the Duty of his Place, as when he obeys another: There is, it is true, a vaſt Difference betwixt *Tyranny* and *Royalty*, yet the former reſembles the latter a great deal more than *Servitude*. It is at leaſt ſome Kind of Government, and one Way of commanding Men, although a very ill one. But for a Sovereign to give up himſelf as a Prey to three or four *petty Fellows*, in the Knowledge and Conduct of all his Affairs, certainly there cannot be a more miſerable *Interregnum*, than ſuch a Prince's Life, during which he doth *nothing*, and yet doth all thoſe Evils which may happen to the People.

In this Condition he is civilly dead, and hath, as it were, *depoſed* himſelf; it is only his Effigies, which is uſed in Publick, which, out of Cuſtom, and for a Show, hath ſome Homages paid, and uſeleſs *Congees* made to it. But, in Effect, Royalty is forſaken, and Favour only courted, and a civil Idolatry committed: 'For, as ſome *ſuperſtitious Bigots* ſay ten *Ave Maria*'s to one *Pater Noſter*, and call an hundred Times oftener upon St. *Francis*, than on our Saviour, ſo, in this Caſe, where one addreſſes himſelf to the King, forty Suitors apply themſelves to the Favourite; for, indeed, to go to the Prince, without his Mediation, would be a certain

certain Courſe to *ſpoil your Buſineſs*, though never ſo juſt in itſelf, or advantageous to the Publick.

What a brave Thing it was in former Times, to ſee a King of *Caſtile*, who durſt not walk abroad, nor put on a *new Suit*, without the Permiſſion of *Alvares de Luna*; all Favours, which others demanded of his Majeſty, he himſelf was obliged to obtain from him. The moſt he could do was, to recommend *their Petitions* to his Favourite, and to do good Offices with him, for thoſe whom he loved. How prepoſterous would it be, to ſee ſuch a Courtier as he was, who revoked the Elections of his Prince, turned thoſe out of their Places, to whom his *Maſter* had granted them, nay proceeded to that Height of Inſolence, that he took it very ill, that his Maſter ſhould, *once in his Life*, offer to read a Paper, which he preſented him to *ſign*, and complained, that this was to *upbraid his Fidelity*, and forget his paſt Services.

But there are *She-Favourites*, as well as *Bearded ones*; and, tho' this be the *weaker Sex*, yet both their *Paſſions* and *Enchantments* are the ſtronger of the two. *Hercules* and *Achilles* were not the only *Heroes* that truckled to the Diſtaff: *Love* has often governed the *Politicks*, and the Fortune of a whole Kingdom become the Paſtime of a *debauched Woman*; for it is too true, that ſuch Perſons have ſtrangely derided the Authority of the Laws, and the Majeſty of Empire; more than once they have trampled under Foot Crowns and Scepters; they have taken Pleaſure, and ſported themſelves with the Violation of Juſtice, and gloried, in their cruel Pride, in afflicting, and rendering human Kind miſerable.

It is not long ſince there appeared one of theſe *Heroina*'s, who was riſen to ſo high a Degree of *Inſolency*, that, having been ſolicited about a certain Affair which had been repreſented unto her, as *juſt and facile* to be done, that ſhe might the more *willingly employ* herſelf therein, ſhe anſwered, with a Fierceneſs, worthy of her Sex and Profeſſion, *That ſhe uſed not her Credit ſo laviſhly; that another might ſerve, on ſo ſlight an Occaſion, to do juſt and poſſible Things; for her Part, ſhe accuſtomed herſelf only to undertake thoſe which were* unjuſt *and* impoſſible.

How many Miſchiefs do you think follow ſuch an one, how many Violences are committed under the Shadow of theſe fatal *overgrown Meddlers?* Such a *puffed up Succuba* hath not a Groom or a Lackey, who believes it not to be his Right and Privilege to abuſe, at his Pleaſure, any other Subject, and, by alledging only that he belongs to ſuch a *great Miniſter*, commits all Outrages with *Impunity*, affronts Juſtice, and dares tell to your Teeth, after he has *cheated* and abuſed you never ſo grievouſly, that you are obliged, and ought to thank him for his *Civility*, that he did not *murder* you.

All this While, you will ſay, what is this to the Prince? And yet, with all Deference be it ſpoken, he cannot be ſaid to be wholly *innocent* of the Miſcarriages: His Ignorance is not *unblameable*, his *Patience* herein is not *Virtue*, and the Diſorders which either he *knows not of*, or which he *ſuffers*, are imputed to him before God, even as if himſelf had done them; and therefore that Prince, who was according to God's own Heart, in expreſs Terms deſires him, and that in the Fervency of his moſt ardent Prayers, that he would *cleanſe himſelf from his ſecret Faults, and acquit him from the Sins of others*; which laſt Word intimates, that Kings ought not to content themſelves with a *perſonal Innocency*; that it is not enough for them to be juſt, if they loſe themſelves, and deſtroy their People by the *Injuſtice* of their Miniſters, which becomes their own, becauſe they tolerate it, and countenance it, by conniving, and not puniſhing it with Severity. *Qui non prohibet, quum poteſt, jubet.*

Not to multiply Examples: Can King *Ahaſuerus* be juſtified, who, in a Moment, abandoned, to the Vengeance of a *pernicious Haman*, ſo many thouſand innocent Lives, and thoſe too of the *ſelect People of God*, without enquiring into their Crimes, or making any Reflexion on what he granted: He had, doubtleſs, no bloody Deſign, nor any Imagination, whither that inhuman Commiſſion, he ſo readily delivered with his *Royal Signet*, would tend; and his ordinary Idleneſs, or over Conceit of the Juſtice and Prudence of his Favourite, ſuffered him not to take any farther Cogniſance of it, which rendered him *doubly culpable*, to permit ſo many *Murders*, and yet be ignorant of it. For ſo, no leſs wittily, than judiciouſly, *Seneca* brings in *Claudius* in the other World, and ſome Men reproaching him with Abundance of *Murders*, done under his Name, who pleaded Not guilty, and proteſted he did not ſo much as know what they meant, nor ever heard of thoſe Sufferers Names before; upon which the Ghoſt of *Auguſtus* roſe up, and ſaid, *Thou Miſcreant, we talk not here of the Slaughters thou haſt committed, but of thoſe thou haſt*

haſt not known that it is a more ſhameful Thing to a King to be ignorant of the Evil that paſſes in his Kingdom, than to act it. Turpius ignoraſti, quam occidiſti.

Great *Events* are not always produced by *great Cauſes*. The Strings are hid which move theſe *vaſt Machines* of State, that externally appear, and when *thoſe Springs* happen to be truly diſcovered, we are aſtoniſhed to ſee them ſo *ſmall*, and ſo *weak*, and half aſhamed of the high Opinion we had before conceived of them. A Fit of *Jealouſy*, in an amorous Intrigue between two particular Perſons, hath more than once been the Cauſe of a general War. A little *reflective Joke*, uttered in a gay Humour, an Affront to a *Page*, a *Whiſper*, and a *Nod*, a *Tale* told at the King's Going to Bed, is, in Appearance, nothing, and yet this Nothing hath been the Beginning of *Tragedies*, wherein a Sea of Blood hath been ſhed, and an hundred *Heads* made fly. It is but a *Cloud* which paſſes, a ſmall Stain in the Corner of the Air, which vaniſhes, rather than abides; and yet it is this light Vapour, this almoſt imperceptible Cloud, which raiſeth the moſt *fatal Tempeſts*, which ſhake almoſt the Foundations of the Earth. The People, whenever War is proclaimed, think it their Sovereign's Intereſt; that it is to revenge ſome inſufferable Affronts, or have *Reparation* of vaſt Damages ſuſtained, that it is to prevent an *Invaſion*, or ſecure their Tranquillity; to increaſe *Traffick*, or force by Arms the neceſſary Conveniences of Peace: When, in Truth, perhaps all this *Buſtle* and *Hazard*, this Blood and Treaſure conſumed, proceeds only from the *Capricio's* of two or three *Penſionary Courtiers*, that are content to hazard the Ruin of their *own Maſter and Country*, to advance the Deſigns of ſome *powerful Neighbour*, that underhand feeds them with *Gold*; or from ſome other unthought of *Whim*, if not altogether ſo baſe, more *ridiculous*.

I doubt not but the mighty *Xerxes* made moſt ſpecious Pretences to juſtify his Arms, when he made his Inroad upon *Greece*, and his *Manifeſto's* told Wonders of his Intentions; he received (I'll warrant you) *Injuries*, which he was bound to *chaſtiſe*, and had a *Right* which he was obliged to aſſert; ſo that he could not, without *Diminution to his Glory*, refrain the Expedition; for he forgot not to tell them, that he laboured the *Repoſe* of the World, and to unite *Europe* and *Aſia*; that he, the mighty Monarch of the *Eaſt*, came to chaſtiſe the *petty Tyrants*, and that he came purely out of Compaſſion to the People, and offered them a rich glorious Liberty, inſtead of a poor and ſhameful Servitude. There is no Doubt, but he falſified his Deſign ſeveral Ways, and perhaps ſwore, that it was immediately inſpired him from the *immortal Gods*, and that the *Sun* himſelf was the Author of his *March*; yet, notwithſtanding all this *Parade* and Colour of *Juſtice* and *Religion*, the Bottom of the Buſineſs was, in Truth, only this: A *Greek Phyſician*, the Queen's Domeſtick, having a Mind to review the Port of *Pyræum*, and taſte the *Figs of Athens*, put this Fancy of War into his *Miſtreſs*'s Head, and got her to engage her Husband in the Attempt. So that the King of Kings, the *puiſſant redoubtable Xerxes*, raiſed an Army of three-hundred Thouſand Combatants, levelled the Mountains, drank up Rivers, and overburthened the Sea, *&c.* only to bring back a *Mountebank* into his own Country. Surely the *Quack* might have gone the Journey with leſs Expence and a ſmaller *Equipage*.

The *Greek* Hiſtory affords us another notable Example in the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. Long before the Birth of King *Philip*, there happened a famous Conſpiracy, which of *one Saint* made two, and divided the Court, the Towns and the Families, upon the moſt trivial Occaſion imaginable; one *Meleager*, Governor of a Frontier Town, and General of the *Cavalry*, having an handſome Wife, and withal ſo *good-natured*, as ſeldom ſuffered any of her Lovers to die of Deſpair. The King, hearing of her *Beauty* and *Gallantry*, had a Mind to give her a Viſit in Private; but, finding her no ſuch exquiſite *Beauty* as Fame had repreſented her to his Fancy, he at firſt Sight betrayed his *Diſguſt*, and preſently went away in a Huff; which Affront our *ſtately Dame*, who had no ill Opinion of her own Merit, reſented ſo briskly, that from that very Hour ſhe vowed *Revenge*. And not being able to effect it better than by corrupting her Husband's Fidelity, and debauching him from the Service of his Maſter, ſhe employed all her Charms to that Purpoſe; till at laſt, by the continual Croakings of this *Night Raven*, the poor Man had loſt his Reaſon, and forgot his *Duty*, and, by this *Boſom Cockatrice*, became ſo impoiſoned, that he quitted the Service of his King, and imbarked himſelf in the Party of a Tyrant, without knowing truly what Motion drove him, nor what Paſſion he revenged; he acted

acted a Part he underſtood not, and but his *Wife's Soldier*, when he thought he was the Head of the Revolt.

It is undoubtedly a Truth, that Kings cannot reign without *Miniſters*, and ſcarce leſs certain, that they cannot live without *Favourites*: The wiſeſt Princes in the World, the *Auguſtuſſes*, and the *Antonines*, the *Conſtantines*, and the *Theodoſiuſſes*, if they ſhould *revive*, would once again, as well as formerly, give Teſtimonies of *Human Affection*, and might with Reaſon love one Man (*cæteris paribus*) rather than another; for Virtue is not ſo auſtere and ſavage, as to deſtroy *Nature*, nor do the *Politicks* oblige a Prince to diveſt himſelf of Humanity; his Motions need only be *juſt* and *well regulated*: Let him ſhew his Bounty and his *Kindneſs* to particular Perſons, let him enjoy his Diverſions, his Complaiſancies, and his Friendſhips too, but ſtill it were to be wiſhed he would obſerve a *Proportion* and *Meaſure* in the Diſtribution of his *Favours*. Let not *Nero* make his Horſe a *Conſul*, nor every Fiddler a *Miniſter of State*; let not a mighty Monarch debauch *Nobility* (the Screen of Majeſty) by conferring Honours on the *Sons of Earth*, and little People as void of *Quality* as *Merit*; let him not encourage Villainy by Preferments, the proper *Dowry* of Virtue; nor impoveriſh the Publick, to make one Man unmeaſurably rich. Let there be a Man (the Dictates both of Religion and Reaſon allow it) who is the *Prince's Confident*, and on whom he may, like the Sun, more peculiarly dart down his Beams; but let there not be any who Day and Night *beſiegeth* the King, who by a violent Uſurpation (the moſt *abhorrable Monopoly* in Nature) appropriates him to himſelf; for he who *impales* a Good, which ought to belong to the Publick, attempts the ſame *Injuſtice* as if he hid the *Sun* from all the World.

There is nothing that recommends a Prince's *Judgment*, or that is of more Importance to his *Safety*, than a diſcreet *Choice* of his Miniſters. A Man cannot conduct a *Boat*, nor guide a *Chariot*, nor manage an *Horſe*, without making Uſe of Addreſs and Method; and ſhall thoſe who are to direct Mankind, jump into the Employ without any preparatory Diſcipline? We come to the Knowledge of Affairs, and the Dexterity of ordering them, by *Experience* and *Reaſon*. A *Place* does not preſently make a Man wiſer than he was before; nor are we to expect *Revelations*, nor think Heaven obliged to endow a Prince's Miniſters with the *Spirit of well Governing*, and render his precipitate Election valid and *ſucceſsful* by a ſudden Illumination: Courtiers are the *Matter*, and the Prince is the *Artiſt*, who can eaſily render this Matter *fairer*, but not better than it is; he can add to it Colours and Shape on the Outſide, but cannot give it any interior Goodneſs. He can beſtow the *Office* and the *Title*, but he cannot confer *Qualifications*: The Knowledge of Things paſt, the Penetration into Things to come: That Light which diſembroils the Intrigues of the Court, the Science of making War, and the Dexterity of treating Peace. In a Word, he may make an *Idol*, but he can neither make a *Spirit* of it, nor an *able Man*.

Yet even in *Chriſtendom ſuch Idols* are to be ſeen; there have been always unworthy Perſons happy; *Monkies* careſſed in Kings Cabinets, and apparelled in *Cloth of Gold*; there often happens an Authority which is *blind and dumb*, which neither knows nor underſtands, which appears only and dazzles, *pure refined* Authority you may call it, for it has not any *Mixture of Virtue or Reaſon*. There are Grandees, who are only remarkable by their *Greatneſs*, and their Greatneſs is all without them; they reſemble certain *fruitleſs Mountains* in ſome Parts of the World, which produce neither *Herb* nor *Plant*; they ſeem to touch Heaven with their ſtately Tops, yet ſerve the Earth for no *Uſe*, and therefore their Sterility makes their Height *accurſed*.

Princes therefore ſhould make a ſtrict Inquiry into the Abilities and Virtues of thoſe they employ; they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be led by *Occaſion*, but take for their Inſtruments ſuch as are able, not ſuch as *ſtand next*, or firſt offer themſelves; wherein too, they ſhould regard not only a general *Sufficiency*, but a particular Fitneſs for diſcharging thoſe Charges in which they place them; they muſt not think an expert *Soldier*, that hath ſignaliſed himſelf in divers Battle, is therefore qualified to be ſent on an *Ambaſſy*; nor make an old prodigal Lord, Treaſurer, and ſubmit the *Exchequer* to his Diſpoſe, becauſe, having in his Youth profuſed away all his own Eſtate, he now ſpeaks admirably well of *Frugality*.

Nor ſhould a Prince preſently thruſt into his *Council* all thoſe whoſe *Converſation* is grateful to him; we ought to make a Difference betwixt Perſons who *delight* us, and thoſe who are *profitable* to us; betwixt the Recreations of the Mind, and the *Neceſſities* of the State; and,

if a Sovereign take not ſpecial Care in this *Examen*, he will commit irremediable Errors, and ſuch whereby he may render not only his *own Reign* miſerable, but alſo his Memory accurſed and reproached in Ages to come. He therefore ought not to follow his own *private* Affections or Inclinations, but abandon all *Capricio's* and Fancies in this Matter: Let him in other Things *ſport* and divert himſelf as he pleaſeth. but, in a Choice of ſo high Concernment, he muſt uſe the *Severity of his Judgment*, and at firſt bring with him an *Indifferency of Will*; it ought to be a pure *Operation of Reaſon*, freed and diſpoiled of *Love* or *Hate*.

For the Miſchiefs, ariſing from ill Miniſters, are no leſs fatal, than *various*, Part of which we have already recounted, and to ſum them up all is almoſt as difficult, as to prevent them. If they are *ignorant*, they ruin the *State*, their *Maſter*, and *themſelves*, by their Weakneſs; if they are *falſe* and *treacherous*, they ſet the Publick to *Sale*, and betray its Intereſt for *Money*. If they are Men of *ill Principles*, they blow up their Prince to *Vanity* by Flatteries, and baniſh Truth from the Palace. They put him upon extravagant Deſigns, or endeavour to drown him in Voluptuouſneſs; they exhauſt the Royal *Treaſury* by their Profuſeneſs, and ſtrip poor People to the very Skin, to feed their inſatiable *Avarice*; they rob the Prince of his nobleſt and moſt ſtable *Throne*, the *Hearts of his Subjects*, by creating Fears and mutual Jealouſies between them; and whilſt in vain Pretences and Endeavours, no leſs impracticable, than *unjuſt*, they would ſeem to make him more abſolute than his Forefathers, they render him leſs conſiderable at Home, and conſequently leſs *revered* Abroad, than any of his Anceſtors; they manage Affairs according to private Fancies and hate *publick Councils*; having committed Extravagances that render them liable to Juſtice, the reſt of their Life is ſpent, not to ſerve their Maſter, but to *ſave their own Necks*; ſo that in all their following Councils they conſult not his *Advantage*, but their *own Defence*, and make his Intereſts ſtoop to their Conveniences; what care they how much the People be provoked? They had rather their Country ſhould be involved in all the Miſeries and Deſolations of a *Civil War*, or be made a Prey to a *Foreign Invader*, than they themſelves brought to an Account before an *impartial Tribunal*; ſince, in the *firſt* Caſe, they hope to ſhift amongſt the *Croud*; but, in the *ſecond*, can expect nothing but certain Ruin, for their *conſcious Fears* preſage what will happen; they know well enough the *Ills* they have done muſt be defended with greater, and, if the *Law* live, they muſt die; wherefore, theſe being their Courſes, and that the *Plague* cauſes round ſweat a Deſolation, as one of theſe *ad Favourites*, it might be wiſhed, that this Prayer might be added to all the publick Litanies of Chriſtians, *Lord turn away from all States an Evil, which is the Cauſe of ſo many other Evils: Deny not Sovereign Princes the Spirit of Conduct, which is fit for them to govern by: Give them Underſtanding enough to counſel themſelves well, and to chuſe their Counſellors as they ought.*

To conclude, as the firſt Advances of ill Court-Favourites are commonly *baſe* and *ſhameful*, their Progreſs *vile*, wicked, and deſtructive, their ſhort Continuances attended with *Hazards* and Anxieties, ſo their *Eclipſes* are ever more fatal, and their Falls deſperate; they are generally ſurpriſed with Ruin, and their Defeat is like that of *forlorn Troops*, cut in Pieces before they can rally, or be reinforced. Private Men oftentimes fall upon their *Legs*, and find Friends to relieve, at leaſt to *commiſerate* them, and *Bankrupt* Merchants are daily ſeen to riſe again like *Phœnixes* out of their own Duſt, but with *Courtiers* and *Stateſmen* there are no Degrees of Misfortune; thoſe *Ladders* they clambered up with ſo much Sweat, Addreſs, and Difficulty, upon the ſmalleſt Miſ-ſtep, ſerve but to render their Precipitation more notorious; when they are hurled down from all thoſe *bubbled Glories*, their beſt Comfort is not to *ſurvive* their Deſtiny; and their greateſt Miſery is, when they outlive themſelves, to ſee their Families *buried* in their Ruins, and all the Advantages of their Honour and Fortune turned againſt them, like an Army diſſipated with the Fury of its own *Cannon*; then, too late, they find themſelves forſaken of all thoſe *Alliances*, which they had with ſo much Subtlety contracted, vainly imagining to have laid a Foundation of everlaſting Greatneſs: Their *Cobweb Policies* are unravelled in a Moment, for no ſooner do they begin to decline, but their moſt *obliged Creatures* ſhun them moſt, and, like *Haman's* Wife, are the *firſt Harbingers* of their Ruin. Thoſe that *were raiſed* by their Countenance, not daring to *own* any Love or Honour to their Perſons, leſt they ſhould be involved in their Ruin, by being at leaſt ſuſpected, as concerned in their Crimes; their own *Servants* conclude it but *Juſtice*, as well

well as *Prudence*, to expoſe their Faults; their Enemies triumph over them, and even their *Friends* think it Charity enough to afford them an inſulting *Pity*, and the *People*, who with Reaſon univerſally hated, but *feared* them *before*, are now priviledged to *curſe* them; nay, the Prince himſelf, in whoſe Service perhaps they wounded their Conſciences, and for whoſe Pleaſures they *bleed*, uſes them but as the *Skreen of Envy*, and hoping with their Ruin to gratify *many*, and pleaſe *all*, gives them up, when he cannot in Prudence longer *ſupport* them, as a *propitiatory Sacrifice* to the enraged Multitude, and becomes as inexhorable to their *Petitions*, as they had been formerly to the more *juſt Requeſts* of others in Diſtreſs.

In fine, having long ſince forfeited their *Innocency* (the ſweet Retreat of oppreſſed Virtue) they at laſt find no *Sanctuary* ſufficient to protect them, but are precipitated out of the World, loaded with *Guilt* and *Shame*, and the *Ruins* of Nations, and the *Deſtruction* of their *Maſters*, and the *Execrations* of all Mankind.

The Forerunner of Revenge. Being two Petitions: The one, to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty; the other, to the moſt honourable Houſes of Parliament. Wherein are expreſſed divers Actions of the late Earl of *Buckingham*; eſpecially concerning the Death of King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, ſuppoſed by Poiſon. Alſo may be obſerved the Inconveniences befalling a State, where the noble Diſpoſition of the Prince is miſled by a Favourite. By *George Egliſham*, Doctor of Phyſick, and one of the Phyſicians to King *James* of happy Memory, for his Majeſty's Perſon, above ten Years Space. *Quarto* containing Twenty-three Pages, printed at *London*, in the Year MDCXLII.

To the moſt potent Monarch Charles, *King of* Great-Britain.

SIR,

NO better Motive there is for a ſafe Government, than the ſafe Meditation of Death (equalling Kings, with Beggars) and the exact Juſtice of God requiring of them, that the Good ſuffering Miſery in this Life ſhould receive Joy in the other; and the Wicked, flouriſhing ſecurely in this, might be puniſhed in the other. That which pleaſeth laſteth but a Moment; what tormenteth is everlaſting. Many Things we ſee unrewarded or unpuniſhed in this inferior World, which in the univerſal Weight of God's Juſtice, muſt be counterpoiſed elſewhere. But wilful and ſecret Murther hath ſeldom been obſerved to eſcape undiſcovered or unpuniſhed, even in this Life, ſuch a particular and notable Revenge perpetually followeth it, to the End that they who are either *Atheiſts* or *Machiaveliſts* may not truſt too much to their Wits in doing ſo horrible Injuſtice; would to God your Majeſty would well conſider what I have often ſaid to my Maſter, King *James*, The greateſt Policy is Honeſty; and howſoever any Man ſeem to himſelf wiſe in compaſſing his Deſires, by Tricks, yet, in the End, he will prove a Fool: For Falſhood ever deceiveth her own Maſter, at length, as the Devil (Author of all Falſhood)

Falſhood) always with; leaving his Adherents deſolate, when they have the greateſt Need of his Help; no Falſhood without Injuſtice, no Injuſtice without Falſhood, albeit it were in the Perſon of a King.

There is no Judge in the World more tied to do Juſtice than a King, whoſe Coronation tieth him unto it by ſolemn Oath, which if he violate, he is falſe and perjured.

It is Juſtice that maketh Kings, Juſtice that maintains Kings, and Injuſtice that brings Kings and Kingdoms to Deſtruction, to fall into Miſery, to die like Aſſes in Ditches, or a more beaſtly Death, eternal Infamy after Death, as all Hiſtories from Time to Time do clearly manifeſt.

What Need hath Mankind of Kings but for Juſtice? Men are not born for them, but they for Men; what greater, what more royal Occaſion in the World, could be offered to your Majeſty, to ſhew your impartial Diſpoſition in Matters of Juſtice, at the firſt Entry of your Reign, than this which I offer in my juſt Complaint againſt *Buckingham*, by whom your Majeſty ſuffereth yourſelf ſo far to be led, that your beſt Subjects are in Doubt whether he is your King, or you his. If your Majeſty know and conſider how he hath tyranniſed over his Lord and Maſter King *James* (the worldly Creator of his Fortunes) how inſolent, how ingrate an Oppreſſor, what a Murtherer and Traitor he hath proved himſelf towards him, how treacherous to his upholding Friends, the Marquis of *Hamilton* and others, your Majeſty may think (giving Way to the Laws demanded againſt him) to yield a moſt glorious Field for your Majeſty to walk in, and diſplay the Banner of your royal Virtues.

Your Majeſty may perhaps demand, what Intereſt I have therein, what have I to do therewith, that I ſhould ſtir, all others being quiet? Sir, the Quietneſs or Stirring of others expecteth only a Beginning from me, whom they know ſo much obliged to ſtir, as none can be more, both in Reſpect of Knowledge of Paſſages, and in Regard of human Obligation and of my Independency from the Accuſed, or any other that his Power and Credit can reach unto; many know not what I know therein, others are little or Nothing beholding to the Dead; others, albeit they know it as well as I, and are obliged as deep as I, yet dare not complain ſo ſafely as I, being out of their Reach, who are inſeparable from him by his Inchantments, and all to obſcure myſelf, until the Power of juſt Revenge upon him be obtained from God.

What I know ſufficient againſt him, I have ſet down in my Petition againſt him to the Parliament; to which if your Majeſty diſmiſs him ſequeſtered from your Majeſty charged with an Accuſation of Treaſon, you ſhall do what is juſt, and deliver yourſelf and your Kingdom from the Captivity in which he holdeth them and your Majeſty oppreſſed. How eaſily I may eclipſe myſelf from his Power to do me Harm, unleſs he hath Legions of infernal Spirits at his Command to purſue me, your Majeſty may well know, I being *ultra mare* to theſe Dominions, where he ruleth and rageth.

How far I am obliged to complain more than others, I will, in few Words, expreſs, that neither your Majeſty nor any Man may think otherwiſe, but that I have moſt juſt Reaſon not to be ſilent in a Wrong ſo intolerable, the Intereſt of Blood, which I have to any of them, of whoſe Death I complain, either by the Houſe of *Balgony Lunday* or *Silverton-Hill*, albeit it is eaſy to be made manifeſt and ſufficient to move me, yet it is not the ſole Motive of my Breach of Silence; but the Intereſt of received Courteſy, and the Heap of infallible Tokens of true Affection, is more than ſufficient to ſtir me thereto, unleſs I would prove the moſt ingrate in the World, and ſenſeleſs of the greateſt Injuries that can be done unto myſelf; for who killed King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, in that Part of the Injury, which is done unto me therein, he hath done as much as robbed me of my Life, and all my Fortunes and Friends.

With ſuch conſtant and loving Impreſſions of me, as are neither to be recovered nor duly valued; for his Majeſty, from the third Year of my Age, did practiſe honourable Tokens of ſingular Favour towards me, daily augmented them in Word, in Writ, in Deed, accompanied them, with Gifts, Patents, Offices, Recommendations both in private and publick, at Home and Abroad graced ſo far that I could ſcarce ask any Thing, but I could have obtained it.

How much Honour he hath done unto me, there needs no Witneſs unto your Majeſty, who is ſufficient for many; no leſs is my Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Friendſhip eſtabliſhed by mutual Obligation of moſt acceptable Offices continued by our Anceſtors theſe three Generations, engraven in the tender Minds and Years of the Marquis and me, in the Preſence of our Sovereign King *James*. For the Marquis's Father,

Father, who with the Right-hand on his Head, and the Left on mine, did offer us (young in Years ſo joined) to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, recommending me to his Majeſty's Favour, ſaid, I take God to witneſs, that this young Man's Father was the beſt Friend that ever I had, or ſhall have in this World. Whereupon, the young Lord reſolved to put Truſt in me, and I fully to addict myſelf to him, to deſerve of him as much Commendations as my Father did of his Father.

This royal Celebration of our Friends rooted itſelf ſo deep in my Mind, that to myſelf I purpoſed this Remembrance, giving it to my young Lord, and to my familiar Friends, and ſet it upon the Books of my Study. *Semper Hamiltonium, &c.*

Always the King and Hamilton
Within thy Breaſt conſerve,
Whatever be thy Actions,
Let Princes two deſerve.

Neither was it in vain, for both our Loves increaſed with our Age, the Marquis promiſing to engage his Life and whole Eſtate for me, if Need was, and ſo ſhare his Fortunes with me; and not only promiſing, but alſo performing, whenever there was Occaſion; yea, for my Sake offering to hazard his Life in Combate, whoſe Mind in wiſhing me well, whoſe Tongue in honouring of me, and whoſe Hands and Means in defending me (both abſent and preſent unto the laſt Period of his Life) hath ever aſſiſted me.

I ſhould be more tedious than was fit, if I ſhould rehearſe every particular Favour ſo manifeſtly known to the whole Court, and to the Friends of us both; who then can juſtly blame me demanding Juſtice as well for the Slaughter of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, as of my moſt gracious Sovereign King *James*, ſeeing I know whom to accuſe? My Profeſſion of Phyſick, nor my Education to Letters, cannot ſerve to hinder me from undertaking the hardeſt Enterpriſe that ever any *Roman* undertook, ſo far as the Law of Conſcience will give Way.

Why ſhould I ſtay at the Decay
Of Hamilton's *the Hope?*
Why ſhall I ſee thy Foe ſo free,
Unto this Joy give Scope?
Rather I pray a doleful Day
Set me in cruel Fate:
Than thy Death ſtrange without Revenge,
Or him in ſafe Eſtate.
This Soul to Heaven, Hand to the Dead I vow;
No fraudful Mind, nor trembling Hand, I have:
If Pen it ſhun, the Sword Revenge ſhall follow:
Soul, Pen, and Sword what Thing but juſt do crave?

What Affection I bore to the Living, the ſame ſhall accompany the Dead; for, when one (whoſe Truth and Sincerity was well known unto me) told me, that it was better for the chiefeſt of my Friends, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, to be quiet at Home in *Scotland*, than eminent in the Court of *England*; to whom, by the Opinion of the wiſer Sort, his being at Court will coſt him no leſs than his Life; ſith that, I, ſtretching forth mine Arm (apprehending ſome Plots laid againſt him) anſwered, If no Man dare to revenge his Death, I vow to God, this Hand of mine ſhall revenge it: Scarcely any other Cauſe to be found, than the Bond of our cloſe Friendſhip, why, in the Scroll of Noblemen's Names, who were to be killed, I ſhould be ſet down next to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and under theſe Words (viz. *The Marquis, and Doctor* Egliſham *to embalm him*) to wit, to the End that no Diſcoverer or Revenger ſhould be left; this Roll of Names, I know not by what Deſtiny, found near to *Weſtminſter*, about the Time of the Duke of *Richmond*'s Death, and brought to the Lord Marquis by his Couſin, the Daughter of the Lord *Oldbarro*, one of the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, did cauſe no Terror in me, until I did ſee the Marquis poiſoned, and remembered, that the reſt therein noted were dead, and myſelf, next pointed at, only ſurviving. Why ſtay I any more? The Cauſe requireth no more the Pen, but the Sword.

I do not write ſo bold, becauſe I am amongſt the Duke's Enemies; but I have retired myſelf to his Enemies, becauſe I was reſolved to write and do earneſtly againſt him, as may very well appear: For, ſince the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Death, the moſt noble Marquis *de Fiatta*, Ambaſſador for the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, and alſo *Buckingham*'s Mother, ſent on every Side to ſeek me, inviting me to them: But I did forſake them, knowing certainly the Falſhood of *Buckingham* would ſuffer the Ambaſſador rather to receive an Affront, than to be unſatisfied of his blood-thirſty Deſire of my Blood, to ſilence me with Death (for, according to the Proverb,

Proverb, *The Dead cannot bite*) if he could have found me: For my Lord Duke of *Lenox*, who was often croſſed by *Buckingham*, with his Brother and the Earl of *Southampton*, now dead, and one of the Roll found of thoſe that were to be murdered, well aſſured me, that, where *Buckingham* once miſliked, no Apology, no Submiſſion, no Reconciliation, could keep him from doing Miſchief.

Neither do I write this in this Faſhion, ſo freely, for any Entertainment here preſent, which I have not, nor for any future, which I have no Ground to look for; ſeeing *Buckingham* hath ſo much miſled your Majeſty, that he hath cauſed, not only here, but alſo in all Nations, all *Britiſh* Natives to be diſgraced and miſtruſted; your Majeſty's moſt royal Word, which ſhould be inviolable, your Hand and Seal, which ſhould be infringeable, to be moſt ſhamefully violated, and yourſelf to be moſt ingrate for your kind Uſage in *Spain*; which *Buckingham* maketh to be requited with Injuries, in a moſt baſe Manner; under Proteſtation of Friendſhip, a bloody War being kindled on both Sides, whereby he hath buried with King *James* the glorious Name of *Peace-making King*, who had done much more juſtly and adviſedly, if he had procured Peace unto *Chriſtendom*; whereby ſmall Hope I have of obtaining Juſtice on my moſt juſt Complaint, unto which my dear Affection unto my dear Friends murdered, and extreme Deteſtation of *Buckingham*'s violent Proceedings hath brought me. Your Majeſty may find moſt juſt Cauſes to accuſe him in my Petition to the Parliament, which ſhall ſerve for a Touch-ſtone to your Majeſty, and a Whet-ſtone to me and many other *Scotchmen*; and which, if it be neglected, will make your Majeſty to incur a Cenſure amongſt all virtuous Men in the World, that your Majeſty will be loth to hear of, and I am aſtoniſhed to expreſs at this Time.

A Serpent lurketh in the Graſs.

No other Way there is to be found to ſave your Honour, but to give Way to Juſtice againſt that Traitor, *Buckingham*, by whom manifeſt Danger approacheth to your Majeſty, no otherwiſe than Death approached to King *James*.

If your Majeſty will, therefore, take any Courſe therein, the Examination upon Oath of all thoſe, that were about the King and the Marquis of *Hamilton* in their Sickneſs, or at their Deaths, or after their Deaths, before indifferent Judges (no Dependants on *Buckingham*) will ſerve for ſufficient Proof of *Buckingham*'s Guiltineſs. In the mean Time, until I ſee what be the Iſſue of my Complaint, without any more Speech, I reſt

Your Majeſty's daily Suppliant,

George Egliſham.

To the moſt honourable the Nobility, Knights, and Burgeſſes of the Parliament of *England.*

The humble Petition of George Egliſham, *Doctor of Phyſick, and one of the Phyſicians to King* James *of happy Memory, for his Majeſty's Perſon, above the Space of ten Years.*

WHereas the chief human Care of Kings, and Courts of Parliament, is the Preſervation and Protection of the Subjects Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, from private and publick Injuries, to the End that all Things may be carried in the equal Balance of Juſtice, without which no Monarchy, no Commonwealth, no Society, no Family, yea, no Man's Life or Eſtate can conſiſt, albeit never ſo little: It cannot be thought unjuſt to demand of Kings and Parliaments the Cenſure of Wrongs, the Conſideration whereof was ſo great in our Monarch of happy Memory, King *James*, that he hath often publickly proteſted, even in the Preſence of his apparent Heir, that, if his own Son ſhould commit Murder, or any ſuch execrable Act of Injury, he would not ſpare him, but would have him die for it, and would have him more ſeverely puniſhed than any other: For, he very well obſerved, no greater Injuſtice, no Injury more intolerable can be done by Man to Man, than Murder. In all other Wrongs Fortune hath Recourſe; the Loſs of Honour, or Goods, may be repaired,

paired, Satisfaction may be made, Reconciliation may be procured, ſo long as the Party injured is alive. But, when the Party injured is bereft of his Life, what can reſtore it? What Satisfaction can be given him? Where ſhall the Murderer meet with him, to be reconciled to him, unleſs he be ſent out of this World to follow his Spirit, which, by his Wickedneſs, he hath ſeparated from his Body? Therefore, of all Injuries, of all the Acts of Injuſtice, of all Things moſt to be looked into, Murder is the greateſt; and, of all Murders, the Poiſoning under Truſt and Profeſſion of Friendſhip is the moſt heinous; which if you ſuffer to go unpuniſhed, let no Man think himſelf ſo ſecure to live amongſt you, as amongſt the wildeſt and moſt furious Beaſts in the World: For, by Vigilancy and Induſtry, Means may be had to reſiſt, or evict, the moſt violent Beaſt that ever Nature bred; but, from falſe and treacherous Hearts, from poiſoning Murders, what Wit or Wiſdom can defend?

This concerneth your Lordſhips, every one in particular, as well as myſelf. They (of whoſe Poiſoning your Petitioner complaineth) *viz.* King *James*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and others, whoſe Names after ſhall be expreſſed, have been the moſt eminent in the Kingdom, and ſat on theſe Benches, whereon your Honours do now ſit. The Party, whom your Petitioner accuſeth, is the Duke of *Buckingham*, who is ſo powerful, that, unleſs the whole Body of a Parliament lay hold on him, no Juſtice can be had of him. For, what Place is there of Juſtice, what Office of the Crown, what Degree of Honour in the Kingdom, which he hath not ſold? And ſold in ſuch Craft, that he can ſhake the Buyer out of them, and intrude others at his Pleaſure?

All the Judges of the Kingdom, all the Officers of State, are his bound Vaſſals, or Allies, and afraid to become his Out-caſts, as it is notorious to all his Majeſty's true and loving Subjects; yea, ſo far hath his ambitious Practice gone, that what the King would have done, could not be done, if he oppoſed it; whereof many Inſtances may be given, whenſoever they ſhall be required: Neither are they unknown to this honourable Aſſembly, howſoever the Means he uſeth be, whether lawful or unlawful, whether human or diabolick, ſo he tortureth the Kingdom, that he procureth the Calling, Breaking, or Continuing of the Parliament, at his Pleaſure; placing and diſplacing the Officers of Juſtice, of the Council of the King's Court, of the Courts of Juſtice, to his violent Pleaſure, and as his ambitious Villainy moveth him. What Hope, then, can your Petitioner have, that his Complaint ſhould be heard, or, being heard, ſhould take Effect? To obtain Juſtice he may deſpair; to provoke the Duke to ſend forth a Poiſoner, or Murderer, to diſpatch him, and ſend him after his dead Friends already murdered, he may be ſure of this to be the Event. Let the Event be what it will, come whatſoever can come, the Loſs of his own Life your Petitioner valueth not, having ſuffered the Loſs of the Lives of ſuch eminent Friends, eſteeming his Life cannot be better beſtowed, than upon the Diſcovery of ſo heinous Murders. Yea, the Juſtneſs of the Cauſe, the Dearneſs and Nearneſs of his Friends murdered, ſhall prevail ſo far with him, that he ſhall unfold unto your Honours, and unto the whole World, againſt the Accuſed, and name him the Author of ſo great Murders, *George Villers*, *Duke of Buckingham*; which, againſt any private Man, are ſufficient for his Apprehenſion and Torture. And, to make his Complaint not very tedious, he will only, for the preſent, declare unto your Honours the two eminent Murders committed by *Buckingham*, to wit, of the King's Majeſty, and of the Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*; which, for all the Subtlety of his poiſoning Art, could not be ſo cunningly conveighed, as the Murderer thought, but that God hath diſcovered manifeſtly the Author. And, to obſerve the Order of the Time of their Death, becauſe the Lord Marquis of *Hamilton* died firſt, his Death ſhall be firſt related, even from the Root of his firſt Quarrel with *Buckingham*, albeit many other Jars have proceeded, from Time to Time, betwixt them.

Concerning the Poiſoning of the Lord Marquis of Hamilton.

Buckingham once raiſed from the Bottom of Fortune's Wheel to the Top, by what Deſert, by what Right or Wrong, no Matter it is; (by his Carriage the Proverb is verified) *Nothing more proud, than baſeſt Blood, when it doth riſe aloft.* He ſuffered his Ambition to carry himſelf ſo far, as to aſpire to match his Blood with the Blood Royal both of *England*

land and *Scotland*. And, well knowing, that the Marquis of *Hamilton* was acknowledged by King *James* to be the prime Man in his Dominions, who, next to his own Line, in his proper Season, might claim an hereditary Title to his Crown of *Scotland*, by the Daughter of King *James the Second*, and to the Crown of *England* by *Joan* of *Somerset*, Wife to King *James the First*, declared, by an Act of Parliament, Heretrix of *England* to be in her due Rank, never suffered the King to be at Rest, but urged him always to send some of his Privy-Council to solicit the Marquis to match his eldest Son with *Buckingham*'s Niece, making great Promises of Conditions, which the mean Family of the Bride could not perform without the King's Liberality, to wit, Fifty-thousand Pounds Sterling, valuing Five-hundred-thousand Florins with the Earldom of *Orkney*, under the Title of Duke, and whatsoever the Marquis would accept, even to the first Duke of *Britain*.

The glorious Title of a Duke the Marquis refused twice, upon special Reasons reserved to himself.

The Matter of Money was no Motive to cause the Marquis to match his Son so unequal to his Degree, seeing *Buckingham* himself, the chief of her Kindred, was but a Novice in Nobility, his Father obscure amongst Gentlemen, his Mother a Serving-woman; and he being infamous for his frequent Consultation with the Ring-leader of Witches, principally that false Doctor *Lambe*, publickly condemned for Witchcraft; whereby the Marquis, knowing that the King was so far bewitched to *Buckingham*, that, if he refused the Match demanded, he should find the King's deadly Hatred against him; and seeing that *Buckingham*'s Niece was not yet nubile in Years, and that, before the Marriage should be confirmed, a Way might be found out to annul it; unto which he was forced by deceitful Importunity; therefore he yielded unto the King's Desire of the Match: Whereupon, *Buckingham* and his Faction, fearing that Delays would bring Lets, urged my Lord Marquis to send for his Son, upon a *Sunday* Morning betimes, in all Haste, from *London* to Court at *Greenwich*; where never a Word was spoken of Marriage, to the young Lord, till a little before Supper, and the Marriage made before the King after Supper. And, to make it more authentick, *Buckingham* caused his Niece to be laid in Bed with the Marquis's Son, for a short Time, in the King's Chamber, and in his Majesty's Presence, albeit the Bride was yet innubile. Many were astonished at the sudden News thereof, all the Marquis's Friends fretting thereat, and some writing unto him very scornful Letters for the same.

The Marquis, having satisfied the King's Demands, did what he could to prevent the Confirmation of the Marriage, and intended to send his Son beyond the Seas, to travel through *France*, and so to pass his Time Abroad, until that Means were found out to unty that Knot, which *Buckingham* had urged the King to tie upon his Son.

But *Buckingham*, to countermand the Marquis's Design, causes the Marquis's Son, to be sworn Gentleman of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, and so to be detained with him within the Kingdom, until that the Bride was at Years ripe for Marriage.

The Time expired that *Buckingham*'s Niece became marriageable; *Buckingham* sent to the Marquis, to desire him to make the Marriage to be compleatly confirmed.

The Marquis (not willing to hear of any such Matter) answered briefly, he scorned the Motion.

This Answer was reported to *Buckingham*, who seeing himself like to be frustrated of his ambitious Matching of his Niece, and perceiving that the Lord Marquis was able to raise a great Faction against him, whether King *James* did live or die, was mightily incensed against the Marquis: At the first Encounter with him, did challenge him for speaking disdainfully of him and his House.

The Marquis replied, he did not remember any offensive Words uttered by himself against *Buckingham*. *Buckingham* then proudly said unto him, Out of the Words of thy Mouth I will judge thee; for you have said, you scorn the Motion of matching with my House, which I made unto you. The Marquis answered, that, if he had said so, it became not the Duke to speak unto him in that Fashion. So *Buckingham* threatened to be revenged: The Marquis uttered his Defiance; and thus the Quarrel began, which four or five times was reiterated, and as often reconciled by the Marquis *de Fiatta*, a little before the Marquis of *Hamilton* fell sick; wherein it is very evident, that the Quarrel hath been very violent, that needed so many Reconciliations. The Duke's Fire of his Anger and Fury being unextinguishable, as King *James* did often censure him in his Absence, albeit a Fa-

Favourite; that he was wonderful vindicative, whoſe Malice was inſatiable towards my Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*, did well ſhew itſelf, as ſhall appear hereafter.

Hardly can any Man tell, whether, by the Marquis in his Sickneſs, *Buckingham* was more ſuſpected, than accuſed, of the Poiſon given, or to be given him; for he would not taſte of any Thing that was ſent to him by any of *Buckingham*'s Friends, but he would have ſome of his Servants taſte of it before: And for the Love that was mutual between him and your Petitioner (whom he would never ſuffer to go out of his Sight during his Sickneſs) your Petitioner caſt off all that he took in that Time, unto whom his Suſpicion of *Buckingham* he expreſſed by Name, before ſufficient Witneſs, who will teſtify it upon Oath, if there be any Courſe taken therein for the Search thereof. All the Time of his Sickneſs, he intreated your Petitioner not to ſuffer my Lord of *Buckingham* to come near him; and your Petitioner having often ſent Word, and alſo ſometimes ſignified himſelf to *Buckingham*, that there was no fit Opportunity to ſee the Marquis, pretending ſomething to be miniſtred to him: But, when your Petitioner could find no more Excuſes, he told my Lord Marquis, that he had put away my Lord of *Buckingham* ſo often, that he could not keep him away any longer, but that he muſt needs ſee him.

Then he, knowing *Buckingham*'s Viſitation to proceed of Diſſimulation, requeſted your Petitioner, at laſt, to find the Means to get him away quickly; which your Petitioner did, interrupting *Buckingham*'s Diſcourſe, and intreating him to ſuffer my Lord Marquis to be quiet.

This did evidently ſhew my Lord Marquis's Diſliking and Diſtruſting of *Buckingham*, whereas he was well pleaſed with other Noblemen's Company. All the Time of his Sickneſs, the Duke and my Lord *Denbigh* would not ſuffer his own Son to come to him, pretending that he was alſo ſick; which was falſe for the Time that my Lord Marquis called for him. After this, your Petitioner adviſed his Lordſhip to diſpoſe of his Eſtate, and of his Conſcience; his Sickneſs was not without Danger, which your Petitioner, four Days before my Lord's Death, did in ſuch Manner perceive, that he had Cauſe to deſpair of his Health, but intreated him to commit all the Care of his Health to God and his Phyſicians, aſſuring, howſoever he had gotten Wrong about, he ſhould get none in the Cure of his Diſeaſe.

At length his Lordſhip burſt out in theſe Words to my Lord *Denbigh*, 'It is a great 'Cruelty in you, that you will not ſuffer my 'Son to come to me when I am dying, that 'may ſee him, and ſpeak to him before I die.' So they delayed his Coming with Excuſes, until my Lord's Agony of Death was near, to the End that he ſhould not have Time to give his Son private Inſtructions to ſhun the Marriage of *Buckingham*'s Niece, or to ſignify unto him the Suſpicion of Poiſon: For they had rather his Son ſhould know any Thing, than either of theſe; yet many did ſuſpect his Poiſon before he died: For, two Days before his Death, two of his Servants died with manifeſt Signs and Suſpicion of Poiſon, the one belonging to the Wine-Cellar, the other to the Kitchin.

The fatal Hour being come, that my Lord Marquis deceaſed, your Petitioner intreated all that were preſent, to ſuffer no Man to touch his Body, until he returned to ſee it opened. For then he proteſted earneſtly, that, all the Time of his Sickneſs, he judged him to be poiſoned; but this Poiſon was ſuch, and ſo far gone, that none could help it: Nevertheleſs, to have the Matter concealed, *Buckingham* would have him buried that ſame Night in *Weſtminſter* Church, and the Ceremonies of his Burial to be kept afterwards, ſaying, that ſuch delicate Bodies as his could not to be kept.

But his Friends, taking hold of the Caveat before given by your Petitioner, refuſed ſo to do, and replied, that they would have him, as became him, to be buried in *Scotland*, in his own Chapel, where all his Anceſtors have been buried for more than theſe four-hundred Years; and that his Body muſt firſt be viſited by his Phyſicians.

No ſooner was he dead, when the Force of the Poiſon had overcome the Force of his Body, but it began to ſwell in ſuch Sort, that his Thighs were ſwoln ſix times as big as their natural Proportion; his Belly became as big as the Belly of an Ox, his Arms as the natural Quantity of his Thighs, his Neck as broad as his Shoulders, his Cheeks over the Top of his Noſe, that his Noſe could not be ſeen or diſtinguiſhed; the Skin of his Forehead two Fingers high ſwelled, the Hair of his Beard, Eye-brows, and Head, ſo far diſtant from one another, as if an hundred had been taken out between each one; and when one did touch the Hair, it came away

with the Skin as eaſily, as if one had pulled Hay out of an Heap of Hay. He was all over, his Neck, Breaſt, Shoulders, Arms, and Brows, I ſay, of divers Colours, full of Waters, of the ſame Colour, ſome white, ſome black, ſome red, ſome yellow, ſome green, ſome blue, and that as well within his Body, as without.

Alſo, the Concavities of his Liver green, his Stomach, in ſome Places, a little purpurated with a blue clammy Water, adhering to the Sides of it; his Mouth and Noſe foaming Blood mixed with Froth mightily, of divers Colours, a Yard high. Your Petitioner, being ſent for to viſit his Body, and his Servants all flocking about him, ſaying, See, ſee, preſently weeping, ſaid, He was poiſoned, and that it was not a Thing to be ſuffered.

Moreover, he ſaid, that, albeit his Speech might coſt him his Life, yet, ſeeing his Sorrow had extorted that Speech out of him, he would make it manifeſt, and would have a Jury of Phyſicians. Preſently, ſome of my Lord Marquis of *Hamilton's* Friends ſaid, We muſt ſend to my Lord Duke, that he may ſend his Phyſicians; but your Petitioner replied, What have we to do with the Duke's Phyſicians? Let us have indifferent Men. Captain *Hamilton*, hearing your Petitioner ſo boldly take Exceptions at *Buckingham*, and judging that he had good Reaſon for what he had ſpoken, ſaid, For all that, let us ſend to the Duke, and ſignify, that all who have ſeen the Marquis's Body, both Phyſicians, Chirurgeons, and others, may ſee that he is poiſoned, and that his Friends deſire more Phyſicians out of the College of *London*, beſides the Duke's Phyſicians, to bear Witneſs in what Caſe the Marquis's Body is in; and then, if the Duke's Conſcience be guilty (ſaid the Captain) it will ſhew itſelf, as indeed it did: For the Duke, being advertiſed hereof, ſent for his own Phyſicians, and others out of *London*, whom he cauſed firſt to be brought unto him, before they went to ſee the Marquis's Body, giving them his Directions in theſe Words, *viz.*

My Maſters, there is a Bruit ſpread abroad, that the Marquis of Hamilton *is poiſoned; go ſee, but beware what you ſpeak of Poiſon (which he ſaid in a threatening Form of Delivery) for every Nobleman that dieth muſt be poiſoned.*

If his Conſcience had not been guilty, ſhould not he have commanded the Phyſicians to enquire, by all Means poſſible, and make it known, rather than to ſuppreſs the Speech of poiſoning ſo worthy a Man.

Theſe Phyſicians being come, your Petitioner with one Hand leading Doctor *More* to the Table, where the Marquis's Body was laid, and with the other Hand throwing off the Cloath from the Body, ſaid unto him, Look you here upon this Spectacle.

At the Sight whereof Doctor *More*, lifting up both his Hands, Heart, and Eyes to the Heavens, aſtoniſhed, ſaid, *Jeſus* bleſs me, I never ſaw the like, I cannot diſtinguiſh a Face upon him; and in like Manner all the reſt of the Doctors, and alſo the Chirurgeons, affirmed, that they never ſaw the like, albeit that they have travelled and practiſed through the greateſt Part of *Europe*: Only one, that ſaid, My Lord of *Southampton* was bliſtered all within the Breaſt, as my Lord Marquis was. Doctor *Leiceſter*, one of *Buckingham's* Creatures, ſeeing Doctor *More* and others ſo amazed at the Sight of my Lord's Body, drew firſt him aſide, and then the others, one after another, and whiſpered them in the Ear to ſilence them.

Whereupon many went away, without ſpeaking one Word; the others, who remained, acknowledged, that thoſe Accidents of the dead Body could not be without Poiſon; but they ſaid, they could not know how ſuch a ſubtile Art of Poiſoning could be brought into *England*; your Petitioner replied, that Money would bring both the Art, and the Artiſt, from the furtheſt Part of the World into *England*, from whence, ſince your Petitioner's Departure, he hath conferred with the ſkilfulleſt Peſt-maſters that could be found, who viſit the Bodies of thoſe that die of the Venom of the Peſt.

They all admire the Deſcription of my Lord Marquis's Body, and teſtify, that never any of the Peſt have ſuch Accidents, but Carbuncles, Rubons, or Spots, no ſuch huge Bliſters with Waters, and ſuch a huge, uniform Swelling to ſuch Dimenſions, above ſix times the natural Proportion. But he hath met with ſome, who have practiſed the Poiſoning of Dogs, to try the Force of ſome Antidotes, and they have found, that ſome Poiſons have made the Dogs ſick for a Fortnight, or more, without any Swelling, until they were dead, and then they ſwelled above Meaſure, and became bliſtered, with Waters of divers Colours; and the Hair came away with the Skin, when it was touched.

The

The Phyſicians then, who remained, were willing to certify under their Hands, that my Lord Marquis was poiſoned. But your Petitioner told them, it was not needful, ſeeing we muſt needs attend God's Leiſure to diſcover the Author, the Manner being ſo apparent, and ſo many Hundreds having ſeen the Body to witneſs it, for the Doors were kept open, for every Man to behold, and to be Witneſs who would.

The Duke of *Buckingham* making ſome counterfeit Shew of Sorrow to Men of great Quality, found no other Shift to divert the Suſpicion of the poiſoning of the Marquis from him, but to lay it upon his Maſter, the King, ſaying, that the Marquis, for his Perſon, Spirit, and Carriage was ſuch as he was born worthy to reign; but the King, his Maſter, hated him to Death, becauſe he had a Spirit too much for the Common-weal; whereby the Duke did ſhew himſelf no good Subject to the King, who made the King's Honour to be tyrannical, and the King a blood-thirſty Murderer, and a moſt vile Diſſembler, having heaped ſo many Honours daily upon the Marquis, even to the very laſt, making him Lord High Steward of his Majeſty's Houſe, and Judge of the very Court, whom he had made before Viceroy of *Scotland*, for the Time of the Parliament of *Scotland*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Privy-counſellor in *England*, and Knight of the Garter, as if he had raiſed him to all theſe Honours, that the Murdering of him might be the leſs ſuſpected to proceed from him.

The King's Nature hath always been obſerved to have been ſo gracious, and ſo free-hearted towards every one, that he would never have wiſhed the Marquis any Harm, unleſs that *Buckingham* had put great Jealouſies and Fears into his Mind; for, if any other had done it, he would have acquainted his Favourite therewith. And then was it *Buckingham*'s Duty to remove from the King ſuch ſiniſtrous Conceits of the Marquis, as the Marquis hath often done of *Buckingham*, upholding him upon all Occaſions, and keeping the King from giving Way to introduce any other Favourite: Wherefore *Buckingham*, in that Diverſion of the Crime from him, hath not only made the King, but alſo himſelf, guilty of the Marquis's Death.

But *Buckingham*'s Falſhood, and ill Intention, was long before rightly diſcovered, when he did what he could to make the Earl of *Netherſdale* and my Lord *Gordon* (both near Kinſmen of my Lord Marquis) ſo incenſed at him, that they had like all three to have killed one another, if it had not been that my Lord Marquis, by his Wiſdom, did let them all know how they were abuſed.

If any Diſſimulation be greater than *Buckingham*'s, let any Man judge: For, when my Lord Marquis's Body, was to be tranſported from *White-hall*, to his Houſe at *Biſhopſgate*, *Buckingham* came out muffled and furred in his Coach, giving out, that he was ſick for Sorrow of my Lord Marquis's Death; but, as ſoon as he went to his Houſe out of *London*, before his Coming to the King, he triumphed, and domineered with his Faction ſo exceſſively, as if he had gained ſome great Victory. And, the next Day coming to the King, he put on a moſt lamentable and mournful Countenance for the Death of my Lord Marquis. No greater Victory could he have gotten to his Mind, than to have deſtroyed that Man, who could, and would, have fetched his Head off his Shoulders, if he had outlived King *James*, to have known his Carriage in the poiſoning of him in his Sickneſs; wherefore he thought it moſt neceſſary to remove the aMrquis before-hand.

The ſame Day that my Lord Marquis died, *Buckingham* ſent my Lord Marquis's Son out of Town, keeping him as Priſoner, that none could have private Conference with him, until his Marriage of *Buckingham*'s Niece was compleated; but always either my Lord *Denbigh*, or my Lady *Denbigh*, or my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, or the Ducheſs of *Buckingham*, or the Counteſs of *Buckingham* was preſent, that none could let him underſtand how his Father was murdered. Even your Petitioner himſelf, when he went to ſee him, within a few Days after his Father's Death, was intreated not to ſpeak to him of the Poiſoning of his Father, which he did conceal at his firſt Meeting, becauſe their Sorrow was too recent. But he was prevented of a ſecond Meeting, neither would *Buckingham* ſuffer the young Lord to go to *Scotland*, to ſee his Father's Funeral, and to take Order with his Friends, concerning his Father's Eſtate, for fear that their intended Marriage ſhould be overthrown.

This Captivity of the young Lord Marquis laſted ſo long, until that *Buckingham* cauſed his Majeſty, King *Charles*, to take the young Lord with himſelf and *Buckingham* into St. *James*'s Park, diſcharging all others from following them; and there to perſuade and urge the young Lord, without any more Delay, to accompliſh the Marriage with *Buckingham*'s Niece, which inſtantly was performed; ſo that *Buckingham*'s

truſtetu

truſteth and preſumeth, that, albeit the young Lord ſhould underſtand how his Father was poiſoned by his Means, yet, being married to his Niece, he would not ſtir to revenge it, but comport with it.

To all that is obſerved before, it is worthy to be added that the Bruit went through *London*, long before the Lord Duke of *Richmond*'s Death, or his Brother's, or my Lord of *Southampton*'s, or of the Marquis, that all the Noblemen, that were not of the Duke's Faction, ſhould be poiſoned, and ſo removed out of his Way.

Alſo a Paper was found in *King-ſtreet*, about the Time of the Duke of *Richmond*'s Death, wherein the Names of all thoſe Noblemen, who have died ſince, were expreſſed; and your Petioner's Name alſo ſet next to my Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Name, with theſe Words: *To embalm him*. This Paper was brought by my Lord *Oldbarro*'s Daughter, Couſin-german to the Lord Marquis: Likewiſe a Mountebank, about that Time, was greatly countenanced by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and by his Means procured Letters Patents, and Recommendations from the King, to practiſe his Skill in Phyſick through all *England*; who coming to *London*, to ſell Poiſon, to kill Man or Beaſt within a Year, or half a Year, or two Years, or a Month or two, or what Time prefixed any Man deſired, in ſuch Sort that they could not be helped nor diſcovered. Moreover, the *Chriſtmas* before my Lord Marquis's Death, one of the Prince's Footmen ſaid, That ſome of the great ones at Court had gotten Poiſon in their Belly, but he could not tell who it was.

Here your Honours conſidering the Premiſſes of my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*'s ambitious and moſt vindicative Nature; his frequent Quarrels with my Lord Marquis, after ſo many Reconciliations; his Threatening of the Phyſicians, not to ſpeak of the Poiſon; his Triumphing after my Lord Marquis's Death; his Detaining of his Son almoſt Priſoner, until the Marriage was compleat with his Niece; the preceding Bruit of poiſoning *Buckingham*'s Adverſaries; the Paper of their Names found, with ſufficient Intimation of their Death, by the Concluſion of the Word, *embalming*; the Poiſon-Monger, Mountebank, graced by *Buckingham*, may ſuffice for Ground to take him and torture him, if he were a private Men: And herein your Petitioner moſt earneſtly demandeth Juſtice againſt that Traytor, ſeeing by Act of Parliament it is made Treaſon to conſpire the Death of Privy-Counſellor. Out of this Declaration, Interrogatories may be drawn for Examination of Witneſſes; wherein more is diſcovered to begin withal, than was laid open at the Beginning of the Diſcovery of the Poiſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

Concerning the Poiſoning of King James *of happy Memory, King of* Great-Britain.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, being in *Spain*, advertiſed by Letter, how that the King began to cenſure him in his Abſence freely, and that many ſpoke boldly to the King againſt him, and how the King had Intelligence from *Spain* of his unworthy Carriage in *Spain*; and how the Marquis of *Hamilton* (upon the ſudden News of the Prince's Departure) had nobly reprehended the King for ſending the Prince with ſuch a young Man, without Experience, and in ſuch a private and ſudden Manner, without acquainting the Nobility or Council therewith; wrote a very bitter Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, conceived new ambitious Courſes of his own, and uſed all the Devices he could to diſguſt the Prince's Mind off the Match with *Spain* ſo far intended by the King; made haſte Home, where, when he came, he ſo carried himſelf, that, whatever the King commanded in his Bed-chamber, he controlled in the next; yea, received Packets to the King from Foreign Princes, and diſpatched Anſwers without acquainting the King therewith, in a long Time after. Whereat perceiving the King highly offended, and that the King's Mind was beginning to alter towards him, ſuffering him to be quarrelled and affronted in his Majeſty's Preſence; and obſerving that the King reſerved my Lord of *Briſtol* to be a Rod for him, urging daily his Diſpatch for *France*, and expecting the Earl of *Gondomor*, who, as it ſeemed, was greatly eſteemed and wonderfully credited by the King, and would ſecond my Lord of *Briſtol*'s Accuſations againſt him. He knew alſo that the King had vowed that, in Deſpite of all the Devils in Hell, he would bring the *Spaniſh* Match about again, and that the Marquis of *Inicoſa* had given the King bad Impreſſions of him,

him, by whoſe Articles of Accuſation, the King himſelf had examined ſome of the Nobility and Privy-Council, and found in the Examination, that *Buckingham* had ſaid, after his Coming from *Spain*, That the King was now an old Man, it was now Time for him to be at reſt, and to be confined to ſome Park, to paſs the Reſt of his Time in Hunting, and the Prince to be crowned.

The more the King urged him to be gone to *France*, the more Shifts he made to ſtay; for he did evidently ſee, that the King was fully reſolved to rid himſelf of the Oppreſſions wherein he held him.

The King being ſick of a certain Ague, and that in the Spring was of itſelf never found deadly; the Duke took his Opportunity, when all the King's Doctors of Phyſick were at Dinner, upon the *Monday* before the King died, without their Knowledge or Conſent, and offered to him a white Powder to take, the which he a long Time refuſed; but, overcome with his flattering Importunity, at length took it in Wine, and immediately became worſe and worſe, falling into many Swoonings and Pains, and violent Fluxes of the Belly, ſo tormented, that his Majeſty cried out aloud of this white Powder, Would to God I had never taken it, it will coſt me my Life.

In like Manner alſo the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, my Lord of *Buckingham*'s Mother, upon the *Friday* after, the Phyſicians being alſo abſent and at Dinner, and not made acquainted with her Doings, applied a Plaiſter to the King's Heart and Breaſt; whereupon he grew faint, and ſhort-breathed, and in a great Agony. Some of the Phyſicians after Dinner, returning to ſee the King, by the offenſive Smell of the Plaiſter, perceived ſomething to be about him, hurtful to him, and ſearched what it ſhould be, and found it out, and exclaimed that the King was poiſoned. Then *Buckingham*, entering, commanded the Phyſicians out of the Room, cauſed one of them to be commited Priſoner to his own Chamber, and another to be removed from Court; quarrelled with others of the King's Servants in his ſick Majeſty's own Preſence ſo far, that he offered to draw his Sword againſt them in his Majeſty's Sight. And *Buckingham*'s Mother, kneeling down before his Majeſty, cried out with a brazen Face, *Juſtice, Juſtice, Sir, I demand Juſtice of your Majeſty.* His Majeſty aſked her, For what? *For that which their Lives are no Ways ſufficient to ſatisfy, for ſaying that my Son and I have poiſoned your Majeſty. Poiſoned me?* ſaid he; with that turning himſelf, ſwooned, and ſhe was removed.

The *Sunday* after his Majeſty died, and *Buckingham* deſired the Phyſicians, who attended his Majeſty, to ſign with their own Hands a Writ of Teſtimony, that the Powder, which he gave him, was a good and ſafe Medicine, which they refuſed.

Buckingham's Creatures did ſpread abroad a Rumour in *London*, that *Buckingham* was ſo ſorry for his Majeſty's Death, that he would have died, that he would have killed himſelf, if they had not hindered him; which your Petitioner purpoſely enquired after of them that were near him at that Time, who ſaid, that, neither in the Time of his Majeſty's Sickneſs, nor after his Death, he was more moved, than if there had never happened either Sickneſs or Death to his Majeſty.

One Day when his Majeſty was in great Extremity, he rode Poſt to *London*, to purſue his Siſter-in-Law, to have her ſtand in Sack-cloath in St. *Paul*'s for Adultery. And, another Time in his Majeſty's Agony, he was buſy in contriving and concluding a Marriage for one of his Couſins.

Immediately after his Majeſty's Death, the Phyſician, who was commanded to his Chamber, was ſet at Liberty, with a Caveat to hold his Peace; the others threatened, if they kept not good Tongues in their Heads.

But, in the mean Time, the King's Body and Head ſwelled above Meaſure, his Hair with the Skin of his Head ſtuck to the Pillow, and his Nails became looſe upon his Fingers and Toes.

Your Petitioner needeth to ſay no more to underſtanding Men, only one Thing he beſeecheth, that taking the Traytor, who ought to be taken without any Fear of his Greatneſs, the other Matters may be examined, and the Acceſſaries with the Guilty puniſhed.

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Obſervations on the late Queen *Eliſabeth*, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir *Robert Naunton*, Maſter of the Court of Wards. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641, *Quarto*, containing 49 Pages.

TO take her in the Original, ſhe was the Daughter of King *Henry the Eighth*, by *Ann Bullen*, the Second of ſix Wives which he had, and one of the Maids of Honour to the divorced Queen, *Katharine* of *Auſtria* (or as the now ſtiled Infanta of *Spain*) and from thence taken to the Royal Bed.

That ſhe was of a moſt noble and royal Extract by her Father, will not fall into Queſtion, for on that Side was diſembogued into her Veins, by a Confluency of Blood, the very Abſtract of all the greateſt Houſes in *Chriſtendom*; and remarkable it is, conſidering that violent Deſertion of the Royal Houſe of the *Britons*, by the Intruſion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conqueſt of the *Normans*: That, through Viciſſitude of Times, and after a Diſcontinuance almoſt of a thouſand Years, the Scepter ſhould fall again, and be brought back into the old regal Line and true Current of the *Britiſh* Blood, in the Perſon of her renowned Grandfather, King *Henry the Seventh*, together with whatſoever the *German*, *Norman*, *Burgundian*, *Caſtilian*, and *French* Atchievements, with their Intermarriages, which eight-hundred Years had acquired, could add of Glory thereunto.

By her Mother ſhe was of no ſovereign Deſcent, yet noble and very ancient in the Family of *Bullen*; though ſome erroneouſly brand them with a Citizen's Riſe, or Original, which was yet but of a ſecond Brother, who (as it was divine in the Greatneſs and Luſtre to come to his Houſe) was ſent into the City to acquire Wealth, *ad ædificandam antiquam domum*, unto whoſe Atchievements (for he was Lord Mayor of *London*) fell in, as it is averred, both the Blood and Inheritance of the eldeſt Brother, for Want of Iſſue Males, by which Accumulation the Houſe within few Deſcents mounted, *in culmen honoris*, and was ſuddenly dilated in the beſt Families of *England* and *Ireland*; as, *Howard*, *Ormond*, *Sackville*, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her Stipe, I come to her Perſon, and how ſhe came to the Crown by the Deceaſe of her Brother and Siſter.

Under *Edward the Sixth*, ſhe was his, and one of the Darlings of Fortune, for, beſides the Conſideration of Blood, there was between theſe two Princes a Concurrency and Sympathy of their Natures and Affections, together with the celeſtial Bond (confirmative Religion) which made them one; for the King never called her by any other Appellation but his ſweeteſt and deareſt Siſter, and was ſcarce his own Man, ſhe being abſent; which was not ſo between him and the Lady *Mary*.

Under her Siſter * ſhe found her Condition much altered, for it was reſolved, and her Deſtiny had decreed it, for to ſet her Apprentice in the School of Affliction, and to draw her thro' that Ordeal-fire of Trial, the better to mould and faſhion her to Rule and Sovereignty; which finiſhed, Fortune calling to Mind, that the Time of her Servitude was expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith delivered into her Cuſtody a Scepter, as the Reward of her Patience; which was about the Twenty-ſixth of her Age; a Time in which, as for her Internals grown ripe, and ſeaſoned by Adverſity, in the Exerciſe of her Virtue; for, it ſeems, Fortune meant no more but to ſhew her a Piece of Variety, and Changeableneſs of her Nature, but to conduct her to her Deſtiny, *i. e.* Felicity.

She was of Perſon tall, of Hair and Complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high-noſed; of Limbs and Features neat, and, which added to the Luſtre of theſe external Graces, of a ſtately and majeſtick Com-

portment,

* Queen *Mary*.

portment, participating in this more of her Father than of her Mother, who was of an inferior Alloy, plauſible, or as the *French* hath it, more *debonaire* and affable; Virtues, which might well ſuit with Majeſty, and which, deſcending as hereditary to the Daughter, did render her of a ſweeter Temper, and endeared her more to the Love and Liking of the People, who gave her the Name and Fame of a moſt gracious aud popular Princeſs.

The Atrocity of the Father's Nature was rebated in her, by the Mother's ſweeter Inclinations; for (to take, and that no more than the Character out of his own Mouth) *He never ſpared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Luſt.*

If we ſearch further into her Intellectuals and Abilities, the Wheel-courſe of her Government deciphers them to the Admiration of Poſterity, for it was full of Magnanimity, tempered with Juſtice, Piety, and Pity, and, to ſpeak Truth, noted but with one Act of Stain or Taint; all her Deprivations, either of Life or Liberty, being legal and neceſſitated; ſhe was learned, her Sex and Time conſidered, beyond common Belief: For, Letters about *this* Time, or ſomewhat *before*, did but begin to be of Eſteem and in Faſhion, the former Ages being overcaſt with the Miſts and Fogs of the *Roman* * Ignorance, and it was the Maxim that over-ruled the foregoing Times, that *Ignorance was the Mother of Devotion.* Her Wars were a long Time more in the auxiliary Part, and Aſſiſtance of foreign Princes and States, than by Invaſion of any; till common Policy adviſed it †, for a ſafer Way, to ſtrike firſt Abroad, than at Home to expect the War, in all which ſhe was ever felicious and victorious.

The Change and Alteration of Religion upon the Inſtant of her Acceſſion to the Crown (the Smoke and Fire of her Siſter's Martyrdoms ‡ ſcarcely quenched) was none of her leaſt remarkable Actions; but the Support and Eſtabliſhment thereof with the Means of her own Subſiſtance amidſt ſo powerful Enemies Abroad, and thoſe many domeſtick Practices, were, methinks, Works of Inſpiration and of no human Providence, which, on her Siſter's Departure, ſhe moſt religiouſly acknowledged, aſcribing the Glory of her Deliverance to God above; for, ſhe being then at *Hatfield*, and under a Guard, and the Parliament ſitting at the ſelf-ſame Time, at the News of the Queen's Death, and her own Proclamation by the general Conſent of the Houſe and the publick Sufferance of the People; falling on her Knees, after a good Time of Reſpiration, ſhe uttered this Verſe of the *Pſalm:*

A Domino factum eſt iſtud, & eſt mirabile in oculis noſtris ‖.

And this we find to this Day on the Stamp of her Gold, with this on her Silver:

Poſui Deum adjutorem meum §.

Her Miniſters and Inſtruments of State, ſuch as were *participes curarum*, or bore a great Part of the Burthen, were *many*, and thoſe *memorable*; but they were only *Favourites* and not *Minions*, ſuch as acted more by *her* princely Rules and Judgments, than by their *own* Wills and Appetites; for, we ſaw no *Gaveſton*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have ſwayed alone, during forty-four Years, which was a well ſettled and adviſed Maxim; for it valued her the more, it awed the moſt ſecure, it took beſt with the People, and it ſtaved off all Emulations, which are apt to riſe and vent in obloquious Acrimony even againſt the Prince, where there is *one only* admitted into high Adminiſtrations.

Major Palatii.

THE principal Note of her Reign will be, that ſhe ruled much by Faction and Parties, which ſhe herſelf both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great Judgment adviſed; for I do diſaſſent from the common and received Opinion, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* was *abſolute* and *alone* in her *Grace*; and, though I come ſomewhat ſhort of the Knowledge of theſe Times, yet, that I may not err, or ſhoot at Random, I know it from aſſured Intelli-

* *viz.* Popiſh. † See Vol. I. p. 193, *&c.* ‡ See Vol. I. p. 207, *&c.*
‖ This is the Work of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our Sight.
§ I have choſen God for my Help.

gence that it was not ſo, for Proof whereof amongſt many (that could preſent) I will both relate a Story and therein a known Truth, and it was thus: *Bowyer*, the Gentleman of the *Black Rod*, being charged by her expreſs Command, to look precisely to all Admiſſions in the *Privy Chamber*, one Day ſtaid a very gay Captain (and a Follower of my Lord of *Leiceſter*) from Entrance, for that he was neither well known, nor a ſworn Servant of the Queen; at which Repulſe, the Gentleman (bearing high on my Lord's Favour) told him, that he might, perchance, procure him a Diſcharge. *Leiceſter* coming to the Conteſtation ſaid publickly, which was none of his wonted Speeches, that he was a Knave, and ſhould not long continue in his Office, and ſo turning about to go to the Queen, *Bowyer*, who was a bold Gentleman and well beloved, ſtepped before him, and fell at her Majeſty's Feet, relates the Story, and humbly craves her Grace's Pleaſure, and in ſuch a Manner as if he had demanded, whether my Lord of *Leiceſter* was King, or her Majeſty Queen; whereunto ſhe replied (with her wonted Oath, *God's-death*) my Lord, I have wiſhed you well, but my Favour is not ſo locked up for you, that others ſhall not participate thereof; for I have many Servants unto whom I have and will, at my Pleaſure, bequeath my Favour, and likewiſe reſume the ſame; and if you think to rule here, I will take a Courſe to ſee you forthcoming*; I will have here but one *Miſtreſs*, and no *Maſter*, and look that no Ill happen to him, leſt it be ſeverely required at your Hands; which ſo quailed my Lord of *Leiceſter*, that his faint Humility was, long after, one of his beſt Virtues.

Moreover, the Earl of *Suſſex*, then Lord Chamberlain, was his profeſſed Antagoniſt, to his Dying-day; and for my Lord *Kynſdown*, and Sir *Thomas Sackville*, after Lord Treaſurer, who were all Contemporaries; he was wont to ſay of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were, *Noli me tangere*, implying, that they were not to be conteſted with, for they were, indeed, of the Queen's nigh Kindred.

From whence, and in many more Inſtances, I conclude, that ſhe was abſolute and ſovereign Miſtreſs of her Graces, and that all thoſe, to whom ſhe diſtributed her Favours, were never more than Tenants at Will, and ſtood on no better Terms than her Princely Pleaſure, and their good Behaviour.

And this alſo I preſent as a known Obſervation, that ſhe was, though very capable of Counſel, abſolute enough in her own Reſolution; which was ever apparent even to her laſt, and in that of her ſtill Averſion to grant *Tyrone* † the leaſt Drop of her Mercy, though earneſtly and frequently adviſed thereunto, yea, wrought only by her whole Council of State, with very many Reaſons; and, as the State of her Kingdom then ſtood, I may ſpeak it with Aſſurance, neceſſitated Arguments.

If we look into her Inclination as it was diſpoſed to Magnificence or Frugality, we ſhall find in them many notable Conſiderations, for all her Diſpenſations were ſo poiſed, as though Diſcretion and Juſtice had both decreed to ſtand at the Beam, and ſee them weighed out in due Proportion, the Maturity of her Paces and Judgments meeting in a Concurrence; and that in ſuch an Age that ſeldom lapſeth to Exceſs.

To conſider them a-part, we have not many Precedents of her *Liberality*, nor any large Donatives to *particular* Men; my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Book of *Parks* excepted, which was a Princely Gift; and ſome more of a leſſer Size, to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, *Hatton*, and others ‡.

Her Rewards chiefly conſiſted in Grants and Leaſes of Offices, and Places of Judicature, but for ready Money, and in great Sums, ſhe was very ſparing; which we may partly conceive, was a Virtue rather drawn out of Neceſſity than her Nature; for ſhe had many Layings-out, and as her Wars were laſting, ſo their Charge increaſed to the laſt Period. And I am of Opinion with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that thoſe many brave Men of her Times, and of the Militia, taſted little more of her Bounty, than in her Grace and good Word with their due Entertainment; for ſhe ever paid her Soldiers well, which was the Honour of her Times, and more than her great Adverſary of *Spain* could perform; ſo that, when we come to the Conſideration of her *Frugality*, the Obſervation will be little more, than that her Bounty and it were ſo woven together, that the one was ‖ ſtained by an honourable Way of Sparing.

* *i. e.* I will confine you. † The *Iriſh* Rebel. ‡ See her laſt Speech in Vol. I. p. 366. ‖ *al.* not.

The

The *Iriſh* Action we may call a Malady, and a Conſumption of her Times; for it accompanied her to her End; and it was of ſo profuſe and vaſt an Expence, that it drew near unto a Diſtemperature of State, and of Paſſion in herſelf; for, towards her laſt, ſhe grew ſomewhat hard to pleaſe, her Armies being accuſtomed to Proſperity, and the *Iriſh* Proſecution not anſwering her Expectation, and her wonted Succeſs; for, it was a good While an unthrifty and inauſpicious War, which did much diſturb and miſlead her Judgment; and, the more, for that it was a Precedent taken out of her own Pattern.

For, as the Queen, by Way of Diviſion, had, at her Coming to the *Crown*, ſupported the revolted States of *Holland*, ſo did the King of *Spain* turn the Trick upon herſelf, towards her Going out, by cheriſhing the *Iriſh* Rebellion; where it falls into Conſideration, what the State of this Kingdom, and the *Crown* Revenues, were then able to endure and embrace.

If we look into the Eſtabliſhments of thoſe Times with the beſt of the *Iriſh* Army, counting the Defeatures of *Blackwater*, with all the precedent Expences, as it ſtood from my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Undertaking of the Surrender of *Kingſale*, and the General *Mountjoy*; and, ſomewhat after, we ſhall find the Horſe and Foot Troops were, for three or four Years together, much about Twenty-thouſand, beſides the Naval Charge, which was a Dependant of the ſame War, in that the Queen was then forced to keep in continual Pay a ſtrong Fleet at Sea, to attend the *Spaniſh* Coaſts and Parts, both to alarm the *Spaniards*, and to intercept the Forces, deſigned for the *Iriſh* Aſſiſtance; ſo that the Charge of that War alone did coſt the Queen Three-hundred-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, at leaſt, which was not the Moiety of her other Diſburſements and Expences; which, without the publick Aids, the State of the Royal Receipts could not have much longer endured; which, out of her own frequent Letters and Complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for caſhiering of that Liſt as ſoon as he could, might be collected, for the Queen was then driven into a Strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the Times behind us, and to vilify the preſent; for, the Concurrent of her Fame carries it to this Day, how loyally and victoriouſly ſhe lived and died, without the Grudge and Grievance of her People; yet the Truth may appear without Retraction, from the Honour of ſo great a Princeſs. It is manifeſt ſhe left more Debts unpaid, taken upon Credit of her Privy-ſeals, than her Progenitors did, or could have taken up, that were an hundred Years before her; which was no inferior Piece of State, to lay the Burthen on that Houſe *, which was beſt able to bear it at a dead Lift, when neither her Receipts could yield her Relief, at the Pinch, nor the Urgency of her Affairs endure the Delays of Parliamentary Aſſiſtance. And, for ſuch Aids, it is likewiſe apparent, that ſhe received more, and that with the Love of her People, than any two of her Predeceſſors, that took moſt; which was a Fortune ſtrained out of the Subjects, through the Plauſibility of her Comportment, and (as I would ſay, without Offence) the prodigal Diſtribution of her Grace to all Sorts of Subjects; for, I believe, no Prince living, that was ſo tender of Honour, and ſo exactly ſtood for the Preſervation of Sovereignty, was ſo great a Courtier of the People, yea, of the Commons, and that ſtooped and declined low in preſenting her Perſon to the publick View, as ſhe paſſed in her Progreſs and Perambulations, and in her Ejaculations of her Prayers on the People.

And, truly, though much may be written in Praiſe of her Providence, and good Huſbandry, in that ſhe could, upon all good Occaſions, abate her Magnanimity, and therewith comply with the *Parliament*, and ſo always come off both with Honour and Profit; yet muſt we aſcribe ſome Part of the Commendation, to the Wiſdom of the Times, and the Choice of *Parliament-men*; for I *ſaid* † not, that they were at any Time given to any violent or pertinacious Diſpute; the Elections being made of grave and diſcreet Perſons, not factious and ambitious of Fame; ſuch as came not to the Houſe with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to conſult on the publick Good, and rather to comply, than to conteſt with Majeſty; neither dare I *find* ‡, that the Houſe was weakened and peſtered, through the Admiſſion of too many *young Heads*, as it hath been of *latter* Times; which remembers me of the Recorder *Martin*'s Speech, about the Truth of our late Sovereign Lord, King *James* ‖, when there were Accounts taken of *forty* Gentlemen, not above *Twenty*, and ſome not exceeding

* *al.* Horſe. † *al.* find. ‡ *al.* ſay. ‖ *the Firſt.*

ceeding *ſixteen* Years of Age; which made him to ſay, That it was the antient Cuſtom for old Men to make Laws for young ones; but there he ſaw the Caſe altered, and that there were Children in the great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Laws to govern their Fathers. Such * were in the Houſe always †, and took the common Cauſe into Conſideration; and, they ſay, the Queen had many Times juſt Cauſe, and Need enough, to uſe their Aſſiſtance; neither do I remember, that the Houſe did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the publick, and the Queen's Neceſſities, but waited their Times, and, in the firſt Place, gave their Supply, and according to the Exigence of her Affairs; yet failed not at the laſt to attain what they deſired, ſo that the Queen, and her *Parliaments*, had ever the good Fortunes to depart in Love, and on reciprocal Terms, which are Conſiderations that have not been ſo exactly obſerved in our *laſt* Aſſemblies. And, I would to *God* they had been; for, conſidering the great Debts left on the *King* ‡, and to what Incumbrances the Houſe itſelf had then drawn him, his Majeſty was not well uſed, though I lay not the Blame on the whole Suffrage of the Houſe, where he had many good Friends; for, I dare avouch it, had the Houſe been freed of Half a Dozen popular and diſcontented Perſons (ſuch as, with the Fellow that burnt the Temple of *Epheſus*, would be talked of, though for doing of Miſchief) I am confident the King had obtained that which in Reaſon, and, at his firſt Occaſion, he ought to have received freely, and without Condition. But pardon this Digreſſion, which is here remembered, not in the Way of Aggravation, but in true Zeal of the publick Good, and preſented in Caveat of future Times: For, I am not ignorant how the Genius and Spirit of the Kingdom now moves to make his Majeſty Amends, on any Occaſion; and how deſirous the Subject is to expiate that Offence at any Rate, may it pleaſe his Majeſty to make Trial of his Subjects Affections; and at what Price they value now his Goodneſs and Magnanimity.

But, to our Purpoſe: The Queen was not to learn that, as the Strength of the Kingdom conſiſted in the Multitude of her Subjects, ſo the Security of her Perſon conſiſted and reſted in the Love and Fidelity of her People, which ſhe politically affects (as it hath been thought) ſomewhat beneath the Height of her natural Spirit and Magnanimity.

Moreover, it will be a true Note of her Providence, that ſhe would always liſten to her Profit: For ſhe would not refuſe the Information of meaneſt Perſonages, which propoſed Improvement; and had learned the Philoſophy of *(Hoc agere)* to look unto her own Work: Of which there is a notable Example of one *Carmarthen*, an under Officer of the *Cuſtom-Houſe*; who, obſerving his Time, preſented her with a Paper, ſhewing how ſhe was abuſed in the Under-renting of the Cuſtoms, and therewith humbly deſired her Majeſty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great Counſellors ‖, whom Cuſtomer *Smith* had bribed with Two-thouſand Pounds a Man, ſo to loſe the Queen Twenty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; which being made known to the Lords, they gave ſtrict Order that *Carmarthen* ſhould not have Acceſs to the Back-ſtairs; but, at laſt, her Majeſty ſmelling the Craft, and miſſing *Carmarthen*, ſhe ſent for him back, and encouraged him to ſtand to his Information; which the poor Man did ſo handſomely, that, within the Space of ten Years, he was brought to double his Rent, or leave the Cuſtom to new Farmers: So that we may take this alſo in Conſideration, that there were of the Queen's Council, which were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now, as we have taken a View of ſome particular Motives of her Times, her Nature and Neceſſities, it is not without the Text, to give a ſhort Touch of the *Helps* and *Advantages* of her Reign, which were *not* without § Paroles; for ſhe had neither Huſband, Brother, Siſter, nor Children to provide for, who, as they are Dependants on the *Crown*, ſo do they neceſſarily draw Livelihood from thence, and oftentimes exhauſt and draw deep, eſpecially when there is an ample Fraternity *Royal*, and of the Princes of the Blood, as it was in the Time of *Edward the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth*. For, when the *Crown* cannot, the *Publick* ought to give honourable Allowance; for, they are the Honour and Hopes of the Kingdom; and the Publick, which enjoys them, hath the like In-

* Fathers. † During Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign. ‡ *Charles the Firſt*. ‖ *Burleigh*, *Leiceſter*, and *Walſingham*. § *at*. were without.

tereſt

tereſt with the Father, which begat them, and our Common Law, which is the Inheritance of the Kingdom, did ever, of old, provide Aids for the *Primogenitus* *, and the eldeſt Daughter; for that the Multiplicity of Courts, and the great Charges, which neceſſarily follow a *King*, a *Queen*, a *Prince*, and *Royal Iſſue*, was a Thing which was not *in rerum natura* †, during the Space of Forty-four Years ‡; but worn out of Memory, and without the Conſideration of the preſent Times, inſomuch as the Aids, given to the late and right Noble *Prince Henry*, and to his Siſter, the Lady *Eliſabeth*, which were, at firſt, generally received as Impoſitions for *Knighthood*, though an antient Law, fell alſo into the Imputation of a Tax of Nobility, for that it lay long covered in the Embers of Diviſion, between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and forgotten or connived at, by the ſucceeding *Princes*: So that the Strangeneſs of the Obſervation, and the Difference of thoſe latter Reigns, is, that the *Queen* took up much *beyond* the Power of Law, which fell not into the Murmur of People; and her Succeſſors took nothing but by *Warrant* of the Law, which nevertheleſs was received, *through Diſuſe*, to be injurious to the Liberty of the *Kingdom*.

Now before I come to any Mention of her Favourites, for hitherto I have delivered but ſome oblivious Paſſages, thereby to prepare and ſmooth a Way, for the reſt that follows:

It is neceſſary, that I touch on the Religiouſneſs of the others Reign, I mean the Body of her Siſter's ‖ Council of State, which ſhe retained intirely, neither removing, nor diſcontenting any, although ſhe knew them averſe to her Religion, and, in her Siſter's Time, perverſe to her Perſon, and privy to all her Troubles and Impriſonments.

A Prud[illegible]ce which was incompatible to her Siſter's Natur[illegible]; for ſhe both diſſipated and preſented the Maj[illegible] Part of her Brother's Council, but this will be of certain, that, how compliable and obſequious ſoever ſhe found them, yet, for a good Space, ſhe made little [illegible] of their Counſels, more than in t[illegible] ordinary Courſe of the Board, for ſhe had a dormant Table in her own privy Breaſt; yet ſhe kept them together, and in their Places, without any ſudden Change; ſo that we may ſay of them, that they were then of the Court, not of the Council; for, whilſt ſhe § *amazed* them by a Kind of promiſcuous Diſputation, concerning the Points controverted by both Churches, ſhe did ſet down her own Geſts, without their Privity, and made all their Progreſſions, Gradations, but for that the Tenents of her Secrets, with the Intents of her Eſtabliſhments, were pitched, before it was known, where the Court would ſit down.

Neither do I find, that any of her Siſter's Council of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or oppoſed her Doings. *Englefeild*, Maſter of the *Wards* excepted, who withdrew himſelf from the Board, and ſhortly after out of her Dominions; ſo pliable and obedient they were to change with the Times, and their Prince; and of them will fall a Relation of Recreation: *Pawlet* Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and Lord *Treaſurer*, had ſerved then four *Princes*, in as various and changeable Times and Seaſons, that, I may well ſay, no Time, nor Age, hath yielded the like Precedent; this Man being noted to grow high in her Favour (as his Place and Experience required) was queſtioned by an intimate Friend of his, how he had ſtood up for thirty Years together, amidſt the Change and Ruins of ſo many Chancellors, and great Perſonages; why, quoth the *Marquis*, *Ortus ſum e ſalice, non ex quercu*, i. e. *I am made of pliable Willow, not of the ſtubborn Oak.* And truly it ſeems, the old Man had taught them all, eſpecially *William Earl of Pembroke*, for they two were always of the *King's Religion*, and always zealous Profeſſors; of theſe it is ſaid, that, being both younger Brothers, yet of Noble Houſes, they ſpent what was left them, and came on Truſt to the Court, where, upon the bare Stock of their Wits, they began to traffick for themſelves, and proſpered ſo well, that they got, ſpent, and left more than any Subjects from the *Normans* Conqueſt, to their own Times; whereupon it hath been prettily ſpoken, that they lived in a Time of Diſſolution.

To conclude then, of all the former Reign, it is ſaid, that thoſe two lived, and died, chiefly in her Grace and Favour; by the Letter written upon his Son's Marriage, with the Lady *Catherine Grey*, he had like utterly to have loſt himſelf; but at the Inſtant of Conſummation, as apprehending the Unſafety and Danger of Intermarriage with the blood *Royal*, he fell at the *Queen*'s Feet, where he both acknowledged his

* The eldeſt Son. † Exiſting. ‡ Which ſhe ruled the *Engliſh* Scepter. ‖ *Mary*.
§ *al* amuſed.

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Presumption, and projected the Cause and the Divorce together: so quick he was at his Work, that, in the Time of Repudiation of the said Lady *Grey*, he clapped up a Marriage for his Son, the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney*, Daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Blow falling on *Edward*, the late Earl of *Hertford*, who, to his Cost, took up the divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchamp* was born, and *William*, now Earl of *Hertford*, is descended.

I come now to present them to her own Election, which were either admitted to her Secrets of State, or took into her Grace and Favour, of whom, in Order, I crave Leave to give unto Posterity a cautious Description, with a short Character or Draught of the Persons themselves; for, without Offence to others, I would be true to myself, their Memories, and Merits, distinguishing those of *Militiæ* *, from the *Togati* †; and of both these she had as many, and those as able Ministers, as had any of her *Progenitors*.

* Camp † Council.

LEICESTER.

IT will be out of Doubt, that my Lord of *Leicester* was one of the first whom she yo made *Master of the Horse*; he was the th youngest Son then living of the Duke of *Nor*F*umberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ* *, and his father was that *Dudley* which our Histories couple with *Empson*; and both be much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth, during the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*, who, being of a noble Extract, was executed the first Year of *Henry the Eighth*, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful Estate, and such a Son, who, as the Vulgar speaks, it would live without a Teat; for, out of the Ashes of his Father's Infamy, he rose to be a *Duke*, and as high as Subjection could permit, or Sovereignty endure; and though he could not find out any Appellation to assume the *Crown*, in his own Person; yet he projected, and very nearly effected it, for his Son *Gilbert*, by Intermarriage with the Lady *Jane Grey*, and so, by that Way, to bring it into his Loins.

Observations which though they lie beyond us, and seem impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they must lead us, and shew us how the after Passages were brought about, with the Dependances on the Line of a collateral Workmanship; and surely it may amaze a well settled Judgment to look back into these Times, and to consider how the *Duke* could attain to such a Pitch of Greatness, his Father dying in Ignominy, and at the Gallows, his Estate confiscated for Pilling and Polling the People.

But, when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to please the People, not for any Offence committed against the Person of the *King*; so that upon the Matter he was a Martyr of the Prerogative, and the *King* in Honour could do no less than give back to his Son the Privilege of his Blood, with the Acquiring of his Father's Profession, for he was a Lawyer, and of the *King's* Council, at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus Consiliis* †, where, besides the Licking of his own Fingers, he got the *King* a Mass of Riches, and that not with Hazard, but with the Loss of his Life and Fame, for the King's Father's Sake.

Certain it is, that his Son was left rich in Purse and Brain; which are good Foundations, and Fewel to Ambition; and, it may be supposed, he was on all Occasions well heard of the *King*, as a Person of Mark and Compassion in his Eye, but I find not that he did put up for Advancement, during *Henry the Eighth's* Time, although a vast Aspirer, and a provident Stayer.

It seems, he thought the *King's Reign* was much given to the Falling-sickness, but espying his Time fitting, and the Sovereignty in the Hands of a Royal Prince, he then thought he might as well put up for it was the best; for having the Possession of Blood, and of Purse, with a Head-piece of a vast Extent, he soon got to Honour, and no sooner there, but he began to side it with the best, even with the *Protector* ‡, and, in Conclusion, got his and his Brother's Heads; still aspiring, till he expired in

* In the *first* Year of Queen *Mary*. † Of his Privy-Council. ‡ The Duke of *Somerset*.

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the Loſs of his own; ſo that Poſterity may by reading of the Father, and Grandfather, make Judgment of the Son; for we ſhall find that this *Robert*, whoſe Original we have now traced, the better to preſent him, was Inheritor to the Genius and Craft of his Father; and *Ambroſe*, of the Eſtate, of whom hereafter we ſhall make ſome ſhort Mention.

We took him now as he was admitted into the Court and the Queen's Favours, and here he was not to ſeek to play his Part well and dexterouſly; but his Play was chiefly at the Foregame, not that he was a Learner at the latter, but he loved not the After wit, for the Report is, (and I think not unjuſtly) that he was ſeldom behind-hand with his Gameſters, and that they always went with the Loſs.

He was a very goodly Perſon, tall, and ſingularly well featured, and all his Youth well-favoured, of a ſweet Aſpect, but high foreheaded, which (as I ſhould take it) was of no Diſcommendation; but, towards his latter, and which with old Men was but a middle Age. He grew high-coloured; ſo that the Queen had much of her Father, for, excepting ſome of her Kindred, and ſome few that had handſome Wits in crooked Bodies, ſhe always took Perſonage in the Way of Election, for the People hath it to this Day, *King Henry loved a Man.*

Being thus in her Grace, ſhe called to Mind the Sufferings of *his* Anceſtors, both in her Father's and Siſter's Reigns, and reſtored his and his Brother's Blood, creating *Ambroſe*, the elder, Earl of *Warwick*, and himſelf Earl of *Leiceſter*; and as he was *ex primitis*, or, *of her firſt Choice*; ſo he reſted not there, but long enjoyed her Favour, and therewith what he liſted, till Time and Emulation, the Companions of Greatneſs, reſolved of his Period, and to colour him at his *Setting* in a Cloud (at *Conebury*) not by ſo violent a Death, or by the fatal Sentence of a Judicature, as that of his Father and Grandfather's was, but as is ſuppoſed by that Poiſon which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artiſt.

I am not bound to give Credit to all vulgar Relations, or the Libels of his Time, which are commonly forced and falſified ſuitable to the Words and * Honours of Men in Paſſion, and Diſcontent; but what binds me to think him no good Man, amongſt other Things of known Truth, is that of my Lord of *Eſſex*'s † Death, in *Ireland*, and the Marriage of his Lady; which I forbear to preſs, in Regard he is long ſince dead, and others are living whom it may concern.

To take him in the Obſervation of his Letters and Writings, which ſhould beſt ſet him off, for ſuch as have fallen into my Hands, I never yet ſaw a Stile or Phraſe more ſeemingly religious, and fuller of the Strains of Devotion; and, were they not ſincere, I doubt much of his Well-being ‡, and, I fear, he was too well ſeen in the Aphoriſms, and Principles of *Nicholas* the *Florentine*, and in the Reaches ‖ of *Cæſar Borgias.*

And hereto I have only touched him in his Courtſhips. I conclude him in his Lance §; He was ſent Governor by the Queen to the revolted States of *Holland*, where we read not of his Wonders, for they ſay, he had more of *Mercury*, than he had of *Mars*, and that his Device might have been without Prejudice to the great *Cæſar*, *Veni, vidi, redivi.*

* *al.* Humours. † Of which you have an Account hereafter in this ſmall Pamphlet. ‡ In a future State.
‖ The Art of Poiſoning. § Martial State.

RADCLIFFE, Earl of *Suſſex.*

HIS * Co-Rival was *Thomas Radcliffe*, Earl of *Suſſex*, who in his Conſtellation was his direct Oppoſite, for indeed he was one of the Queen's Martialiſts, and did her very good Service in *Ireland* at her firſt Acceſſion, till ſhe recalled him to the *Court*, whom ſhe made Lord *Chamberlain*; but he played not his Game with that Cunning and Dexterity, as the Earl of *Leiceſter* did, who was much the fairer Courtier, though *Suſſex* was thought much the honeſter Man, and far the better Soldier, but he lay too open on his Guard; he was a godly Gentleman, and of a brave and noble Nature, true and conſtant to his Friends and Servants; he was alſo of a very ancient and noble Lineage, honoured thro' many Deſcents, thro' the Title of *Fitzwalters*. Moreover, there was ſuch an Antipathy in his Nature to that of *Leiceſter*, that, being together in Court, and both in high Employments, they grew to a direct

* *Leiceſter*'s.

Froward-

Frowardneſs, and were in continual Oppoſition, the one ſetting the Watch, the other the Guard, each on the other's Actions and Motions; for my Lord of *Suſſex* was of no great Spirit, which, backed with the Queen's ſpecial Favour, and Support, * by a great and ancient Inheritance, could not brook the other's Empire, inſomuch as the Queen, upon ſundry Occaſions, had ſomewhat to do to appeaſe and atone them, until Death parted the Competition, and left the Place to *Leiceſter*, who was not long alone, without his Rival in Grace, and Command: And to conclude this Favourite, it is confidently affirmed, that, lying in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave this Caveat to his Friends:

I am now paſſing into another World, and I muſt leave you to your Fortunes, and the Queen's Grace and Goodneſs; but beware of the Girle, meaning Leiceſter, *for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the Beaſt ſo well as I do.*

* *al.* Supported by.

Secretary *WILLIAM CECILL.*

I Come now to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecill*, for, on the Death of the old Marquis of *Wincheſter*, he came up in his Room; a Perſon of a moſt ſubtle and active Spirit.

He ſtood not by the Way of Conſtellation, but was wholly attentive to the Service of his Miſtreſs, and his Dextery, Experience, and Merit therein challenged a Room in the Queen's Favour, which eclipſed the others overſeeming Greatneſs, and made it appear that there were others ſteered and ſtood at the Helm beſides himſelf, and more Stars in the Firmament of Grace, than *Urſa Major*.

He was born, as they ſay, in *Lincolnſhire*, but, as ſome aver upon Knowledge, of a younger Brother of the *Cecills* of *Hertfordſhire*, a Family of my own Knowledge, though now private, yet of no mean Antiquity; who, being expoſed, and ſent to the City, as poor Gentlemen uſed to do their Sons, became to be a rich Man on *London-Bridge*, and purchaſed * in *Lincolnſhire*, where this Man was born.

He was ſent to *Cambridge*, and then to the *Inns of Court*, and ſo came to ſerve the Duke of *Somerſet*, in the Time of his Protectorſhip † as Secretary, and having a Pregnancy of high Inclinations, he came by Degrees to a higher Converſation, with the chiefeſt Affairs of State and Councils; but, on the Fall of the Duke, he ſtood ſome Years in Umbrage, and without Employment, till the State found they needed his Abilities; and although we find not that he was taken into any Place, during *Mary's Reign*, unleſs (as ſome ſay) towards the laſt, yet the Council ſeveral Times made Uſe of him, and in the Queen's ‡ Entrance he was admitted *Secretary* of *State*; afterwards he was made Maſter of the *Court* of *Wards*, then Lord *Treaſurer*, for he was a Perſon of moſt excellent Abilities; and indeed the Queen began to need and ſeek out Men of both Guards, and ſo I conclude to rank this ‖ great Inſtrument amongſt the *Togati*; for he had not to do with the Sword, more than as the great Pay-maſter, and Contriver of the War, which ſhortly followed, wherein he accompliſhed much, through his theorical Knowledge at Home, and his Intelligence Abroad, by unlocking of the Councils of the Queen's Enemies.

We muſt now take it, and that of Truth, into Obſervation, that, until the Tenth of her Reign, the Times were calm and ſerene, though ſometimes overcaſt, as the moſt glorious Sunriſing is ſubject to Shadowings and Droppings; for the Clouds of *Spain*, and the Vapours of the Holy League, began to diſperſe and threaten her Felicity. Moreover, ſhe was then to provide for ſome inteſtine Strangers, which began to gather in the Heart of her Kingdom; all which had Relation and Correſpondency, each one to the other, to dethrone her, and to diſturb the publick Tranquility, and therewithal, as a principal Matter, the eſtabliſhed Religion, for the Name of *Recuſant* then began firſt to be known to the World; until then the *Catholicks* were no more than *Church-Papiſts* §, but now command-

* An Eſtate. † Under *Edward* VI. ‡ *Eliſabeth's*. ‖ Counſellor.

§ Becauſe notwithſtanding many diſſented from the Reformed Eſtabliſhment in many Points of Doctrine, and ſtill acknowledged the *Pope's* Infallibility and Supremacy; yet they looked not upon theſe Doctrines and Diſcipline to be Fundamentals, or without which they could not be ſaved; and therefore continued to *aſſemble* and *baptize*, and *communicate*, for the Space of ten Years, in the *Reformed Church* of *England*. Query Whether their Separation did not make them Schiſmaticks?

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ed by the Pope's expreſs *Catholick Church*, their Mother, they ſeparate themſelves; ſo it ſeems the Pope had then his Aims to take a true Number of his Children; but the Queen had the greater Advantage, for ſhe likewiſe took Tale of her oppoſite Subjects, their Strength and how many they were, that had given their Names to *Baal*, who * then by the Hands of ſome of his Proſelytes fixed his Bulls on the Gates of St. *Paul's*, which diſcharged her Subjects of all Fidelity, and received Faith; and ſo under the Vail of the next Succeſſor, to replant the *Catholick Religion*. So that the Queen had then a new Taſk and Work in Hand, that might well awake her beſt Providence, and required a Muſter of new Arms, as well as Courtſhips and Counſels; for the Time then began to grow quick and active, fitter for ſtronger Motions than them of the Carpet and Meaſure; and it will be a true Note of her Magnanimity, that ſhe loved a Soldier, and had a Propenſion in her Nature to regard, and always to grace them; which the Court, taking into their Conſideration, took it as an Inviting to win Honour, together with her Majeſty's Favour, by expoſing themſelves to the Wars, eſpecially when the Queen and the Affairs of the Kingdom ſtood in ſome Neceſſity of the Soldiers; for we have many Inſtances of the Sallies of the Nobility and Gentry, yea and of the Court and her Privy-Favourites, that had any Touch or Tincture of *Mars* in their Inclinations, to ſteal away without Licenſe, and the Queen's Privity; which had like to coſt ſome of them dear, ſo predominant were their Thoughts and Hopes of Honour grown in them, as we may truly obſerve in the Expoſition of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Eſſex* and *Mountjoy*, and divers others, whoſe Abſence, and the Manner of their Eruptions, was very diſtaſteful unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true and no impertinent Story, and that of the laſt: *Mountjoy*, who having twice or thrice ſtole away into *Britanny*, where under Sir *John Norris* he had then a Company, without the Queen's Leave and Privity; ſhe ſent a Meſſenger unto him, with a ſtrict Charge to the General, to ſee him ſent Home.

When he came into the Queen's Preſence, ſhe fell into a kind Railing, demanding of him how he durſt go over without her Leave: 'Serve 'me ſo (quoth ſhe) once more, and I will lay 'you faſt enough for Running; you will never 'leave till you are knocked on the Head, as 'that inconſiderate Fellow *Sidney* was; you ſhall 'go when I ſend, in the mean Time, ſee that you 'lodge in the Court (which was then at *Whitehall*) where you may follow your Book, read, 'and diſcourſe of the Wars.' But to our Purpoſe: It fell out happily to thoſe, and, as I may ſay, to theſe Times, that the Queen, during the calm Time of her Reign, was not idle, nor rocked aſleep with Security; for ſhe had been very provident in the Reparation and Augmentation of her Shipping and Ammunition, and I know not whether by a Foreſight of Policy, or any Inſtinct, it came about, or whether it was an Act of her Compaſſion; but it is moſt certain ſhe ſent no ſmall Troops to the revolted States of *Holland*, before ſhe had received any Affront from the King of *Spain*, that might deſerve to tend to a Breach of Hoſtility, which the Papiſts maintain, to this Day, was the Provocation to the after Wars; but, omiting what might be ſaid to this Point, theſe *Netherland* Wars were the Queen's Seminaries, or Nurſery, of very many brave Soldiers; and ſo likewiſe were the Civil Wars of *France*, whither ſhe ſent five ſeveral Armies.

They were the *French* Scholars that inured the Youth and Gentry of the Kingdom, and it was a *Militia*, where they were daily in Acquaintance with the Diſcipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queen's inveterate Enemies.

And thus have I taken in Obſervation her *dies Halcyonii*, i. e. theſe Years of hers, which were more ſerene and quiet than thoſe that followed, which though they were not leſs propitious, as being touched more with the Points of Honour and Victory, yet were they troubled and loaded ever, both with Domeſtick and Foreign Machinations; and as it is already quoted, they were ſuch as awakened her Spirits, and made her caſt about how to defend, rather by offending, and by Way of Proviſion, to prevent all Invaſions, than to expect them; which was a Piece of the Cunning of the Times, and with this I have noted the Cauſes and *Principium*† of the Wars following, and likewiſe points to the Seed-plots, from whence ſhe took up theſe brave Men, and Plants of Honour, who acted on the *Theatre* of *Mars*, and on whom ſhe diſperſed the Rays of her Graces; who were Perſons, in their Kinds of Care, virtuous, and ſuch as might, out of their Merit, pretend Intereſt to her Favours; of which Rank the Number will equal, if not exceed that of her Gown-men, in Recount of whom I will proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

* The *Pope*. † Beginning.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

HE was the Son of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales*, a Perſon of great Parts, and of no mean Grace with the Queen; his Mother was Siſter to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, from whence we may conjecture how the Father ſtood up in the Sphere of Honour and Employments, ſo that his Deſcent was apparently noble on both Sides; and, for his Education, it was ſuch as Travel, and the *Univerſity*, could afford none better, and his Tutors inſuſe; for, after an incredible Proficiency in all the Spheres of Learning, he left the *Academical*, for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncle's Invitation, famed after by noble Reports of his Accompliſhments, which together with the State of his Perſon, framed by a Natural Propenſion to Arms, ſoon attracted the good Opinions of all Men, and was ſo highly praiſed in the Eſteem of the Queen, that ſhe thought the Court deficient without him: And whereas, through the Fame of his Deſert, he was in Election for the Kingdom of *Pole* *, ſhe refuſed to further his Preferment: It was not out of Emulation of Advancement, but out of Fear to loſe the Jewel of her Time. He married the Daughter and ſole Heir of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Secretary of *State*; a Lady deſtinated to the Bed of Honour, who, after his deplorable Death at *Zutphen*, in the *Low Countries*, where he was at the Time of his Uncle *Leiceſter*'s being there, was remarried to the Lord of *Eſſex*, and, ſince his Death, to my Lord of St. *Albans*, all Perſons of the Sword, and otherwiſe of great Honour and Virtue.

They have a very quaint Conceit of him, that *Mars* and *Mercury* fell at Variance, whoſe Servant he ſhould be; and there is an *Epigrammiſt* that ſaith, that *Art* and *Nature* had ſpent their Excellencies in his Faſhioning, and, fearing they could not end what they had begun, they beſtowed him up for Time, and *Nature* ſtood mute, and amazed, to behold her own Mark: But theſe are the Particulars of Poets.

Certain it is, he was a noble and matchleſs Gentleman; and it may be ſaid juſtly of him, without theſe Hyperboles of Faction as it was of *Cato Uticenſis*, That he ſeemed to be born only to that which he went about, *vir ſatilis ingenii*, as *Plutarch* ſaith it; but to ſpeak more of him were to make them leſs.

* *Poland.*

WALSINGHAM.

SIR *Francis Walſingham*, as we have ſaid, had the Honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Father-in-Law; he was a Gentleman at firſt, of a good Houſe, and of a better Education, and from the Univerſity travelled for the reſt of his Learning; doubtleſs, he was the oft Linguiſt of his Times, how to uſe his own Tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefeſt Affairs of State.

He was ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, and ſtaid there *Legar* long in the Heat of the Civil Wars, and at the ſame Time that *Monſieur* was here a Suitor to the Queen; and, if I be not miſtaken, he played the very ſame Part there, as ſince *Gundamore* did here *: At his Return, he was taken principal Secretary, and for one of the great Engines of State, and of the Times, high in his Miſtreſs the Queen's Favour, and a watchful Servant over the Safety of his Miſtreſs.

They note him to have certain Courteſies and ſecret Ways of Intelligence above the reſt; but I muſt confeſs, I am to ſeek wherefore he ſuffered *Parry* † to play ſo long as he did, hang on the Hook, before he hoiſed him up; and I have been a little curious in the Search thereof, though I have not to do with the *Arcana Regalia Imperii*, for to know it is ſometimes a Burthen; and I remember it was *Ovid*'s criminant Error, that he ſaw too much, but I hope theſe are Collaterals, and of no Danger.

But that *Parry*, having an Intent to kill the Queen, made the Way of his Acceſs, by betraying of others, and by impeaching of the Prieſts of his own Correſpondency, and thereby had Acceſs to confer with the Queen, as often-

* *Gundamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, amuſed King *James* I, with much Diſſimulation.
† The Traytor of whom hereafter in this Collection.

times

times private and familiar Diſcourſe with *Walſingham*, will not be the Query of the Myſtery; for the Secretary might have had an End of a further Diſcovery and Maturity of the Treaſon; but that, after the Queen knew *Parry*'s Intent, why ſhe would then admit him to private Diſcourſe, and *Walſingham* to ſuffer him, conſidering the Conditions of all the Deſigns, and to permit him to go where and whither he liſted, and only under the Secrecy of a dark Sentinel ſet over him, was a Piece of Reach and Hazard, beyond my Apprehenſion: I muſt again profeſs, that I have read many of his Letters, for they are commonly ſent to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and of *Burleigh*, out of *France*, containing many fine Paſſages, and Secrets, yet, if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, they would have told pretty Tales of the Times; but I muſt now cloſe him up, and rank him amongſt the *Togati*: Yet chief of thoſe that laid the Foundations of the *French* and *Dutch* Wars, which was another Piece of his Fineneſs of the Times, with one Obſervation more, that he was one of the greateſt always of the *Auſtrian* Embracements, for both himſelf, and *Staffard* that preceded him, might well have been compared to him, in the Goſpel, that ſowed his Tares in the Night; ſo did they their Seeds in Diviſion, in the Dark, and as it is a likely Report, that they father on him at his Return, the Queen ſpeaking to him with ſome Senſibility of the *Spaniſh* Deſigns on *France*: Madam, he anſwered, I beſeech you be content, and fear not; the *Spaniard* hath a great Appetite and an excellent Digeſtion, but I have fitted him with a Bone for theſe twenty Years, that your Majeſty ſhould have no Cauſe to doubt him, provided that, if the Fire chance to ſhake, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and caſt in ſome of your Fewel, which will revive the Flame.

WILLOUGHBY.

MY Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queen's firſt Swords-men; he was of the ancient Extract of the *Bartewes*; but more enobled by his Mother, who was Ducheſs of *Suffolk*; he was a great Maſter of the Art *Military*, and was ſent General into *France*, and commanded the ſecond Army of five, the Queen had ſent thither, in Aid of the *French*: I have heard it ſpoken, that, had he not ſlighted the Court, but applied himſelf to the Queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful Portion of her Grace; and it was his Saying, and it did him no Good, that he was none of the *Reptilia*, intimating that he could not creep on the Ground, and that the Court was not his Element; for indeed, as he was a great Soldier, ſo he was of a ſuitable Magnanimity, and could not brook the Obſequiouſneſs and Aſſiduity of the Court, and as he was then ſomewhat deſcending from Youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi*, or a Deſire to make a ſafe Retreat.

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, an Arch-piece of Wit, and of Wiſdom; he was a Gentleman, and a Man of Law, and of a great Knowledge therein, whereby together with his After-Art of Learning, and Dexterity, he was promoted to be Keeper of the great Seal, and being of Kin to the Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and * alſo the Help of his Hand to bring him to the Queen's great Favour, for he was abundantly factious. Which took much with the Queen, when it ſuited with the Seaſon, as he was well able to judge of the Times: He had a very quaint Saying, and he uſed it often to good Purpoſe, *that he loved the Jeſt well, but not the Loſs of his Friend*; and that, though he knew that *verus auctor vitæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good Principle, yet the moſt in Number were thoſe that numbered themſelves, but I will never forgive that Man that loſeth himſelf to be rid of his Jeſts.

He was Father to that refined Wit, which ſince hath acted a diſaſterous Part on the publick Stage, and of late ſat in his Father's Room, as Lord *Chancellor*; thoſe that lived in his Age, and from whence I have taken this little Model

* Al. *had.*

of him, give him a lively Character, and they decipher him to be another *Solon*, and the *Sinon* of those Times, such a one as *Oedipus* was in dissolving of Riddles; doubtless, he was an able Instrument, as it was his Commendation, that his Head was the Mallet for it was a very great one, and therein kept a Wedge, that entered all knotty Pieces that came to the Table.

And now again I must fall back to smooth and plain a Way to the rest that is behind, but not from my Purpose. There have been, about this Time, two Rivals in the Queen's Favour, old Sir *Francis Knowles*, Comptroller of the House, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom she had called up at Parliament, to sit with the Peers in the higher House; as, *Henry Norris* of *Rycot*, who had married the Daughter and Heir of the old *Henry Williams*, of *Tayne*, a noble Person, and to whom, in her Adversity, the Queen had been committed to his safe Custody, and, from him, had received more than ordinary Observances: Now, such was the Goodness of the Queen's Nature, that she neither forgot the good Turns received from the Lord *Williams*, neither was she unmindful of this Lord *Norris*, whose Father, in her Father's Time, and in the Business of her Brother, died in a noble Cause, and in the Justification of her Innocency.

NORRIS.

MY Lord *Norris* had, by this Lady, an apt Issue, which the Queen highly respected, for he had six Sons, and all martial and brave Men: The first was *William* the eldest, and Father to the late Earl of *Berkshire*; Sir *John*, vulgarly called General *Norris*; Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*, Men of haughty Courage, and of great Experience in the Conduct of military Affairs; and, to speak in the Character of their Merit, they were Persons of such Renown and Worth, as future Times must, of Duty, owe them the Debt of an honourable Memory.

KNOWLES.

SIR *Francis Knowles* was somewhat near in the Queen's Affinity, and had likewise no incompetent Issue; for he had also *William*, his eldest Son, and since Earl of *Banbury*; Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*, if I be not a little mistaken in their Names and Marshaling: And there was also the Lady *Lettice*, a Sister of those, who was first Countess of *Essex*, and after of *Leicester*; and those were also brave Men in their Times and Places, but they were of the Court and Carpet, and not by the Genius of the Camp.

Between these two Families there was, as it falleth out amongst great ones and Competitors of Favour, no great Correspondency; and there were some Seeds, either of Emulation or Distrust, cast between them; which had they not been disjoined in the Residence of their Persons, as that was the Fortune of their Employments, the one Side attending the Court, and the other the Pavilion, surely they would have broken out into some Kind of Hostility, or, at least, they would intwine and wrestle one in the other, like Trees circled with Ivy; for there was a Time, when, both these Fraternities being met at Court, there passed a Challenge between them at certain Exercises, the Queen and the old Men being Spectators, which ended in a flat Quarrel amongst them all: For, I am persuaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were some Relicks of this feigned, that were long after the Causes of the one Family's almost utter Extirpation, and the other's Inprosperity: For it was a known Truth, that, so long as my Lord of *Leicester* lived, who was the main Pillar, on the one Side, for having married the Sister, the other Side took no deep Root in the Court, though, otherwise, they made their Ways to Honour by their Swords. And that, which is of more Note, considering my Lord of *Leicester*'s Use of Men of War, being shortly after sent Governor to the revolted States, and his Soldier himself, is, That he made no more Account of Sir *John Norris*, a Soldier, then deservedly famoused, and trained from a Page under the Discipline of the greatest Captain in *Christendom*, the Admiral *Castilliau*, and of Command in the *French* and *Dutch* Wars almost twenty Years. And it is of further Observation, that my Lord of *Essex*, after *Leicester*'s Decease, though addicted to Arms, and honoured by the General in the *Portugal* Expedition,

Expedition, whether out of Inſtigation, as it hath been thought, or out of Ambition and Jealouſy, eclipſed by the Fame and Splendor of this great Commander, never loved him in Sincerity.

Moreover, and certain it is, he not only cruſhed, and upon all Occaſions quelled the Youth of this great Man, and his famous Brethren; but therewith drew on his own fatal End, by undertaking the *Iriſh* Action in a Time when he left the Court empty of Friends, and full-fraught with his profeſſed Enemies. But I forbear to extend myſelf in any further Relation upon this Subject, as having loſt ſome Notes of Truth in theſe two Troubles, which I would preſent; and therewith touched ſomewhat, which I would not, if the Equity of the Narration would have permitted any Omiſſion.

PERROT.

SIR *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword; and he was of a very ancient Deſcent, as an Heir to many Subtracts of Gentry, eſpecially from *Guy de Brian* of *Lawhorn*; ſo was he of a very vaſt Eſtate, and came not to Court for Want, and to theſe Advancements: He had the Endowments of Carriage and Height of Spirit, had he alighted on the Alloy and Temper of Diſcretion; the Defect whereof, with a native Freedom and Boldneſs of Speech, drew him on to a clouded Sitting, and laid him open to the Spleen and Advantage of his Enemies, of whom Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was profeſſed; he was yet a wiſe Man and a brave Courtier, but rough, and participating more of active, than ſedentary Motions, as being in his Inſtillation deſtined for Arms. There is a Query of ſome Denotations, How he came to receive the Foil, and that in the Cataſtrophe? For he was ſtrengthened with honourable Alliances and the prime Friendſhip in Court, my Lords of *Leiceſter* and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries and Familiars; but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) Falſity in Friendſhip: And we may reſt ſatisfied, that there is no Diſpute againſt Fate, and they quit him for a Perſon that loved to ſtand too much alone on his Legs, of too often Regreſs and Diſcontinuance from the Queen's Preſence, a Fault which is incompatible with the Ways of Court and Favour. He was ſent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, as it was then apprehended, for a Kind of Haughtineſs and Repugnancy in Council; or, as others have thought, the fitteſt Perſon, then, to bridle the Inſolencies of the *Iriſh*; and probable it is, that both, conſidering the Sway that he would have at the Board, being Head in the Queen's Favour, concurred, and did alike conſpire his Remove and Ruin: But into *Ireland* he went; where he did the Queen very great and many Services, if the Surpluſage of the Meaſure did not abate the Value of the Merit, as After-time found to be no Paradox to ſave the Queen's Purſe, but both herſelf, and my Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, ever took for good Service; he impoſed on the *Iriſh* the Charge for bearing their own Arms, which both gave them the Poſſeſſion, and taught them the Uſe of Weapons; which provided, in the End, to a moſt fatal Work, both in the Profuſion of Blood and Treaſure.

But, at his Return, and upon ſome Account ſent Home before, touching the Eſtate of that Kingdom, the Queen poured out aſſiduous Teſtimonies of her Grace towards him, till, by his Retreat to his Caſtle of *Cary*, which he was then building, and out of a Deſire to be in Command at Home, as he had been Abroad, together with the Hatred and Practice of *Hatton*, then in high Favour, whom he had, not long before, bitterly taunted for his Dancing, he was accuſed for high Treaſon, and for high Words, and a forged Letter, and condemned; though the Queen, on the News of his Condemnation, ſwore, by her wonted Oath, That the Jury were all Knaves: And they delivered it with Aſſurance, that, on his Return to the Town, after his Tryal, he ſaid, with Oaths and with Fury, to the Lieutenant, Sir *Owen Hopton*, What, will the Queen ſuffer her Brother to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the Envy of my flattering Adverſaries? Which being made known to the Queen, and ſomewhat inforced, ſhe refuſed to ſign it, and ſwore he ſhould not die, for he was an honeſt and faithful Man. And ſurely, though not altogether to ſet our Reſt and Faith upon Tradition and old Reports, as, That Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Father, was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and in the Court married to a Lady of great Honour, which are Preſumptions in ſome Implications; But, if we go a little further, and compare his Pictures,

Pictures, his Qualities, Geſture, and Voice with that of the King, which Memory retains yet amongſt us, they will plead ſtrongly, that he was a ſurreptitious Child of the *Blood Royal*.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the *Tower*; and that, after his Deceaſe, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Son, then of no mean Eſteem with the Queen, having before married my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Siſter, ſince Counteſs of *Northumberland*, had Reſtitution of his Land; though, after his Death alſo (which immediately followed) the *Crown* reſumed the Eſtate, and took Advantage of the former Attainder; and, to ſay the Truth, the Prieſt's forged Letter was, at his Arraignment, thought but as a Fiction of Envy, and was, ſoon after, exploded by the Prieſt's own Confeſſion: But that, which moſt exaſperated the Queen, and gave Advantage to his Enemies, was, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* takes into Obſervation, Words of Diſdain, for the Queen, by ſharp and reprehenſive Letters, had nettled him; and thereupon, ſending others of Approbation, commending his Service, and intimating an Invaſion from *Spain*; which was no ſooner propoſed, but he ſaid publickly, in the great *Chamber* at *Dublin*: 'Lo, now ſhe is ready to bepiſs herſelf, for 'Fear of the *Spaniards*; I am again one of 'her white Boys;' Which are ſubject to a various Conſtruction, and tended to ſome Diſreputation of his Sovereign, and ſuch as may ſerve for Inſtruction to Perſons in Place of Honour and Command, to beware of the Violences of Nature, and eſpecially the Exorbitance of the Tongue. And ſo I conclude him with this double Obſervation; the one, of the Innocency of his Intentions, exempt and clear from the Guilt of Treaſon and Diſloyalty, therefore of the Greatneſs of his Heart; for, at his Arraignment, he was ſo little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with Choler, and, in a Kind of Exaſperation, he deſpiſed his Jury, though of the Order of *Knighthood*, and of the eſpecial Gentry, claiming the Privilege of Tryal by the Peers and Baronage of the Realm: So prevalent was that of his native Genius and Haughtineſs of Spirit, which accompanied him to his laſt, and till, without any Diminution of Change therein, it brake in Pieces the Cords of his Magnanimity; for he died ſuddenly in the *Tower*, and when it was thought the Queen did intend his Enlargement, with the Reſtitution of his Poſſeſſions, which were then very great, and comparable to moſt of the Nobility.

HATTON.

SIR *Chriſtopher Hatton* came to the Court, as his Oppoſite; Sir *John Perrot* was wont to ſay, by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the *Inns of Court*, in a *Maſque*; and, for his Activity and Perſon, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her Favour: He was firſt made *Vice-chamberlain*, and, ſhortly after, [illegible] to the Place of *Lord Chancellor*; a Gentleman that, beſides the Graces of his Perſon, and Dancing, had alſo the Endowment of a ſtrong and ſubtle Capacity, and that could ſoon learn the Diſcipline and Garb, both of the Times and Court: And the Truth is, he had a large Proportion of Gifts and Endowments, but too much of the Seaſon of Envy; and he was a meer Vegetable of the Court, that ſprung up at Night, and ſunk again at his Noon:

Flos non mentorum, ſed ſex fuit illa virorum.

EFFINGHAM.

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier betimes, yet I find not, that the Sunſhine of his Favour brake out upon him, until ſhe took him into the Ship, and made him *High Admiral* of *England*; for his Extract, it might ſuffice, that he was the Son of *A. Howard*, and of *A.* Duke of *Norfolk*.

And, for his Perſon, as goodly a Gentleman as the Times had any; 'Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his Perſon, than Fortune to make him rich; for, the Times conſidered, which were then active, and a long Time after lucrative, he died not wealthy; yet the honeſter Man, though, it ſeems the Queen's Purpoſe was to render the Occaſion of his Advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour;

Honour; at his Return from the *Cadiz* Voyage and Action, ſhe conferred it upon him, creating him Earl of *Nottingham*, to the great Diſcontent of his Colleague, my Lord of *Eſſex*, who then grew exceſſive in the Appetite of her Favour, and the Truth is ſo exorbitant in the Limitation of the ſovereign Aſpect, that it much alienated the Queen's Grace from him, and drew others together with the *Admiral* to a Combination, and conſpire his Ruin; and though, as I have heard it from that Party (I mean the old *Admiral*'s Faction) that it lay not in his proper Power to hurt my Lord of *Eſſex*, yet he had more Fellows, and ſuch as were well ſkilled in the Setting of the Train: But I leave this to thoſe of another Age; it is out of Doubt, that the *Admiral* was a good, honeſt, and brave Man, and a faithful Servant to his Miſtreſs; and ſuch a one, as the Queen, out of her own princely Judgment, knew to be a fit Inſtrument in her Service, for ſhe was a Proficient in the Reading of Men, as well as Books; and as ſundry Expeditions, as that aforementioned, and 88, do better expreſs his Worth, and manifeſt the Queen's Truſt, and the Opinion ſhe had of his Fidelity and Conduct.

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queen's Alliance, and Conſanguinity by her Mother, which ſwayed her Affection, and bent it towards this great Houſe; and it was a Part of her natural Propenſion to grace and ſupport ancient Nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her Intereſt; from ſuch Treſpaſſes ſhe was quick, and tender, and would not ſpare any whatſoever, as we may obſerve in the Caſe of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hertford*, whom ſhe much favoured, and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden Fruit, the Fault of the laſt being, in the ſevereſt Interpretation, but a Treſpaſs of Incroachment; but in the firſt it was taken as a Riot againſt the Crown, and her own ſovereign Power, and as I have ever thought the Cauſe of her Averſion, againſt the reſt of that Houſe, and the Duke's great Father-in-law, *Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, a Perſon in the firſt Rank of her Affections, before theſe, and ſome other Jealouſies, made a Separation between them.

This noble Lord, and Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſince Earl of *Suffolk*, ſtanding alone in her Grace, and the reſt in her Umbrage.

PACKINGTON.

SIR *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no mean Family, and of Form and Feature no Ways diſabled, for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier, and for the Time which he ſtayed there, which was not laſting, very high in her Grace; but he came in, and went out, through Diſaſſiduity, drew the Curtain between himſelf, and the Light of her Grace, and then Death overwelmed the Remnant, and utterly deprived him of Recovery; and they ſay of him, that, had he brought leſs to her Court, than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a Time on it, but was an ill Huſband of Opportunity.

HUNSDOWN.

MY Lord of *Hunſdown* was of the Queen's neareſt Kindred, and, on the Deceaſe of *Suſſex*, both he and his Son ſucceſſively took the Place of Lord *Chamberlain*; he was a Man faſt to his Prince, and firm to his Friends and Servants; and though he might ſpeak big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadful, but leſs harmful, and far from the Practice of the Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Inſtructions, for he was downright; and I have heard thoſe that both knew him well, and had Intereſt in him, ſay merrily of him, that his *Latin* and Diſſimulation were alike; and that his Cuſtom of Swearing and Obſcenity, in Speaking, made him ſeem a worſe Chriſtian than he was, and a better Knight of her Carpet than he could be. As he lived in a roughling Time, ſo he loved Sword and Buckler-men, and ſuch as our Fathers were wont to call *Men of their Hands*; of which Sort he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous Perſon: And this is one that ſtood among the *Togati*, of an honeſt, ſtout Heart, and ſuch a one, that, upon Occaſion, would have fought for his Prince and Country, for he had the Charge of the Queen's Perſon, both in the Court and in the Camp at *Tilbury*.

RAW-

RAWLEIGH.

SIR *Walter Rawleigh* was one that, it ſeems, Fortune had picked out of Purpoſe, of whom to make an Example, and to uſe as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to ſhew what ſhe could do, for ſhe toſſed him up of nothing, and to and fro to Greatneſs, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein ſhe found him, a bare Gentleman; and not that he was leſs, for he was well deſcended, and of good Alliance, but poor in his Beginnings: And for my Lord *Oxford*'s Jeſts of him for the Jacks and Upſtarts, we all know it ſavoured more of Emulation, and his Honour, than of Truth; and it is a certain Note of the Times, that the Queen, in her Choice, never took in her Favour a mere viewed Man, or a Mechanick, as *Comines* obſerves of *Lewis* XI. who did ſerve himſelf with Perſons of unknown Parents, ſuch as were *Oliver* the *Barber*, whom he created Earl of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex ſecretis conſiliis*, and alone in his Favour and Familiarity.

His Approaches to the *Univerſity* and *Inns of Court* were the Grounds of his Improvement, but they were rather Extruſions than Sieges, or Settings down, for he ſtaid not long in a Place; and, being the youngeſt Brother, and the Houſe diminiſhed in his Patrimony, he foreſaw his Deſtiny, that he was firſt to roll through Want and Diſability, to ſubſiſt otherwiſe, before he came to a Repoſe, and as the Stone doth by long Lying gather Moſs. He was the firſt that expoſed himſelf in the Land-ſervice of *Ireland*, a *Militia*, which did not then yield him Food and Raiment, for it was ever very poor; nor dared he to ſtay long there, though ſhortly after he came thither again, under the Command of the Lord *Grey*, but with his own Colours flying in the Field, having, in the Interim, caſt a more Chance, both in the *Low-Countries*, and in the Voyage to Sea; and, if ever Man drew Virtue out of Neceſſity, it was he, and therewith was he the great Example of Induſtry; and though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himſelf,

Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos,

He might alſo have ſaid, and truly, with the Philoſopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long Time before he could brag of more than he carried at his Back; and when he got on the winning Side, it was his Commendation, that he took Pains for it, and underwent many various Adventures for his After-perfection, and before he came into the publick Note of the World; and thence may appear how he came up *per ardua*;

Per varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum,

Not pulled up by Chance, nor by any great Admittance; I will only deſcribe his natural Parts, and theſe of his own Acquiring.

He had, in the outward Man, a good Preſence, in a handſome and well compacted Perſon; a ſtrong natural Wit, and a better Judgment, with a bold and plauſible Tongue, whereby he could ſet out his Parts to the beſt Advantage; and theſe he had by the Adjuncts of ſome general Learning, which by Diligence he enforced to a great Augmentation and Perfection, for he was an indefatigable Reader, by Sea and Land, and one of the beſt Obſervers, both of Men, and of the Times; and I am ſomewhat confident, that, among the ſecond Cauſes of his Growth, there was Variance between him and my Lord General *Grey*, in his ſecond Deſcent into *Ireland*, which drew them both over to the Council-table, there to plead their own Cauſes; where what Advantage he had in the Caſe in Controverſy, I know not, but he had much the better in the Manner of telling his Tale, inſomuch as the Queen and the Lords took no ſlight Mark of the Man, and his Parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have Acceſs to the Lords; and then we are not to doubt how ſuch a Man would comply to Progreſſion; and whether or no, my Lord of *Leiceſter* had then caſt a good Word for him to the Queen, which would have done him no Harm, I do not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the Queen's Ear in a Trice, and ſhe began to be taken with his Election, and loved to hear his Reaſons to her Demands: And, the Truth is, ſhe took him for a Kind of Oracle, which nettled them all; yea thoſe, that he relied on, began to take this his ſudden Favour for an Alarm, and to be ſenſible of their own Supplantation, and to project his, which made him ſhortly after ſing,

Fortune, my Foe, why doſt thou frown?

So

So that, finding his Favour declining, and falling into a Receſs, he undertook a new Perigrination, to leave that *Terra infirma* *, of the Court, for that of the Waves, and by declining himſelf, and by Abſence, to expel his, and the Paſſion of his Enemies; which, in Court, was a ſtrange Device of Recovery, but that he then knew there was ſome ill Office done him; yet he durſt not attempt to mend it, otherwiſe than by going aſide thereby, to teach Envy a new Way of Forgetfulneſs, and not ſo much as think of him. Howſoever, he had it always in Mind, never to forget himſelf; and his Device took ſo well, that in his Return he came in as Rams do, by going backward with the greater Strength, and ſo continued, to the laſt, great in her Favour, and Captain of her Guard: Where I muſt leave him, but with this Obſervation, though he gained much at the Court, he took it not out of the Exchequer, or merely out of the Queen's Purſe, but by his Wit, and by the Help of the Prerogative; for the Queen was never profuſe in delivering out of her Treaſure, but paid moſt and many of her Servants, Part in Money, and the reſt with Grace; which, as the Caſe ſtood, was then taken for good Payment, leaving the Arrears of Recompence due for their Merit, to her great Succeſſor †, who paid them all with Advantage ‡.

* Inſtability. † *James the Firſt.* ‡ He, diſhonourably, cut off this good Servant's Head, and ſeized upon his Eſtate..

GREVILLE.

SIR *Foulke Greville*, ſince Lord *Brooke*, had no mean Place in her Favour, neither did he hold it for any ſhort Time, or Term; for, if I be not deceived, he had the longeſt Leaſe, the ſmootheſt Time, without Rubs of any of her Favourites; he came to the Court in his Youth and Prime, as that is the Time, or never; he was a brave Gentleman, and hopefully deſcended from *Willoughby*, Lord *Brooke*, and Admiral to *Henry the Seventh*; neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often profeſs, a Friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and there are now extant ſome Fragments of his Pen, and of the Times, which do intereſt him in the Muſes, and which ſhew in him the Queen's Election had ever a noble Conduct, and it Motions more of Virtue and Judgment, than of Fancy.

I find, that he neither ſought for, nor obtained any great Place, or Preferment in Court, during all his Time of Attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backed with a plentiful Fortune, which, as himſelf was wont to ſay, was then better held together by a ſingle Life, wherein he lived, and died a conſtant Courtier of the Ladies.

ESSEX.

MY Lord of *Eſſex*, as Sir *Henry Walton* notes him, a Gentleman of great Parts, and partly of his Times, and Retinue, had his Introduction by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who had married his Mother; a Tie of Affinity, which, beſides a more urgent Obligation, might have invited his Care to advance him, his Fortunes being then, through his Father's Infelicity, grown low; but that the Son of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartly*, Viſcount *Hertford*, and Earl of *Eſſex*, who was of the antient Nobility, and formerly in the Queen's good Grace, could not have Room in her Favour, without the Aſſiſtance of *Leiceſter*, was beyond the Rule of her Nature, which, as I have elſewhere taken into Obſervation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility: Sure it is, that he no ſooner appeared in Court, but he took with the Queen and the Courtiers; and, I believe, they all could not chuſe but look through the Sacrifice of the Father on his living Son, whoſe Image, by the Remembrance of former Paſſages, was a freſh Leek, the Bleeding of Men murdered, repreſented to the Court, and offered up as a Subject of Compaſſion to all the Kingdom.

There was in this young Lord, together with a goodly Perſon, a Kind of Urbanity and innate Courteſy, which both won the Queen, and too much took up the People to gaze on the new adoped Son of her Favour; and as I go along, it will not be amiſs to take into Obſervation two notable Quotations; the *Firſt* was a violent

violent Indulgence of the Queen (which is incident to old Age) where t[illegible]rs with a pleasing and suitable Object) to[illegible] his great Lord, which argued a Non-perpetuity; the *Second* was a Fault in the Object of her Grace, my Lord himself, who drew in too soft like a Child sucking on an over uberous Nurse; and had there been a more decent Decorum observed in both, or either of these, without Doubt, the Unity of their Affections had been more permanent, and not so in, and out, as they were, like an Instrument well tuned, and lapsing to Discord.

The greater Error of the two, though unwilling, I am constrained to impose on my Lord of *Essex*, and rather on his Youth, and none of the least of the Blame on those that stood Sentinals about him, who might have advised better, but that like Men, intoxicated with Hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most of their Lord's Receipts, and so, like *Cæsars*, would have all or none; a Rule quite contrary to Nature, and the most indulgent Parents, who, though they may express more Affection to one in the Abundance of Bequeaths, yet cannot forget some Legacies, and Distributives, and Dividends to others of their Begetting; and how hurtful Partiality is, and proves, every Day's Experience tells us, out of which common Consideration, they might have framed to their Hands a Maxim of more Discretion, for the Conduct and Management of their new graved Lord and Master.

But to omit that of Infusion, and to do Right to Truth, my Lord of *Essex*, even of those that truly loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an Ingrosser, both of Fame, and Favour; and of this without Offence to the Living, or treading on the sacred Grave of the Dead, I shall present the Truth of a Passage, yet in Memory.

My Lord of *Mountjoy*, who was another Child of her Favour, being newly come, and then but Sir *Charles Blount* (for my Lord *William*, his elder Brother, was then living) had the good Fortune to run one Day well at Tilt, and the Queen was therewith so well pleased, that she sent him, in Token of her Favour, a Queen at *Chess* in Gold, richly enamelled, which his Servants had, the next Day, fastened unto his Arm, with a crimson Ribband; which my Lord of *Essex*, as he passed through the *Privy-Chamber*, espying with his Cloke cast under his Arm, the better to command it to the View, enquired what it was, and for what Cause there fixed: Sir *Foulke Greville* told him, it was the Queen's Favour, which the Day before, and next after the Tilting, she had sent him; whereat my Lord of *Essex*, in a Kind of Emulation, and as though he would have limited her Favour, said, Now I perceive, every Fool must have a Favour. This bitter and publick Affront came to Sir *Charles Blount*'s Ear, at which he sent him a Challenge; which was accepted by my Lord, and they met near *Marybone Park*, where my Lord was hurt in the Thigh, and disarmed; the Queen, missing of the Men, was very curious to learn the Truth, but at last it was whispered out; she sware by *God's Death*, it was fit, that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better Manners, otherwise there would be no Rule with him; and here I note the Imminution of my Lord's Friendship with *Mountjoy*, which the Queen herself did then conjure.

Now for his Fame we need not go far, for my Lord of *Essex*, having borne a Grudge to General *Norris*, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the Action of *Britanny*, with fewer Men than my Lord had before demanded; on his Return with Victory, and a glorious Report of his Valour, he was then thought the only Man for the *Irish* Wars; wherein my Lord of *Essex* so wrought, by despising the Number and Quality of the Rebels, that *Norris* was sent over with a scanty Force, joined with the Relicks of the veteran Troops of *Britain*, of set Purpose, and as it fell out, to ruin *Norris*; and the Lord *Burrows*, by my Lord's Procurement, sent at his Heels, and to command in Chief, and to conveigh *Norris* only to his Government at *Munster*; which aggravated the great Heart of the General, to see himself undervalued, and undermined, by my Lord and *Burrows*, which was, as the Proverb speaks, *juvenes docere senes*.

Now my Lord *Burrows* in the Beginning of his Prosecution died, whereupon the Queen was fully bent to send over my Lord *Mountjoy*; which my Lord of *Essex* utterly misliked, and opposed with many Reasons, and by Arguments of Contempt towards *Mountjoy* (his then professed Friend, and Familiar) so predominant was his Desire to reap the whole Honour of closing up that War, and all others; now the Way being paved, and opened, by his own Workmanship, and so handled, that none durst appear to stand in the Place; at last, and with much ado, he obtained his own Ends, and therewith his fatal Destruction, leaving the Queen and the Court, where he stood impregnable, and

firm

firm in her Grace, to Men that long had ſought and waited their Times to give him a Trip, and could never find any Opportunity, but this of his Abſence, and of his own Creation; and thoſe are true Obſervations of his Appetite and Inclinations, which were not of any true Proportion, but hurried, and tranſported, with an Over-deſire, and Thirſtineſs after Fame, and that deceitful Fame of Popularity; and, to help on his Cataſtrope, I obſerve likewiſe two Sorts of People, that had a Hand in his Fall: The Firſt was the Soldiery, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a Mortality, and are commonly of blunt and too rough Counſels, and many Times diſſonant from the Time of the Court and State; the other Sort were of his Family, his Servants and his own Creatures, ſuch as were bound by Safety, and Obligations of Fidelity, to have looked better to the Steering of that Boat, wherein they themſelves were carried, and not to have ſuffered it to fleet, and run on Ground, with thoſe empty Sails of Tumor of Popularity and Applauſe; methinks one honeſt Man or other, who had but the Bruſhing of his Cloaths, might have whiſpered in his Ear, My Lord, look to it, this Multitude, that follows you, will either devour you, or undo you; do not ſtrive to over-rule all, for it will coſt hot Water, and it will procure Envy, and if needs your Genius muſt have it ſo, let the Court and the Queen's Preſence be your Station, for your Abſence muſt undo you. But, as I have ſaid, they had ſucked too much of their Lord's Milk, and inſtead of withdrawing they *drew* * the Coals of his Ambition, and infuſed into him too much of the Spirit of Glory, yea, and mixed the Goodneſs of his Nature, with a Touch of Revenge, which is evermore accompanied with a Deſtiny of the ſame Fate. Of this Number; there were ſome of inſufferable Natures about him, that towards his laſt gave deſperate Advice, ſuch as his Integrity abhorred, and his Fidelity forbad, amongſt whom Sir *Henry Walton* notes, without Injury, his Secretary *Cuffe*, as a vile Man, and of a perverſe Nature: I could alſo name others, that, when he was in the right Courſe of Recovery, ſettling to Moderation, would not ſuffer a Receſs in him, but ſtirred up the Dregs of thoſe rude Humours, which, by Times and his Affections out of his own Judgement, he thought to repoſe, and give them a Vomit. And thus I conclude this noble Lord, as a Mixture between Proſperity and Adverſity, once a Child of his great Miſtreſs's Favour, but a Son of *Bellona*.

* *al.* blew.

BUCKHURST.

MY Lord of *Buckhurſt* was of the noble Houſe of *Sackvilles*, and of the Queen's Conſanguinity, or as the People then called him *Fill-ſacks*, by reaſon of his great Wealth, and the vaſt Patrimony left to his Son, whereof in his Youth he ſpent the beſt Part, until the Queen, by her frequent Admonitions, diverted the Torrent of his Profuſion; he was a very fine Gentleman, of Perſon and Endowments, both of Art and Nature, but without Meaſure magnificent, till on the Turn of his Honour, and the Alloy, that his yearly good Counſel had wrought upon thoſe immoderate Courſes of his Youth, and that Height of Spirit inherent to his Houſe; and then did the Queen, as a moſt judicious, indulgent Prince, who when ſhe ſaw the Man grown ſettled and ſtaid, gave him an Aſſiſtance, and advanced him to the Treaſurerſhip, where he made Amends to his Houſe, for his miſ-ſpent Time, both in the Increaſement of his Eſtate and Honour, which the Queen conferred upon him, together with the Opportunity to remake himſelf, and thereby to ſhew that this was a Child, that ſhould have a Share in her Grace.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the Excellency of his Pen, for he was a Scholar, and a Perſon of a quick Diſpatch, Faculties that yet run in the Blood; and they ſay of him, that his Secretaries did little for him, by the Way of Indictment, wherein they could ſeldom pleaſe him, he was ſo facete and choice in his Phraſes, and Stile; and for his Diſpatches, and for the Content he gave to Suitors, he had a Decorum ſeldom put in Practice, for he had of his Attendance that took into a Roll the Names of all Suitors, with the Date of their firſt Addreſſes; ſo that a freſh Man could not

leap over his Head, that was of a more ancient Edition, excepting the urgent Affairs of the State.

I find not, that he was any Way inſnared in the Factions of the Court, which were all his Times ſtrong, and in every Man's Note, the *Howards* and the *Cecills* of the one Part, and my Lord of *Eſſex*, *&c.* on the other, for he held the Staff of the Treaſury faſt in his Hand, which made them, once in a Year, to be beholden to him; and the Truth is, as he was a wiſe Man, and a ſtout, he had no Reaſon to be a Partaker, for he ſtood ſure in Blood and in Grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queen's Service; and ſuch were his Abilities, that ſhe might have more cunning Inſtruments, but none of a more ſtrong Judgment, and Confidence in his Ways, which are Symptoms of Magnanimity, whereunto methinks this Motto hath ſome Kind of Reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice.* As though he would have charactered, in a Word, the Genius of his Houſe, or expreſs ſomewhat of a higher Inclination, than lay within his Compaſs; that he was a Courtier is apparent, for he ſtood always in her Eye, and in her Favour.

MOUNTJOY.

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly decayed in the Support thereof, Patrimony, through his Grandfather's Exceſs, his Father's Vanity in Search of the *Philoſophers-ſtone*, and his Brother's untimely Prodigality; all which ſeemed, by a joint Conſpiracy, to ruinate the Houſe, and altogether to annihilate it; as he came from *Oxford*, he took the *inner Temple* in the Way to Court, whither he no ſooner came, but he had a pretty Kind of Admiſſion, which I have heard from a diſcreet Man of his own, and much more of the Secrets of thoſe Times; he was then much about twenty Years of Age, brown-haired, of a ſweet Face, and of a moſt neat Compoſure, tall in his Perſon; the Queen was then at *Whitehall*, and at Dinner, whither he came to ſee the Faſhion of the Court, and the Queen had ſoon found him out, and, with a Kind of an affected Favour, asked her Carver who he was; he anſwered he knew him not, inſomuch that an Enquiry was made, one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the Queen, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*. Thus Enquiry, with the Eye of her Majeſty fixed upon him, as ſhe was wont to do, and to daunt Men, ſhe knew not, ſtirred the Blood of the young Gentleman, inſomuch as his Colour went and came; which the Queen obſerving, called unto him, and gave him her Hand to kiſs, encouraging him with gracious Words, and new Looks, and ſo diverting her Speech to the Lords, and Ladies, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but ſhe knew there was in him ſome noble Blood, with ſome other Expreſſions of Pity towards his Houſe; and then, again demanding his Name, ſhe ſaid, Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink myſelf, how to do you Good; and this was his Inlet, and the Beginning of his Grace; where it falls into Conſideration, that, though he wanted not Wit, nor Courage for he had very fine Attractives, as being a good Piece of a Scholar, yet were thoſe accompanied with the Retractives of Baſhfulneſs, and natural Modeſty, which, as the Wave of the Houſe of his Fortune then ſtood, might have hindered his Progreſſion, had they not been reinforced by the Infuſion of Sovereign Favour, and the Queen's gracious Invitation; and that it may appear how he was, and how much that Heretick, Neceſſity, will work in the Directions of good Spirits, I can deliver it with Aſſurance, that his Exhibition was very ſcanty, untill his Brother died, which was ſhortly after his Admiſſion to the Court; and then was it no more but a thouſand Marks *per Annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine Garb, and without any great Suſtentation of the Queen, during all her Times.

And, as there was in Nature a Kind of Backwardneſs, which did not befriend him, nor ſuit with the Motion of the Court, ſo there was in him an Inclination to Arms, with an Humour of Travelling, and Gadding Abroad, which had not ſome wiſe Men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen laid in her Command, he would, out of his own native Propenſion, marred his own Market; for, as he was grown by Reading, whereunto he was much addicted, to the Theory of a Soldier, ſo was he ſtrongly invited, by his Genius, to the Acquaintance of the Practice of the War, which were the Cauſes of his Excurſions, for he had a Company in the *Low-Countries*, from whom he came over with a noble

noble Acceptance of the Queen; but, ſomewhat reſtleſs in honourable Thoughts, he expoſed himſelf again, and again, and would preſs the Queen with Pretences of Viſiting his Company ſo often, till at length he had a flat Denial; yet he ſtruck over with Sir *John Norris* into the Action of *Britanny*, which was then a hot and active War, whom he would always call his Father, honouring him above all Men, and ever bewailing his End; ſo contrary he was in his Eſteem, and Valuation of this great Commander, to that of his Friend, my Lord of *Eſſex*; till at laſt the Queen began to take his Digreſſions for Contempt, and confined his Reſidence to the Court*, and her own Preſence; and, upon my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Fall, ſo confident ſhe was of her own Princely Judgment, and the Opinion ſhe had conceived of his Worth and Conduct, that ſhe would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to bring in the *Iriſh Wars* to a propitious End; for it was a prophetical Speech of her own, That it would be his Fortune, and his Honour, to cut the Thread of that fatal Rebellion, and to bring her in Peace to the Grave; wherein ſhe was not deceived: For he atchieved it, but with much Pains and Careſulneſs, and not without the Forces and many Jealouſies of the Court and Times, wherewith the Queen's Age and the Malignity of her ſettling Times were replete. And ſo I come to his dear Friend in Court, Secretary *Cecill*, whom, in his long Abſence, he adored as his Saint, and counted him his only *Mecenas*, both before, and after his Departure from Court, and during all the Time of his Command in *Ireland*; well knowing, that it lay in his Power, and by a Word of his Mouth, to make or mar him.

* As related before, in the Account of Secretary *William Cecill*.

ROBERT CECILL.

SIR *Robert Cecill*, ſince Earl of *Saliſbury*, was the Son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and, by Degrees, Succeſſor of his Places and Favours, though not of his Lands; for he had Sir *Thomas Cecill* his elder Brother, ſince created Earl of *Exeter*; he was firſt Secretary of State, then Maſter of the Court of Wards, and, in the laſt of her Reign, came to be Lord Treaſurer: All which were the Steps of his Father's Greatneſs, and of the Honour he left to his Houſe. For his Perſon, he was not much beholden to Nature, though ſomewhat for his Face, which was the beſt Part of his Outſide: For his Inſide, it may be ſaid, and without Offence, that he was his Father's own Son, and a pregnant Precedent in all his Diſcipline of State: He was a Courtier from his Cradle, which might have made him betimes; but he was at the Age of Twenty, and upwards, and was far ſhort of his After-proof, but expoſed, and by Change of Climate, he ſoon made Shew, what he was, and would be.

He lived in thoſe Times, wherein the Queen had moſt Need and Uſe of Men of Weight; and, amongſt many able ones, this was Chief, as having taken his Sufficiency from his Inſtruction, who begat him the Tutorſhip of the Times and Court, which were then Academies of Art and Cunning. For ſuch was the Queen's Condition, from the Tenth, or Twelfth of her Reign, that ſhe had the Happineſs to ſtand up, whereof there is a former Intimation, invironed with many and more Enemies, and aſſaulted with more dangerous Practices, than any Prince of her Times, and of many Ages before: Where we muſt not, in this her Preſervation, attribute it to human Power, for that, in his own omnipotent Providence, God ordained thoſe ſecondary Means, as Inſtruments of the Work, by an evident Manifeſtation of the ſame Work, which ſhe acted; and it was a well-pleaſing Work of his own, out of a peculiar Care he had decreed the Protection of the Work-miſtreſs, and, thereunto, added his abundant Bleſſing upon all and whatſoever ſhe undertook: Which is an Obſervation of Satisfaction, to myſelf, that ſhe was in the Right; though, to others, now breathing under the ſame Form and Frame of her Government, it may not ſeem an Animadverſion of their Worth: But I leave them to the Peril of their own Folly, and ſo come again to this great Miniſter of State and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who, though his little, crooked Perſon could not promiſe any great Supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head, and a Head-piece, of a vaſt Content; and, therein, it ſeems, Nature was ſo diligent to compleat one and the beſt Part about him, as the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals: She took Care alſo of his Senſes, and to put him in *lynceos oculos*, or, to pleaſure him the mor

borrow

borrowed of *Argos*, ſo to give unto him a proſpective Sight; and, for the reſt of his ſenſitive Vertues, his Predeceſſor, *Walſingham*, had left him a Receipt to ſmell out what was done in the Conclave.

And his good old Father was ſo well ſeen in Mathematicks, that he could tell you, throughout *Spain*, every Part, every Port, every Ship, with its Burden; whither bound, what Preparations, what Impediments for Diverſion of Enterpriſes, Counſel, and Reſolution; and, that we may ſee, as in a little Map, how docible this little Man was, I will preſent a Taſte of his Abilities.

My Lord of *Devonſhire*, upon Certainty that the *Spaniards* would invade *Ireland* with a ſtrong Army, had written very earneſtly to the Queen, and to the Council, for ſuch Supplies to be timely ſent over, that might enable him both to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his Proſecution without diverting his Intentions againſt the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecill*, beſides the general Diſpatch of the Council (as he often did) writ thus in private, for theſe two then began to love dearly:

'My Lord, out of the Abundance of my 'Affection, and the Care I have of your Well-'doing, I muſt in private put you out of Doubt, 'or Fear, for I know you cannot be ſenſible, 'otherwiſe than in the Way of Honour, that 'the *Spaniards* will not come unto you this 'Year; for I have it from my own, what his 'Preparations are in all his Parts, and what he 'can do; for, be confident, he beareth up a 'Reputation, by ſeeming to embrace more 'than he can gripe; but, the next Year, be 'aſſured, he will caſt over to you ſome for-'lorn Troops, which, how they may be re-'inforced beyond his preſent Ability, and his 'firſt Intention, I cannot, as yet, make any 'certain Judgment; but I believe, out of my 'Intelligence, that you may expect the Land-'ing in *Munſter*, and, the more to diſtract 'you, in ſeveral Places, as, at *Kinſale*, *Beer-'haven*, and *Baltimore*; where, you may be 'ſure, coming from Sea, they will firſt fortify, 'and learn the Strength of the Rebels, before 'they dare take the Field. Howſoever, as I 'know you will not leſſen your Care, neither 'your Defences, whatſoever lies in my Power 'to do you and the Publick Service, reſt 'thereof aſſured.'

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) ſuffice to preſent much of his Abilities in the Pen, that he was his Craftſmaſter in foreign Intelligence, and for domeſtick Affairs. As he was one of thoſe that ſat at the Helm to the laſt of the Queen, ſo was he none of the leaſt in Skill, and in the true Uſe of the Compaſs; and ſo I ſhall only vindicate the Scandal of his Death, and conclude him; for he departed at St. *Margaret's*, near *Marlborough*, at his Return from *Bath*, as my Lord *Vice-chamberlain*, my Lord *Clifford*, and myſelf his Son, and Son-in-law, and many more can witneſs: But that, the Day before, he ſwooned on the Way, and was taken out of his Litter, and laid into his Coach, was a Truth, out of which that Falſhood, concerning the Manner of his Death, had its Derivation, though nothing to the Purpoſe, or to the Prejudice of his Worth.

VERE.

SIR *Francis Vere* was of that ancient, and of the moſt noble Extract of the Earls of *Oxford*; and it may be a Queſtion whether the Nobility of his Houſe, or the Honour of his Atchievements, might moſt commend him, but that we have an authentick Rule:

Nam genus & proavos & quæ nos non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco. ——

For, though he was an honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, which was no Diſadvantage to his Virtue, yet he brought more Glory to the Name of *Vere*, than he took of Blood from the Family.

He was, amongſt all the Queen's Swordſmen, inferior to none, but ſuperior to many; of whom it may be ſaid, To ſpeak much of him were the Way to leave out ſomewhat that might add to his Praiſe, and to forget more than would make to his Honour.

I find not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almoſt perpetually in the Camp; but, when he died, no Man had more of the Queen's Favour, and none leſs envied, for he ſeldom troubled it with the Noiſe and Alarms of

of Supplications; his Way was another Sort of Undermining.

They report that the Queen, as ſhe loved Martial Men, would court this Gentleman, as ſoon as he appeared in her Preſence; and ſurely he was a Soldier of great Worth and Command, thirty Years in the Service of the States, and twenty Years over the *Engliſh* in Chief, as the Queen's General: And he, that had ſeen the Battle of *Newport*, might there beſt have taken him and his noble Brother *, the Lord of *Tilbury*, to the Life.

* *Horatio.*

WORCESTER.

MY Lord of *Worceſter* I have here put laſt, but not leaſt in the Queen's Favour; he was of the ancient and noble Blood of the *Beaufarts*, and of her * Grandfather's Kin, by the Mother, which the Queen could never forget, eſpecially where there was an Incurrence of old Blood, with Fidelity, a Mixture which ever ſorted with the Queen's Nature; and tho' there might hap ſomewhat in this Houſe, which might invert her Grace, though not to ſpeak of my Lord himſelf, but in due Reverence and Honour, I mean Contrariety or Suſpicion in Religion; yet the Queen ever reſpected his Houſe, and principally his noble Blood, whom ſhe firſt made Maſter of her Horſe, and then admitted him of her Council of State.

In his Youth, Part whereof he ſpent before he came to reſide at Court, he was a very fine Gentleman, and the beſt Horſeman and Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike and noble Recreations of the Court, and ſuch as took up the Applauſe of Men, as well as the Praiſe and Commendation of Ladies; and when Years had abated thoſe Exerciſes of Honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound Counſellor; and as I have placed him laſt, ſo was he the laſt Liver of all her Servants of her Favour, and had the Honour to ſee his renowned Miſtreſs, and all of them, laid in the Places of their Reſts; and for himſelf, after a Life of very noble and remarkable Reputation, and in a peaceable old Age, a Fate that I make the laſt, and none of my ſlighteſt Obſervations, which befel not many of the reſt, for they expired like unto a Light blown out with the Snuff ſtinking, not commendably extinguiſhed, and with an Offence to the Standers-by. And thus I have delivered up my poor Eſſay, or little Draught of this great Princeſs and her Times with the Servants of her State and Favour: I cannot ſay I have finiſhed it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed only in the original Nature, not without the active Bleſſings, and ſo left it as a Taſk fitter for remoter Times, and the Sallies of ſome bolder Pencil to correct that which is amiſs, and draw the reſt up to Life, than for me to have endeavoured it. I took it in Conſideration, how I might have daſhed into it much of the Stain of Pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I profeſs I have taken Care to maſter my Pen, that I might not err *animo* †, or of ſet Purpoſe diſcolour each or any of the Parts thereof, otherwiſe than in Concealment: Haply there are ſome who will not approve of this Modeſty, but will cenſure it for Puſillanimity, and with the cunning Artiſt attempt to draw their Line further out at Length, and upon this of mine, which Way (with ſomewhat more Eaſe) it may be effected; for that the Frame is ready made to their Hands, and then haply I could draw one in the midſt of theirs, but that Modeſty in me forbids the Defacements in Men departed, their Poſterity yet remaining, enjoying the Merit of their Virtues, and do ſtill live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the Cenſure of Abruption, than to be conſcious and taken in the Manner, ſinning by Eruption, or trampling on the Graves of Perſons at Reſt, which Living we durſt not look in the Face, nor make our Addreſſes unto them, otherwiſe than with due Regard to their *Honours*, and Reverence to their *Virtues*.

* *Elizabeth*'s. † Willingly.

The

The Nicker Nicked: Or, the Cheats of Gaming diſcovered. The Third Edition.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licenſed *November* 4, 1668. Printed in the Year 1669. *Quarto*, containing nine Pages.

LEATHERMORE's *Advice concerning* GAMING.

GAMING is an inchanting Witchery *, begot betwixt Idleneſs and Avarice; which has this ill Property above all other Vices, that it renders a Man incapable of proſecuting any ſerious Action, and makes him unſatisfied with his own Condition; he is either lifted up to the Top of mad Joy with Succeſs, or plunged to the Bottom of Deſpair by Misfortune; always in Extreams, always in a Storm.

Hannibal ſaid of *Marcellus*, that *Nec bonam, nec malam ferre poteſt*, i. e. *He could be quiet neither Conqueror nor Conquered* Thus (ſuch is the Itch of Play) Gameſters neither winning, nor loſing, can reſt ſatisfied; if they win, they think to win more; if they loſe, they hope to recover.

One propounded this Queſtion, Whether Men, in Ships at Sea, were to be accounted amongſt the Living or the Dead, becauſe there were but few Inches betwixt them and Drowning? The ſame Query may be made of great Gameſters, though their Eſtates be never ſo conſiderable, Whether they are to be eſteemed poor or rich, ſince there are but a few Caſts at Dice, betwixt a Perſon of Fortune (in that Circumſtance) and a Beggar?

But Speculation in this Particular will not be convincing, unleſs we ſhew ſomewhat of the modern Practice: we muſt therefore lay our Scene at the *Ordinary*, and proceed to our *Action*.

Betwixt Twelve and One of the Clock, a good Dinner is prepared by Way of Ordinary, and ſome Gentlemen of Civility and Condition oftentimes eat there, and play a While for Recreation after Dinner, both moderately, and moſt commonly without deſerving Reproof.

Towards Night, when ravenous Beaſts uſually ſeek their Prey, there come in Shoals of *Hectors*, *Trepanners*, *Gilts*, *Pads*, *Biters*, *Prigs*, *Divers*, *Lifters*, *Kidnappers*, *Vouchers*, *Mill kens*, *Pyemen*, *Decoys*, *Shop-lifters*, *Foilers*, *Bulkers*, *Droppers*, *Gamblers*, *Donnakers*, *Croſſ-biters*, &c. under the general Appellation of *Rooks*; and in this Particular it ſerves as a Nurſery for *Tyburn*, for every Year ſome of this Gang march thither! One *Millard* was hanged in *April* 1664, for Burglary; and others ſince.

When a young Gentleman or Apprentice comes into this School of Virtue, unſkilled in the Quibbles and Devices there practiſed, they call him a *Lamb*; then a *Rook* (who is properly the *Wolf*, follows him cloſe, and engages him in advantageous Bets, and at length worries him, that is, gets all his Money, and then they ſmile and ſay, *The Lamb is bitten.*

Of theſe Rooks ſome will be very importunate to borrow Money of you, without any Intention of repaying, or to go with you ſeven to twelve, half a Crown, and take it ill if they are refuſed; others watch, if, when you are ſerious at Game, your Sword hang looſe behind, and lift that away; others will not ſcruple, if they eſpy an Opportunity, directly to pick your Pocket; yet, if all fail, ſome will nim off the Gold Buttons of your Cloke, or ſteal the Cloke itſelf, if it

* See a Letter from a Miniſter to his Friend, concerning the Game of *Cheſs*, p. 469. Vol. I.

it lie loose; others will throw at a Sum of Money with a *dry Fist*, as they call it, that is, if they nick you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much, with many other Quillets; or, if you chance to nick them, it is Odds they wait your Coming out at Night, and beat you, as one *Cock* was served in *June*, 1664.

Blaspheming, Drunkenness, and Swearing are here so familiar, that Civility is by the Rule of Contrarieties accounted a Vice. I do not mean Swearing, when there is Occasion to attest a Truth, but upon no Occasion; as, *God damn me, how dost? What a Clock is it, by God?* &c. Then, before two Hours are at an End, some one who has been heated with Wine, or made cholerick with Loss of his Money, raises a Quarrel, Swords are drawn, and perhaps the Boxes and Candlesticks thrown at one another; and all the House in a Garboil, forming a perfect Type of Hell.

Would you imagine it to be true? That a grave Gentleman, well stricken in Years, insomuch as he cannot see the Pips of the Dice, is so infatuated with this Witchery, as to play here with others Eyes, of whom this Quibble was raised, *That* Mr. —— *such a one plays at Dice by the Ear.* Another Gentleman, stark blind, I have seen play at Hazard, and sure that must be by the Ear too.

Late at Night, when the Company grows thin, and your Eyes dim with Watching, false Dice are often put upon the Ignorant, or they are otherwise cosened with Topping, or Slurring, *&c.* And, if you be not vigilant, the Box-keeper shall score you up double or treble Boxes, and, though you have lost your Money, dun you as severely for it, as if it were the justest Debt in the World.

There are yet some genteeler and more subtle Rooks, whom you shall not distinguish by their outward Demeanor from Persons of Condition; and who will sit by, a whole Evening, and observe who wins; and then, if the Winner be bubbleable, they will insinuate themselves into his Acquaintance, and civilly invite him to drink a Glass of Wine; wheedle him into Play, and win all his Money, either by false Dice, as, high Fullams, low Fullams, 5, 4, 2, *s. &c.* Or by Palming, Topping, Knapping, or Slurring; or, in case he be past that Classis of Ignoramusses, then by Crosbiting, or some other Dexterity, of which they have Variety unimaginable. Note by the Way, that when they have you at the Tavern, and think you a sure *Bubble*, they will many Times purposely lose some small Sum to you the first Time, to engage you more freely to *bleed* (as they call it) at the second Meeting, to which they will be sure to invite you.

A Gentleman, whom ill Fortune had hurried into Passion, took a Box and Dice to a Side-table, and there fell to Throwing by himself; at length swears with an Emphasis, —— *Damme, now I throw for nothing, I can win a thousand Pounds; but, when I play for Money, I lose my Arse.*

If the House find you free to the Box, and a constant Caster, you shall be treated below with Suppers at Night, and Cawdle in the Morning, and have the Honour to be styled, *A Lover of the House*, whilst your Money lasts, which certainly will not be long; for, as the *Lamiæ* destroyed Men, under Pretence of Kindness, so it is here.

In a Word, this Course of Life shall afford you so many Affronts, and such a Number of Vexations, as shall, in Time, convert both your Soul and Body into *Anguish*; and *Anguish*, in some, has turned to Madness. Thus one *Bull*, a young Fellow, not many Years since, had, by strange Fortune, run up a very small Sum to Fifteen-hundred Pounds, and put himself into a Garb accordingly; could not give over, plaid on, Fortune turned, lost it all, run mad, and so died.

If what has been said, will not make you detest this abominable Kind of Life, Will the almost certain Loss of your Money do it? I will undertake to demonstrate, that it is ten to one you shall be a Loser at the Year's End, with constant Play upon the Square. —— If then twenty Persons bring Two-hundred Pounds a-piece, which makes Four-thousand Pounds, and resolve to play, for Example, three or four Hours a Day, for a Year; I will wager the Box shall have Fifteen-hundred Pounds of the Money, and that eighteen of the twenty Persons shall be Losers.

I have seen (in a lower Instance) three Persons sit down at Twelve-penny *In* and *In*, and each draw forty Shillings a-piece; and, in little more than two Hours, the Box has had three Pounds of the Money, and all the three Gamesters have been Losers, and laughed at for their Indiscretion.

At an *Ordinary*, you shall scarce have a Night pass without a Quarrel, and you must either tamely put up an Affront, or else be engaged in a Duel next Morning, upon some trifling insignificant Occasion, pretended to be a Point of Honour.

Moſt Gameſters begin at ſmall Game, and, by Degrees, if their Money, or Eſtates, hold out, they riſe to great Sums; ſome have plaid firſt all their Money, then their Rings, Coach and Horſes, even their Wearing-cloaths and Perukes, and then ſuch a Farm, and at laſt, perhaps, a Lordſhip. You may read in our Hiſtories *, how Sir *Miles Partridge* plaid at Dice, with King *Henry the Eighth*, for *Jeſus Bells*, ſo called, which were the greateſt in *England*, and hung in a Tower of St. *Paul*'s Church, and won them; whereby he brought them to ring in his Pocket; but the Ropes afterwards catched about his Neck, for, in *Edward the Sixth*'s Days, he was hanged for ſome criminal Offences.

Conſider how many Perſons have been ruined by Play. Sir *Arthur Smithouſe* is yet freſh in Memory: He had a fair Eſtate, which, in a few Years, he ſo loſt at Play, that he died in great Want and Penury. Since that, Mr. *Ba*——, who was a Clerk in the Six-Clerks Office, and well cliented, fell to Play, and won by extraordinary Fortune Two-thouſand Pieces in ready Gold; was not content with that, plaid on, loſt all he had won, and almoſt all his own Eſtate; ſold his Place in the Office, and at laſt marched off to a foreign Plantation, to begin a new World with the Sweat of his Brow: For that is commonly the Deſtiny of a decayed Gameſter, either to go to ſome foreign Plantation, or to be preferred to the Dignity of a Box-keeper.

It is not denied, but moſt Gameſters have, at one Time or other, a conſiderable Run of Winning, but (ſuch is the Infatuation of Play) I could never hear of a Man that gave over a Winner (I mean, to give over ſo as never to play again;) I am ſure it is *rara avis*: For, if you once *break Bulk*, as they phraſe it, you are in again for all. Sir *Humphry Foſter* had loſt the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, and then, playing, as it is ſaid, for a dead Horſe, did, by happy Fortune, recover it again, then gave over, and wiſely too.

If a Man has a competent Eſtate of his own, and plays whether himſelf, or another Man, ſhall have it, it is extreme Folly: If his Eſtate be ſmall, then to hazard the Loſs even of that, and reduce himſelf to abſolute Beggary, is direct Madneſs. Beſides, it has been generally obſerved, that the Loſs of One-hundred Pounds ſhall do you more Prejudice, in diſquieting your Mind, than the Gain of Two-hundred Pounds ſhall do you Good, were you ſure to keep it.

Conſider alſo your Loſs of Time, which is invaluable, and remember what *Seneca* ſays—— *Nulla major eſt jactura, quam temporis amiſſio.* †.

Laſtly, conſider the great Damage the very Watching brings to your Health, and in Particular to your Eyes (for Gameſters work moſt by Night) confirmed by this Diſtich:

Allia, vina, Venus, fumus, faba, lumen & ignis,
Iſta nocent oculis, ſed vigilare *magis.*

* *Stowe*'s Survey, p. 357.

† The greateſt Loſs is the Loſs of Time. See *The Improvement of Time*, p. 376.

A penitent SONNET, written by the Lord *Fitz-Gerald* (a great Gameſter) a little before his Death, which was in the Year 1580.

BY Loſs in Play, Men oft forget
The Duty, they do owe
To him, that did beſtow the ſame,
And Thouſand Millions moe.
I loath to hear them ſwear and ſtare,
When they the *Main* have loſt,
Forgetting all the *Byes*, that wear
With God and Holy Ghoſt.
By *Wounds* and *Nails* they think to win,
But truly 'tis not ſo;
For all their Frets and Fumes in Sin,
They moneyleſs muſt go.

There is no Wight, that us'd it more,
Than he that wrote this Verſe,
Who cries *Peccavi* now therefore,
His Oaths his Heart do pierce.
Therefore Example take by me,
That curſe the luckleſs Time,
That ever Dice mine Eyes did ſee,
Which bred in me this Crime.
Pardon me for that is paſt,
I will offend no more,
In this moſt vile and ſinful Caſt,
Which I will ſtill abhor.

A Dia-

A Dialogue betwixt *Sam.* the Ferry-man of *Dochet*, *Will.* a Water-man of *London*, and *Tom.* a Barge-man of *Oxford*. Upon the King's Calling a Parliament to meet at *Oxford*. *London*, printed in 1681. *Quarto*, containing twenty-nine Pages.

This Pamphlet ſeems to have been written by a Friend of the Duke of York's, *and, in a merry Converſation, endeavours to defend his Right to the Crown, and burleſque the Proceedings of the Parliament, which had openly oppoſed* a Popiſh *Succeſſor to the Crown of* England; *for which they were prorogued at firſt; and becauſe the City of* London, *three Days after, addreſſed his Majeſty for the Sitting of the Parliament, on the Day appointed, that they might effect the great Affairs begun therein, he diſſolved them by Proclamation, on the Eighteenth of* January, *and, at the ſame Time, ſummoned another to meet at* Oxford, *the Twenty-firſt of* March, *to ſhew his Anger the more againſt the City of* London. *But, to the King's great Sorrow upon the Return of the Writs, he found that he muſt meet almoſt all the ſame Members at* Oxford, *as he had diſſolved at* Weſtminſter, *who now were encouraged to make a more noble Stand, againſt all Invaſions on the* Proteſtant *Religion, and the Liberties of the People; for, immediately after this Parliament was* new *elected, they received proper Inſtructions from their Electors, and Aſſurance to be ſupported in their juſt Maintenance of the Proteſtant Cauſe, with their Lives and Fortunes.*

Yet the Calling the Parliament to ſit at Oxford *gave the Proteſtant Party great Uneaſineſs, fearing that the King intended, by his Soldiers, to force them to a Compliance to ſuch Things, as would injure the Nation; therefore the Earl of* Eſſex, *attended by fifteen Lords, delivered his Majeſty a Petition againſt it; declaring amongſt other Reaſons, that* neither Lords nor Commons could be ſafe at *Oxford*, but would be daily expoſed to the Swords of the Papiſts, and their Adherents, too many of which had crept into his Majeſty's Guards.

The King returned no Anſwer, but frowned upon the Lords; conſequently the Parliament met, but the Members came with armed Retinues; and in particular, thoſe for the City of London *came with a numerous Body of well armed Horſe, with Ribbands in their Hats, bearing this Motto,* No POPERY, no SLAVERY,

The firſt Vote of this Houſe, after Chuſing a Speaker, was for printing the Votes for the Information of the People; then ordered the Excluſion-Bill to be brought in; but after it had been once read, and none but Sir Leoline Jenkins *ſpoke againſt it; the King coming on a ſudden ſent for the Commons to the Houſe of Lords, and diſſolved them, when they had ſat but* ſeven *Days; and called no more, but ruled, not only without a Parliament, but with an abſolute Power.*

SAM. How now *Will*, how comes this Kindneſs betwixt thee and *Tom*, the Barge-man; laſt Time I ſaw you together at *Dochet*, you were for heaving Stones at one another's Heads.

Will. O, that is long ſince, and utterly forgot; we are now good Friends.

Tom. God-a-mercy Horſe, this Rogue *Will.* was tugging up Stream, whilſt his Oars were ready to break at *Way-bridge*, and, ſeeing us come up with three good Horſes towing our Punt, his Stomach came down, and he begged moſt devoutly to give him a Tow at *Windſor*; not a Word of the Bell-Wether, or any of his uſual Compliments. I took Mercy on the poor Rogue, and let him faſten his Wherry to us, and I think in my Heart, the Whelp has eaten us Half a Stone of Beef To-day.

Will. Upon the honeſt Word of a Waterman, *Tom*, I never eat daintier Beef in my Life, nor better Muſtard, but not one Mouthful of Mutton was to be ſeen.

Tom. Sirrah, one Word more of Mutton, and off you go; you cannot forbear your Roguery.

Sam. But, prithee, *Will*, whither art thou making at this Time of the Year?

Will. Why, Faith *Sam*, thou knoweſt I follow the Court for the moſt Part, and now I am going before it, and intend to get a good *Birth* at *Oxford*: Acquaintance is a main Matter with a Water-man; beſides, here is honeſt *Tom*, promiſes me Lodging at his Houſe; and, when he goes for *London*, his Wife and I can make as merry, as if he were gone an *Eaſt-India* Voyage.

Tom. But, I hope, there will be another Voyage found out; they ſay the King will make us a Way Weſt-ward to *Briſtol*, for our Barges, and has ſent for *Dutchmen* that can make boats go by Land as well as by Water, and then *Briſtol* will be *London*. The ſaucy Rogues, the other Day at *Queen-Hithe*, were ready to brain us, and threatened to fire the Barges, becauſe we belonged to *Oxford*. If the King would take my Counſel, he ſhould come no more amongſt them, for one ſeven Years; I would make the proud Rogues know themſelves better.

Sam. I am not for that, *Tom* neither, for that would quite ſpoil our Ferry; when all is done, *London* is *London*.

Tom. And will be *London*, that is, a Neſt of unthankful Rogues, that hate us Country Gentlemen, though they get all they have by us; What would *London* be worth, if it were not for the Country? And Faith, ſince all the Wealth of the Country is gotten thither, by the King's Living ſo long amongſt them, I hope his Majeſty will even now live in the Country, till their Money be brought into the Country again.

Sam. I could agree well enough to all thou ſayeſt, but only for this *Ferry*, and that would quite be ruined, if the King ſhould leave *London*.

Tom. For that, if the *Dutchmen* come, they will dig ſo many Cuts to make the *Thames* run from our Town to *Briſtol*, I warrant thee, thou mayeſt get a new *Ferry*, and better than this, upon ſome of thoſe new Cuts.

Sam. But doſt think the King will keep his Court at *Oxford* any long Time? I heard our Parſon ſay, for all this, the Parliament would not be held at *Oxford*, becauſe there was a Parliament once held there, and it was a called, *The mad Parliament.*

Tom. Thou mayſt tell the Parſon from me, that there have been many Parliaments held at *London*, that have been worſe than mad; and it is well, if this laſt was not the maddeſt that ever was yet.

Sam. I muſt confeſs there was a ſtrange Touſe, whilſt they were ſitting: Our Townſmen of *Windſor* would have talked ſo, of the brave Acts they were a making, and what Good they would have done to the Commonalty, and how they would have handled the Courtiers, and abundance more than I can remember, thou wouldſt have admired; but to ſay Truth, this Town of *Windſor*, though they be our Neighbours, is as roguiſh a Place as any is in *England*. If I were worthy to adviſe the King, I would make a great Wall, betwixt the Caſtle and the Town, that ſhould reach down to the River on the one Side, and down to old *Windſor* on the other Side, and never a Gate through it, but for the King's Conveniency to go a Hunting into the great Park, or the Duke into the Foreſt, and ſhut at all other Times. Then would I build a new Town, to entertain the King's Court, ſhould reach to the *Ferry*.

Will. Still, ſtill, this *Ferry* is the Burden of the Song.

Sam. But, prithee *Will*, tell us what this Parliament would have done for the Good of the Commonalty that is talked on ſo much; thou carriedſt Parliament-men, in thy Boat every Day, and I know, thou haſt heard all their Speeches; I have heard them make Speeches,

as

as they have paſſed over here at our Ferry-Boat.

Will. Thou art in the Right of that, for there is not one Member (for ſo we call them at *London*) of Forty, but they are ſtill making Speeches: I heard one of them make a Speech to deaf *Hugh*, an old Sculler, from *Weſtminſter Stairs* to the *Temple*. *Hugh* nodded at him now and then, and he went on as politickly as if he had been in the Houſe all the While. When they landed at the *Temple*, where I alſo landed my Fair, he bid *Hugh* give him three Pence, but, wanting Change, he asked me for three Pence; but, I having never a three Pence, ſays the Member to *Hugh*, I ſee thou art a right *Engliſhman*, a good Proteſtant, and, I dare ſay, hateſt the Popiſh Succeſſor with all thy Heart, and, therefore, I will give thee the whole Six-pence.

Sam. It was well he had the Wit to nod at him, being he could not hear him.

Will. So it was, and that was enough, for I dare ſay, a Nod, now and then, would have continued the Speech to *Graveſend*. O, our Water-men have thouſands ſuch Stories as theſe of their Worſhips; they were, for the moſt Part, ſo full of it, they could not hold it in.

Sam. But, prithee *Will*, tell us what thou heardeſt they did in the Houſe as well as out.

Will. Well, in the firſt Place, they kept a *Rehearſal* at the *Sun-Tavern*, on the Back of the *Exchange*, a long Time before they ſat.

Sam. A *Rehearſal!* what is that?

Will. Why, as the Players rehearſe or act over the Play in the Morning, which they intend to play in the Afternoon: So did they make their Speeches, and ſet all their Matters in Order in the Tavern, before they met in the Houſe.

Sam. Methinks, if it were needful for a Parliament to have ſuch a Rehearſing, his Majeſty ſhould provide them a Place to rehearſe in: It is not very handſome in my Mind, that the Matters, which concern his Majeſty and the Kingdom, ſhould be meddled with in a Tavern.

Will. It is very true; but the Maſter of the Houſe, he got well by them; and the Drawers of that Houſe are become notable Boys, they can talk of State Affairs, it would do your Heart Good to hear them; and for any Thing that I know, when theſe Boys come to ſet up for themſelves, and keep Taverns in the City, they may be the fitteſt Men they will have to ſerve in Parliament; they will now, as young as they are, make fine Speeches to their Fellow Prentices, when any Rout of them meets together, and have their Leſſons full ready on any Occaſion; and will *bask a Petition of the Common Hall to the Purpoſe*.

Sam. A Pox on them, it is ſuch Work as this, that makes the King leave *London*, and will undo us all at *Dotchet*: But this is all ſtill out of the Houſe.

Will. It is impoſſible I ſhould tell you a tenth Part of what they did in the Houſe; but the Remembrance of Men and Things, they fell upon, will put me in Mind beſt; and therefore the firſt, I think on, is the King's Majeſty, God bleſs him, him they cryed *Nochell*.

Sam. What, as *Gaffer Block* of our Town cryed his Wife?

Will. I do not know what he did, but they voted, that no Body ſhould either borrow or lend, nor ſell or buy with him, under Pain of their Diſpleaſure.

Sam. This is almoſt as ill as the Parſon ſaid of the *Gun-powder Treaſon-day*, that the Pope would have done with Queen *Eliſabeth*, for he forbad any Body to borrow or lend with her, ſell or buy, eat or drink; nay, he forbad her to come in either Church or Market.

Will. But then, to make him Amends, they took Care to kill him an old lean Lord at *Chriſtmas*; and that is all I remember they have done for him ſince they met.

Sam. What did they then do?

Will. Next, they took the Duke into Handling.

Sam. And what would they do with him?

Will. They would have taken away his *Birthright*; whatever he had done to them, I know not; but they were reſolved to have worried him.

Sam. What was it provoked them ſo much againſt him?

Will. They ſaid he was a *Papiſt*, and was for the Pope and the Plot *; but the Truth on it is, I think the true Reaſon of their Cruelty was, becauſe he put his Brother in Mind who were, and had been Rogues, and were ſure to prove ſo in the End: And for this they would never forgive him; and, with Talking with one another, they were got to that Paſs, they mattered not what they ſaid; for

* *Oates's* Plot.

they

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they were permitted ſo long, they thought nobody durſt gainſay them.

Sam. Why, I thought no Man living durſt have meddled with any of the Blood Royal.

Will. Thou art a Fool; did not they behead the laſt King, and keep this baniſhed a long Time? And all that was ſtill a Houſe of Commons.

Sam. What would they have done with the Duke, thinkeſt thou?

Will. Hanged him if they could have catched him; but, being he was out of their Reach, have taken away all his Means, and all he was ever like to have, if (which God forbid) he ſhould have ſurvived the King.

Sam. They were very bold.

Will. Thou mayeſt ſwear that; when the Foreſman of old *Townſend*'s Shop, a blind Scrivener, was ſo bold as to ſpeak a ſaucy Speech againſt his Highneſs.

Sam. What was he, a Prentice?

Will. No, he was out of his Time, and had ſet up for himſelf.

Sam. Why, I thought no ſuch Handicrafts-Men had ever been choſen Members.

Will. Any Body that has Money to pay for Drink, gentle or ſimple, that will ſpend his Guineas upon ſome Town in the *Weſt Country*, is good enough: For I will tell thee, as I heard Squire *Kite*'s Huntſman ſay, that he cared not for above three or four Couple of Hunting Dogs amongſt twenty Couple, ſo they would give their Tongues, and go along with thoſe that were Hunters; no more do they, in the Parliament, care whether the greateſt Part of their Members have any Wit, or none at all, ſo that they will vote with the old ones.

Tom. Well, though it was ſore againſt my Will, I was preſſed once into the Service when the Duke was our *Admiral*; and, I dare ſwear, never a Man in the Fleet had a better Heart than he.

Will. Pox on you, Rogue, you ſtaid but one Bout, and run away; but we that ſtaid, and were in both the *Holland*'s Wars, know the Duke well enough; and let them do what they will at *Weſtminſter*, I am ſure all the Seamen and Watermen in *England* will be for him, againſt any Body, but the King, God bleſs him.

Tom. And, I am ſure, he will never be a Rebel, as many of thoſe that are his Enemies, have been.

Will. Rebel! they would like him better, if he would ſtand in the King's Face, and do what he pleaſed, whether the King pleaſed or not; doeſt not ſee how they love D. *M**. for Coming Home, whether the King would or no.

Tom. Well, I hope to ſee the Duke at *Oxford*, and there he will be welcome, I dare ſay, let *London* and the Devil ſay what they will.

Sam. For *London*, ſurely, it is not *London* that does all theſe ill Things you talk of.

Tom. Thou art in the Right of that, for I never heard that the Houſes met together to petition or raiſe Tumults; there is no Fault in the Place; it is ſome roguiſh People that live in it, whom nothing will ever make better Subjects than they have been: I have known them long enough.

Sam. But, prithee *Will*, go on with thy Story.

Will. Now I think on it, I ſhould have told you, that I am now going to ſay, firſt of all, that is, what they would have done about the Church; for I have heard the Church ſhould take Place of both the King and the Duke.

Sam. Ay, but not of the Law, for I know a wiſe Man, as any in *Buckinghamſhire*, an Attorney, that ſays, That the Law was above both Church and King.

Will. Why then, according to that Rule, I ſhould firſt have begun with the Law.

Tom. No Matter, amongſt us we are not ſo punctual; go on, now thy Hand is in, with the Church.

Will. As for the Church, I carried a Member up to *Putney*, and he told me, they had reſolved to overhall all the Nine and Thirty *Conditions* of the Church; and that they had already heaved away Three and a Half of them.

Sam. Belike, if they had gone on, they would have hove away moſt of them; Three and a Half, in one Day, was a great Step.

Will. No, I don't believe they would have hove them all away, but they would quite have new moulded them ſo, that one ſhould ſcarce have known them. Have not I ſeen an old Ship, that has been a long Time at Sea, when ſhe has been in the Dock, her Rigging overhalled and tarred, new painted, carved and gilt, a Man, that has ſailed in her, could ſcarce have known her.

* The Duke of *Monmouth*.

Sam.

Sam. Thou art in the Right of that; and, I do believe, that the Church was grown very old, and much decayed, and had Need of Repairing; and it will never be done but by a Parliament. I was at *Uxbridge* laſt Sabbath-day, and there, at the Meeting, the Miniſter ſaid, That the beſt Church in the World ſhould be repaired once in a hundred Years; and that the Church, we now have, was *repaired* (but he had another Word * for it) about an Hundred and Forty or Fifty Years ſince.

Tom. Was it not *reformed?* The Scholars at *Oxford* talk much of that *Reformation.*

Sam. Ay, ay, it was *reformed*, that he ſaid; and that the Church (but more eſpecially the *Churchmen*) ſhould be *reformed.*

Will. Beſides, this Member told me, the Parſons muſt uſe the *Surplice* no more.

Sam. That was only for the Good of the *Woollen Manufacture.* I carried a Clothier over the Ferry, not long ſince, that ſaid they were hereafter to wear *flannel* Surplices, and the Biſhops were to wear white *Crape*, inſtead of lawn Sleeves.

Will. And then for the *Biſhops-Courts*, that as we call the *Bawdy-Court*, they would have mauled thoſe Rogues to ſome Purpoſe.

Tom. A Pox on them, they made me pay above five Pounds about a Baſtard, a Whore laid to me, that a Scholar at *Oxford* got, I dare ſay; for I kept Reckoning, and the Child was got when I was gone down with the Barge to *London*; and, for Want of a *Flaſh* †, we lay above ten Weeks before we came again.

Will. It ſeems thou deſerved'ſt for it, however.

Tom. That which troubled me moſt, was, that I muſt have done Penance in a white Sheet, and then my Wife, and all my Friends, would have known it; and ſo, Faith, I was forced to borrow the Monies, and make my Peace with them: And, after all, they would have had ten Shillings more, for a Piece of Parchment, no bigger than my Hand: I was even glad to pay them a Noble to get clear of them.

Will. As far as I could underſtand, they would have taken theſe Courts away, and have made the Biſhops poor Gentlemen: They would have clipped their Wings, if not quite ſtarved them. O, this Member, as we paſſed by *Lambeth-Houſe*, ſhaked his Head at it, and ſaid, There are Rags of Popery kept there; and ſo did he at *Fulham*, when I landed him at *Putney.*

Sam. What did he mean by that?

Will. Why, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* lives at *Lambeth*, and the Biſhop of *London* hath a Country-houſe at *Fulham.*

Sam. Well, but, *Will*, thou ſaid'ſt, they would alſo have had a Fling at the Law.

Will. For any Thing of the Law itſelf, I heard not ſo much of it; but they were in Hand, to have reckoned with almoſt all the *Judges* in *Weſtminſter-hall*, ſome for one Fault, and ſome for others.

Sam. What had the Judges ‡ done?

Will. Whether they had ſtrained a Pin ‡, to do ſomething extraordinary for the King and the Court, I know not; but the main Matter was, that moſt of the talkative Men of the Houſe were Lawyers, and the only Way for them to get Preferment was by turning out of the *Judges*, that they might get into their Places.

Tom. I think, in my very Conſcience, theſe Lawyers are the Bain of the Kingdom; for they are ſo accuſtomed to talk againſt their Conſciences for Monies, at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, that, when they come to talk in the Houſe, it is the ſame Thing: So that, whatever they think for their Advantage, they never want broad Conſciences, nor ſmooth Tongues, to drive on to the utmoſt.

Sam. Pray thee, *Will*, tell me one Thing, Are not theſe Lawyers the Men, that either do, or ſhould underſtand the Law?

Will. No Doubt of it.

Sam. Well then, when the Rebellion was begun and carried on in our King's Father's Time, and in his own, did not the Lawyers know, that the War was contrary to the Law?

Will. Certainly they did.

Sam. Then do I ſay, That as many Lawyers as ſided with the Rebels, in thoſe Days, deſerve yet to be hanged for what they did then.

Will. O! but they were wiſe enough for that: For they got the Act of *Oblivion*, to pardon, not only their Faults by-paſſed, but thoſe that were to come; and Abundance of thoſe very Men, that talked the People into that Re-

* Reformed. † A ſufficient Depth of Water. ‡ Amongſt whom, was the Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, who endeavoured to ſtifle the Belief of the Plot; diſcouraged the Evidences, diſmiſſed the Grand Jury, that ſhould have preſented the Duke of *York*; and unjuſtly proſecuted thoſe that writ in Defence of their Religion, Laws, King, and Country.

bellion,

bellion, are yet living, and as willing to do Miſchief, as ever they were.

Sam. It goes beyond my Underſtanding, how, and why they are admitted to abuſe the People at this Rate; for, if they can ſet poor ignorant Men on a Miſchief, for which they may be hanged, and can talk themſelves off again, it is Time for poor Men to have a Care.

Will. I am of this Mind, that, had I been the King's Adviſer, when he forgave all the Rebels, I would not have forgiven one Lawyer; for they could not plead Ignorance.

Sam. And that it was a Rebellion is clear; for, if it had not been, what Need was there of an Act of *Oblivion?*

Will. Thou art in the Right of that too.

Sam. Nothing troubles me ſo much, as that theſe Lawyers are not only Lawyers to follow and maintain the Law; but they can make what they will to be Law, and what they like not to be no Law: Nay, they will hang the honeſteſt Man in *England*, and find Law for it; and ſave the greateſt Knave, and find Law for that too.

Tom. Did not Judge *Bradſhaw* pronounce Sentence againſt King *Charles*, and *Coke* plead againſt him? And both theſe were great Lawyers: Nay, and a bungling Lawyer, that is a Juſtice of the Peace, at the Quarter-Seſſions, will take upon him to talk more than all the Bench, and be very angry at any Juſtice that dares oppoſe any Thing he ſays.

Will. There is Reaſon for that; for there is not one Lawyer of twenty, but is certainly bribed (tho' they call it *feed*) of one Party in all Controverſies, at the Seſſions, and frequently by both. O they make great Gains at a Seſſions; for there they are both *Judge* and *Lawyer*, and all goes as they will.

Sam. I'll tell thee, for that I had a wrangling Quarrel once with a drunken Fellow at the Ferry; and, upon ſome Words, I up with the Boat-hook, and broke his Head. He went and fetched a Warrant for me: I was adviſed to go myſelf to the ſame Juſtice, being a Lawyer, and bind myſelf over: Which I did, and would have given his Worſhip an Angel; for ſo my Friend adviſed me. He ſaid, he would take no Monies upon that Account; for, indeed, it ſeemed, he had taken before from my Adverſary; but he ſaid, if I would give any Thing to his Wife, I might. Upon which, I ſent a fat Wether, worth a Mark, in the Night-time to her Worſhip; and, within two Days, both he and I were ſent for, before Mr. Juſtice; and after he had talked a great deal of Law, and ſeemed angry with us both, he made us good Friends, and got both our Monies.

Will. There may a thouſand Stories be told of them: I hope, at one Time, both the King, and the Kingdom, will ſee what they are, and never let them have more to do, than with Matters of Law; and then thoſe that employ them may take the Mends in their own Hands, as I do, when I go to the Ale-houſe; for all Miſchief principally comes from them.

Tom. A Pox and Plague light on them, they will never be quelled; for they have always either one or other great Lawyer in Power with the King, and that keeps them up: So let us talk no more of them. What did the Parliament next fall upon, honeſt *Will*, thou haſt a pure Memory?

Will. They would have baniſhed a plain Bundance of Courtiers and Privy-Counſellors; and, without any more ado, ſent to the King, to deſire him (they called it *Humbly*) to turn them out of his Service *.

Sam. But did they tell any good Cauſe, why they would have him turn them away?

Will. None at all, but becauſe they liked them not.

Sam. That was an *humble* Trick indeed; but ſure they had ſome Reaſon for what they did.

Will. For no Reaſon, but becauſe they were in Favour with the King, and themſelves would have their Places: Nay, there be ſome of thoſe Men, they complained of, were as ready to complain of thoſe were in Place before, ſuch as the laſt Treaſurer, and the like, as theſe are now againſt thoſe they would have now turned off; for, in all theſe Parliament-Doings, and Peaching one another, it is not for Faults done againſt the King, or the Government, but againſt the Houſe of Commons.

Sam. But, I hope, theſe Noblemen are not turned out of their Services; are they?

Will. No, they have eſcaped this Bout; how

* This, I apprehend, refers to the Earl of *Halifax*, who was the Champion in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of *York*, from the Crown; for which, ſays *Burnet*, p. 482. when the Bill was thrown out, the Commons voted an Addreſs to the King to remove *Halifax* from his Councils, and Preſence, for ever.

they

they will do at the next at *Oxford*, Time will ſhew.

Tom. If they eſcaped at *London*, I'll warrant them at *Oxford*; no Man is condemned there, but he has (as the Scholars call it) *pro* and *con* for it: But, was that all their Faults, that they were in Favour with his Majeſty?

Will. God help thee, doſt not thou know, that it is a ſufficient Parliament-crime to be a Favourite. I have heard my Father ſay, that he wore the old Duke of *Buckingham*'s Cloth, and was Maſter of his Barge; and that there was one Parliament, before I was born, would have hanged him; but the Devil a Fault could they find, but his being in mighty Favour. So the King would not let him ſuffer.

Sam. But they put away my Lord *Strafford*; I can remember that myſelf, and, they ſay, becauſe they could find no Law to condemn him, they made a Law.

Tom. So then, he ſuffered for Breaking a Law before it was made.

Will. So he did.

Tom. That is as much as to ſay, that, if the Parliament have a Mind to hang a Man, or undo him, if they have not ſufficient Law, or Matter to do it, they will make ſome: God bleſs me, and mine, out of their Clutches.

Will. But I have heard, they were ſo civil, as when they made this Law againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, they then made it ſo, that no more ſhould ſuffer by the ſame Law.

Sam. That was very kindly done to him indeed: I would rather, if I had been in his Cloaths, they would have ſaved me, and hanged who they would beſide.

Will. This ſhews plainly they had a particular Malice; and then down all muſt go, right or wrong: There are ſome of thoſe old Dogs yet alive that hunted him to Death, and would as willingly give their Mouth for making away more Noblemen.

Tom. I have heard many ſay, the King * repented himſelf at *Oxford*, that he conſented to the Earl's Death.

Will. But thoſe Rogues, that procured his Death, never repented at all, nor do not yet: Nay, they have taught ſome young Whelps to be as good Blood-hounds as themſelves. A Man has a brave Time that ſhould come to be tried for his Life in any Court, and have half a Dozen of theſe to chace him out of the World.

Sam. It is ſtrange the Noblemen do not ſtand for one another againſt thoſe Lawyers, who, if they might have their Wills, would hang them all: Eſpecially, being there is no Body of the Jury, when the Lords are to be tried, but Lords.

Will. They had ſuch a Power when my Lord *Strafford* was headed, that neither the King, nor the Lords, durſt ſtand againſt them: They made Routs of Prentices to run down to *Weſtminſter*, and call out for Juſtice, and threaten all thoſe Lords that would have ſaved him; and, in the End, they had his Blood.

Tom. I have heard many ſay, that there were very few of thoſe many that proſecuted the Earl, but they were after Ring-leaders in the Rebellion againſt the King, and continued ſo to his Death, as violent againſt him, as they were againſt the Earl, and againſt our King that now is (God bleſs him) till the Soldiers and Seamen joined with *Monk* to bring him in again.

Sam. And yet, I'll warrant thee, there were as ready to welcome Home his Majeſty, and make Shew of their Duty and Affection to him, as his beſt Friends.

Will. Ay, and pretended they had as much a Hand in his Reſtoration, as the General † that brought him in; and talked themſelves not only out of the Faults they had committed, but by Bribery, and Means of ſome Lawyers that had been Abroad with the King, they got ſuddenly into ſuch Favour, that a Round-headed Lawyer had more Power than a Cavalier Colonel that fought for the King all through the War: And ſo they have carried it ever ſince; and now thou mayeſt ſee what they have brought it unto, at long Run: For nothing but the Ruin and Death of a great Number of the King's Courtiers and Counſellors will pleaſe them.

Tom. They will not ſtay there, if they have Leave to go on: The old Game muſt be played over again; but, I hope, the King's Calling them, at our Town of *Oxford*, will mend this Matter: For I have heard Hundreds ſay, that, if his Father had called the *Rump* Parliament thither, inſtead of *Weſtminſter*, there had not been ſo much Miſchief done as there was: But pray thee, *Will*, was this all they did?

Will. This, no, not the hundred Part: For any one Man's Fault or Suſpicion, that he was againſt them, they would have ruined a whole Country. There was a *Welch* Nobleman, I

* *Charles the Firſt.* † *Monk.*

know not his Name, that they had a Spite to, that was Steward of a great *Wapentake*-Court in *Wales*; and out of Malice to him, they would have taken that Court away, though it was a great Benefit to all that Quarter of the Country: Nay, there was one Day a Member ſo angry at a Waterman, for aſking an unuſual Fare, for bringing him from ſome Place in the *Weſt*-Country, that he ſaid, he would have a Bill brought into the Houſe, for his Sake, to reſtrain the Numbers of Watermen; and that all the Wherries that go upon the River, ſhould be forced to take a Licenſe, and ſhould be figured on the Back-board, as the Hackney-Coaches are. Upon which, the Waterman civilly replied, that, *God bleſs the King*, he hoped, that being a Freeman of *Waterman's-Hall*, they could never make him take a Licenſe: With that the Member ſaid, Sirrah, for your Sake, and ſuch ſaucy Rogues as you are, we will have that *Waterman's-Hall* pulled down, as well as we pulled down the Court of the *Marſhes* of *Wales*. That was the Court I was talking of.

Tom. I hope, thou heardeſt them ſay nothing of the *Weſtern* Barges, *Will*, didſt thou?

Will. No, hang you, you are below their Conſideration; but they talked much about Seamen, and the Fleet, and againſt Soldiers: And then, for the *Papiſts*, they would have utterly deſtroyed them: And no great Matter if they had; for thoſe Rogues have been the Occaſion of all this Poder has been, even ſince the Beginning of theſe Times: And, they ſay, they fired the City, and brought the Plague out of *France*, and ſet it amongſt us at *London*.

Sam. How ſhould that be? For when the Viſitation began at *London*, I heard of no Plague in *France*.

Will. But I heard a Doctor, one of the Royal Society, ſay, as I carried him once, There be Rogues, that will bring Bottles of infected Air with them, if it were out of *Turky*, that, as ſoon as they are opened, will infect a whole Houſe; then they take an *Antilope* *, that no Infection can touch themſelves: And that ſome *Papiſts* did this, I have heard a Juſtice in the City took Examinations upon it, and it was proved.

Tom. But what would they have done againſt the *Preſbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers*: The Scholars at *Oxford* ſay, thoſe are as great Enemies to the Church and the Univerſity, as the *Papiſts*.

Will They would have made them as good Proteſtants as any is in *Oxford*.

Tom. Which Way muſt this have been?

Will. Why, they would have made the Church-men have left out ſome of their Prayers, and given over the Surplice, and ſome other Popiſh Tricks; and then they would have come to Church, and been all one.

Tom. That is, the Church-men muſt have become *Preſbyterians*, and then all would have been right.

Will. Indeed, I think they would not have yielded much to the Biſhops, for they were bloody mad at them; and I think, if they had ſitten till now, they would have ſent them to the Church from the Houſe, to pray to God, but not to have letten them prate any more to the Houſe of Lords.

Tom. It will be good for them to talk no ſuch Talk at *Oxford*, the Biſhops are in great Power amongſt the Scholars.

Will. Then, as to their own Members, they turned them out, and took others in, at their Will and Pleaſure, and, if they made any Fault, they expelled them; and, where-ever any ſtood in Competition for any Town, him they knew would give his Vote along with them was admitted, right or wrong. And then they terrified all the Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs in the Kingdom, beſides Abundance of Gentlemen, and other honeſt Country-men: For, on the leaſt Complaint of any Man's Miſdemeanour, or Information from any Member, immediately a Serjeant at Arms was ſent for them, and ſo much a Mile and Hour paid, and down on their Marrow-bones to their Worſhips, and a ſound Scolding from Mr. Speaker; or elſe to the *Tower*, or the *Gatehouſe*, they went: The King, God bleſs him, never took a Quarter of that State on him, they did.

Sam. It ſeems, they would have all the World to aſk them Forgiveneſs, whether they made them any Fault, or not; and they themſelves would aſk no Body Pardon for what they had done.

Will. It was brought to that Paſs, that, two Foot-boys boxing one Day in the *Palace-yard*, he that was beaten proved to belong to a Member, and told the other Boy, If he knew his Maſter, he would cauſe him to be ſent for in Cuſtody, for keeping ſuch a Rogue as he was,

* Ignorantly, for an *Antidote*.

that

that had committed a Breach of Privilege, in beating a Member's Servant. The Boy replied, If it would do him any Kindneſs, he would beat him again, and tell him his Maſter's Name into the Bargain; and would lay him a Crown, that, though his Maſter ſhould bid the Speaker, and all the Houſe of Commons, kiſs his ———, they durſt not ſend a Serjeant at Arms for him. The beaten Boy, much nettled at his Speech, laid down his Money, as the other did: Now, ſaid the Boy, my Maſter is the King of *France*, and I am come over, with ſome of his Servants, to fetch Horſes out of *England*; go bid thy Maſter and the Houſe of Commons ſend a Serjeant at Arms to fetch him over.

Sam. Before my Heart, it was a good Anſwer; I hope he won his Monies.

Will. So he did; but it was put into a Waterman's Hands, and, when it was demanded, ſays the beaten Boy, Sirrah, give it him, if you dare; if his Maſter be the King of *France*, I'll make you anſwer it before the Houſe of Commons. The Waterman durſt do no other but give either their own Monies: There is no Contending with Parliament-men, or Parliament-men's Men, nor Boys.

Tom. And yet I know a Bailiff has nabbed ſeveral of them, and matters not a Straw to arreſt any Member of the laſt Parliament.

Will. That's nothing, they are now no Parliament-men; but let's ſee, if that ſtout Fellow dare nab any of them, when they are new choſen.

Tom. That I don't know.

Will. O, thoſe that are in any Danger of Bailiffs are mighty cunning at their Times, and know their Hits to a Minute; they appear Abroad at *London*, a certain Number of Days before the Sitting of the Houſe, as ſure as Swallows againſt warm Weather; and, after the Seſſions, they are *Preſto, begone*, not one to be ſeen, except it be, that we chance to carry them by Water from the *Temple*, or *White-Friars*, to *Scotland-Yard*; they have a ſtrong Gariſon in either of thoſe Places out of Privilege-time, as they call it.

Sam. Well, but pray thee, *Will*, let us have it all out, what they did.

Will. It is impoſſible, as I told thee, for me to tell a Quarter what they did; they ſtopped *Iriſh*, *Scotch*, and *Welch* Cattle from coming to the City; and Pork, Mutton, Veal, and Lamb from any of thoſe Places; and it was ſaid, if they had ſat long enough, they would have ſtopped *Eſſex Calves*, and *Hampſhire Hogs*.

Tom. And yet the City ſtill doats upon theſe Parliaments.

Will. Nay, they would have made ſuch Laws about Wearing of Cloth and Woollen Stuffs, as would have beggared an Hundred-thouſand Souls, that are Silk-weavers, Silk-dyers, and ſuch like.

Will. What matter they? If they can but find a Way to make Acts to ſet their Grounds dearer, and rack their poor Tenants, they care not if Half of the Kingdom ſtarve.

Sam. And yet they talk ſo much for the general Good, and againſt the abſolute Power of the King and the Court: How can they make this out?

Will. They call that Power, which they themſelves both do act by, and would govern all by, the Liberty of the Subject; though no Subject, but a few Members, have any Liberty at all: But, if his Majeſty, God bleſs him, ſhould act by the ſame Power, and do the ſame Things, which they do, then they call the ſame Power flat, downright Tyranny.

Tom. Doſt not thee remember, *Will*, one Day the laſt Summer, when our Barge lay againſt *York*-ſtairs, there was a great Noiſe about the Head Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*'s Breaking into an *Embaſſender*'s Houſe, to ſeize upon ſome Goods, which belonged to a Man that was condemned to be hanged at *Tyburn*; and, upon Complaint of the *Embaſſender* to the King, the ſaid Bailiff was taken and clapped into the *Tower*; and every Body ſaid he would be hanged, at the leaſt, for breaking the Common Law of all Nations: But the next News we heard was, that he had got ſome Sort of a Warrant, was made by the Long Parliament, that ſet him at Liberty within three Hours after he was committed.

Will. I remember the Time very well; they call thoſe Warrants *Habeas Corpuſes*, and they will fetch a Priſoner, committed by the King, out of any Jail in *England*; but not one committed by the Houſe of Commons; and this they call *Privilege of Parliament*.

Tom. All theſe Gentlemen, that were fetched up by Meſſengers and Serjeants, they might, by the Common Law, have choſen whether they would have come, or not. There was a Knight in our County, at *Oxford*, that was ſent for by a Meſſenger, and he told the Meſſenger, he had ſomething elſe to do, and would not come, and ſaid he would juſtify it.

Will. Surely, this was juſt about the Time

they were diſſolved, otherwiſe he durſt not have been ſo bold.

Tom. He ſaid he had been a Member himſelf many Years, and knew no Law to compel any Man to come before the Houſe of Commons, unleſs he had a Mind himſelf; and therefore they ſent to the King, to get his Majeſty's Proclamation to fetch him before them.

Will. So then his Majeſty's Proclamation, iſſued out at the Deſire of the Commons, is of Force; but, when ſent out by himſelf, is worth nothing at all.

Sam. Why ſo?

Will. Becauſe, I remember, there were ſeveral ſent for in Cuſtody, for obeying the King's Proclamation againſt Petitions, and brought to their Knees: If, therefore, that had been a good Proclamation, why ſhould any have ſuffered for it? And, for any Thing [illegible], if his Majeſty ſhould have made a Proclamation to fetch up that Knight, or any Body that diſobeyed their Meſſenger, it had deſerved as much to have been diſobeyed, as that againſt Petitions, unleſs the Houſe of Commons can make a Proclamation contrary to Law a good one, as this would have been: For, what Need had they of the King's Proclamation, if there had been Law to have fetched thoſe Men before them?

Tom. Now, if thoſe Men, that were fetched up, did dare to ſue, and the Lawyers did dare to do their Office, and the Judges did dare to give Judgment, I am of Opinion, they might bring Actions of falſe Impriſonment againſt the Meſſengers that fetched them up: For, if they had not full Power to puniſh thoſe, who did not obey them, then ſurely thoſe, who were fetched, had Wrong done them.

Sam. But, I dare aſſure thee, neither Lawyer, nor Judge, dare meddle with any ſuch Matter: If any of theſe Gentlemen would be ſo ventureſome, they will find no Law to ſtand againſt the Votes of the Commons, till they find they are as much brought under, as, they ſay, *Henry the Eighth* brought them; they durſt not prate in his Days, as now they do.

Will. What did he do?

Tom. I have heard a Fellow of *Maudlin College* ſay, he *tumbled** them, and made them do what he would himſelf, and not what they had a Mind to; and not a Word of Tyranny, or arbitrary Power.

Sam. But, pray thee, *Will*, ſome more of their Doings.

Will. I have told thee, it is without End; and therefore I will tell thee the laſt Thing they did; which was this: They voted, that, if any Man adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue them upon any Account, but to diſinherit the Duke, he was an Enemy to the King and Kingdom; nay, he was a Penſioner to the *French* King.

Tom. What, whether he ever received any Money from the *French* King, or no?

Will. Ay, though he never received a Penny of Money from him, or any Body elſe, by his Means, or Order.

Sam. For any Thing I know, they might as well have ſaid, that he had been my Lord Mayor's Bull-rider: I have often heard ſay, that a Parliament can make a Man into a Woman; and now, I ſee, they can make a Man into a Penſioner of *France*, though he be none.

Tom. What, then, was done?

Will. That very Day, notwithſtanding all this, they were prorogued.

Tom. Then, ſurely, they will ſay, either they were prorogued by the Advice of Somebody, who, for that Advice, is a Penſioner; or, if his Majeſty prorogued them on his own Head, then they will think, though they dare not ſay, that he himſelf is a Penſioner.

Will. And, within a few Days after, they were diſſolved, and another ordered to be called at your Town of *Oxford*.

Tom. Well, for all that *Sam*'s Parſon ſaid, there was a Parliament called at *Oxford*, that was called the *mad* Parliament, yet will I be hanged, if ever that was half ſo mad, as this thou haſt told us of; for, according to thy Tale, this Parliament let nothing eſcape them: To his Majeſty they would have given nothing, nor let any Body lend him any Thing, but would get from him what they could: From the Duke they would have taken his Birthright; the Church and Religion they would have caſt in a new Mould; the Biſhops and Clerks they would have new-faſhioned, if not utterly laid aſide; baniſhed many of the Nobles; taught the Judges of *Weſtminſter-hall* new Laws, and made them pay for practiſing the old; terrified moſt of the loyal Gentry of the Kingdom with Serjeants, Meſſengers, and expenſive Journies; the ſame with Mayors, Sheriffs, and Bailiffs; Fault or no Fault, taken

* Ignorantly, for *humbled*.

away

away Courts and Privileges from ſeveral Shires, to their great Harm, to revenge themſelves of particular Men; not only hindered *Iriſh* Cattle, and other Proviſions, from the City, but beggared many Thouſands of Families of Silk-weavers, and other poor Handicrafts-men.

Sam. Nay, theſe very Men were got to that Height, they would have abuſed any Body they met with, gentle or ſimple; not paid a Farthing for Croſſing the Ferry, but ſaid, they were *Frank* in Parliament-time, as their Maſters Letters were at the Poſt-houſe.

Tom. Was not this, then, as mad a Parliament, as that Parliament, they talk on at our Town? If this next prove a madder than the laſt, if it ſit at our Town, I will give any Man Leave to hang me at the Maſt of my Barge.

Sam. For all this, I believe they will not ſit at *Oxford*; for, they ſay, a many Noblemen* have petitioned the King's Majeſty againſt it.

Will. And I can tell thee, his Majeſty ſaid, they ſhould ſit at *Oxford*, for all that.

Tom. Pray thee, Who were theſe Noblemen that petitioned?

Will. I cannot tell thee, who they were, by their Names; but he, that was the Rump's firſt General, delivered it.

Sam. He! Thou art a Fool, *Will*; he is dead at leaſt thirty Years ſince: I remember I have ſeen him, as if he had been alive, in a Buff Coat, amongſt the Tombs at *Weſtminſter*.

Will. Well, I am ſure he bears the ſame Name †, and, probably, it may be his Son; for this Man follows that Man's Steps: Then there was him that was General of the Horſe to the Rump; that, I am ſure, is the the very Man himſelf; and another Lord, that ſat in the Rump Houſe of Commons, with a blue Garter about him; a Thing that was never done before.

Tom. That cannot be; I remember that Lord myſelf, he is dead, I am confident.

Will. It may be, then, it was his Son: There was, beſides, another, whoſe Father, ſome ſay, beheaded the King; but, if he did not, it is certain he was in Diſguiſe on the Scaffold: And then he, that ſet them on all this, as it is talked, is a little, lame, purblind Lord, that has been a Man in all the Times ever ſince the firſt Rebellion, and ſtill turned Time enough to ſave himſelf, though others were hanged for the ſame Fact: He now ſets them upon all the Miſchiefs done, and, if he live to it, will leave them in the Lurch.

Tom. That is old Uſual with him, and yet he is no better than thoſe that ſtood it out to the laſt, and deſerved Hemp many a fair Year ſince.

Will. He will come to it yet; for all his Cunning, the Devil will cozen him at laſt: All the reſt were Covenanters, or their Sons, except one or two diſguiſed Lords.

Tom. I hope his Majeſty will remember what theſe Men did with his Father, and not be adviſed by any ſuch.

Sam. Well, when all this is ſaid, I am ſtill of Opinion, *London* is the fitteſt Place in the Kingdom for a Parliament; for there every Body finds their Conveniency: His Majeſty his Houſe at *Whitehall*, the Nobles their own Houſes, the Members convenient Accommodation of Lodging, and every Body their Eaſe.

Tom. I queſtion whether too much Conveniency for Parliaments be not hurtful to Buſineſs: For, when they are leſs commodiouſly ſerved, they will mind their Buſineſs the better, and make more Haſte with their Work, that they may get ſo much ſooner Home: Not but that I know, they may have all Conveniences at our Town, and ſufficient Accommodation for all the Followers of a Parliament, that are requiſite to attend it.

Will. The plain Truth is, there are now a-days abundance of People do follow Parliaments, over what there uſed to be in former Times, as I have heard People ſay: And this *London* has ſuch new Buildings, that it lodges them all conveniently, if they were five Times as many.

Tom. Thou art in the Right of it, *Will*, that there does more People follow the Parliaments a late Time, than formerly; that is, the Scoundrel Rabble of *London*, who are ready, and have been theſe forty Years, to back any Seditious Petition; and to come down to *Weſtminſter* and *Whitehall*, like a Land-flood in our River, that threatens all the Country: Theſe encouraged by diſcontented Members, when they cannot get the Lords to join in their malicious Acts, threaten no leſs now, than they did to his Majeſty's Father, God bleſs him: And I think it no great Loſs, if theſe Gentlemen be left at Home to mind their Trades at *London*.

* See the Introduction.

† The Earl of *Eſſex*.

Sam.

Sam. But the Scholars of *Oxford* are thought, by many, will be as unmannerly as the Prentices in *London.*

Tom. I will tell thee, *Sam*, if the Parliament will behave themſelves as they ought, to the King's Majeſty, and the Royal Line, and offer no Injury to the Church, Biſhops, Clergy, Univerſity, nor Scholars, and give the King his reaſonable Requeſts, I will warrant thee, the Scholars will be as civil as can be; but, by my Faith, if they find either the Church, or themſelves touched upon, it will be a hard Matter to rule them: They are like Seamen, one and all.

Sam. Still I am for old *London*; thou knoweſt the King has borrowed many Hundred-thouſand Pounds of the City, and the *Eaſt-India* Company, and never needed to want Monies for a fair Word to the City.

Tom. It is very true; but he always paid double Intereſt for what he had of them: So that it was a greater Courteſy to the City to lend it, than to the King to have the Loan. But now the Buſineſs is over, they will lend no more Money, but upon Parliament-Security: Had they continued to have been the ſame City they were in 1660, and ſome Years after, I believe the King would never have removed the Parliament to *Oxford*; but, ſince they now are become that City they were in 1640, I think the King does wiſer to remove the Parliament to *Oxford*, that true, loyal City, where every Man loves the Name of the King, and that ſhewed ſo much Fidelity to his Father: Then let the Parliament and the factious City of *London* ſend him to *Oxford*, as they did his Father.

Will. Then let us all go to *Oxford*, and pray for the good Succeſs of this Parliament.

A Second Diſcourſe betwixt Sam, *the Ferryman of* Dochet, Will, *the Waterman of* London, *and* Tom, *the Bargeman of* Oxford, *upon the Coming of the two laſt down the River from* Oxford.

Sam. HOW does all our Friends at the Court at *Oxford?* It is ſtrange, *Will*, thou ſhouldſt come again ſo ſoon.

Will. Thou knoweſt, I told thee, I moſtly follow the Court; and 'faith, at this Time, he had been a cunning Man that had gone before it; his Majeſty gave not ſo good Warning of his Return to *London*, as he did of his Going to *Oxford.*

Sam. But what ſays *Tom*, now to his mad Parliament? I hope he has no Reaſon to complain of this Parliament.

Tom. But the Town of *Oxford* will have Reaſon to complain, while they live: But the beſt on it is, ſome *Londoners* will have Houſes to ſet in *Oxford*, at as good Rates as they took them: Had his Majeſty made a Cocking, or a Hunting Match at *Oxford*, he had done it a better Turn, than to have brought ſuch Gueſts as theſe were.

Will. I heard ſome ſay, they were ſo mad they were called from *London*, that they reſolved to do ſomething at *Oxford*, ſhould make them be ſuddenly ſent away again; and ſo bilk the Town of their Expectation.

Sam. They ſay the Town much mattered not the Court, and the Mayor, and the Aldermen of *Oxford*, were as much againſt it, as the Common Council is at *London.*

Tom. O, that is, becauſe the Univerſity is ſo much for the King, God bleſs him, and his Houſhold: For this is a certain Rule, if the Univerſity be for the Court, the Town will be for the Country, as they call it: Nay, if the Univerſity be for *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Town holds themſelves obliged in Conſcience to be for the *Devil.*

Sam. But ſtill, *Tom*, this does not anſwer what thou ſaid'ſt of this Parliament, which thou wouldeſt warrant would do ſuch brave Things, if they ſat at *Oxford.*

Tom. I muſt confeſs I was miſtaken, as my Father was before me: For he took once a *London* Boy to be his Prentice; and tho' he knew him to be a little light-finger'd, and given to Lying and Swearing, yet he hoped, if he could get him to *Oxford*, he could cure him; and took infinite Care and Pains about him, and daily told him what would be the End of him, if he would not lay aſide his *London* Tricks, and become a downright

right, honeſt *Oxford* Bargeman; but all in vain, what was bred in the Bone would never be out of the Fleſh: He fell, by little and little, to downright Thieving, and hanged he was in the End; and as my Father afterwards learned, the Rogue's Father and Grandfather, and many of his Kindred, had been Thieves before him.

Will. What's all this to the Purpoſe, what have either we or the Parliament to do with thy Father or his thieviſh Prentice? He was not the firſt Bargeman by a Hundred, that have been hanged.

Sam. Well ſaid, *Will*, here's a precious Story indeed, and nothing to the Purpoſe.

Tom. You do not know the Meaning, I perceive, of a Parable, or an *Æſop's Fable*; when ye have taught theſe Shavers at *London*, with your Rehearſals *, and at *Weſtminſter* with their Votes, Reſolves and Stories, to noſe their Maſter, and abuſe their Fellows, then you ſend them down to *Oxford*, to be cured of the R----- When it is too late, they are no more to be reclaimed than a Sheep-Worrier; nor will any Thing cure them, but that which cured my Father's Prentice: Now there's the precious Story you talked of ſo much. And yet, for all this, you cannot daſh us in the Teeth with any *Oxford* Acts of Parliament: Had their Noſes been kept to the Grindle-ſtone as cloſe at *Weſtminſter*, as it was at *Oxford*, they would not have been ſo high in the In-ſtep. I was ſure, if they ſat at *Oxford*, they muſt either make good Acts, or none at all.

Sam. A will have it but one Way or other; theſe *Oxford* Rogues learn to wrangle of the Boys, and will never yield, right or wrong.

Will. Well, but for all his Bragging, there was that done at this Parliament at *Oxford*, was never done at *Weſtminſter*.

Tom. Pray thee, What was that?

Will. There was as near a Lye, not to be the downright Lye, given to the King, as Heart could think.

Sam. How ſo, Man?

Will. I will tell thee, for Example's Sake, If I ſhould ſay, it is an unwarrantable Thing for any Man to pull down *Windſor* great Park Pail, and ride through to *Bagſhot* Market, if thou ſayeſt this is a warrantable Trick, though all the World knew the contrary, doſt not thee come very near to give me the Lye, what thinkeſt thou by this?

Sam. Surely he, that did this, had his Breeding at *Billingſgate*, or at *Hog-Norton*.

Tom. But, if he had a foul Tongue, he had a good Pair of Heels, for he gave Ground a hundred Miles in a very few Hours.

Will. That was but to be out of the Way, while the Thing was hot, it will quickly be forgot; I'll warrant thee, once in a ſhort Time, I ſhall ſee this very Man come in his Coach to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with a Quoif on, if not a red Gown. Such mannerly Behaviour, as this, has been an only Way to Preferment.

Tom. But, I think, he better deſerves to go up *Holbourn* in a wooden Chariot, and have a Horſe Night-cap put on at the farther End.

Will. Theſe kind of People do no more matter what they ſay, than a Dog does that has ſtolen a Joint of Meat from the Hook; they only run away for a while, and when they think all is quiet, and forgotten, then they come again with as much Confidence, as if they had never done no Miſchief at all.

Sam. The Reaſon of this is, becauſe they never light of the Whip for their Roguery; and ſo Eſcaping Scot-free makes them ſo bold.

Will. Ay, ay, let a Man ſuffer a Prentice to prate and talk, and, the next, he gives you two Words for one; and then, if you offer to correct him, have at your Ears. *Black Tom*, of *Lambeth*, that was an honeſt, good Fellow, as ever took an Oar by the End, ſuffered his Prentice ſo long, that, when he would have corrected him, it was too late; and, being a luſty, young Rogue, he threw him over-board into the *Thames*; and, had not I come by, by Chance, he had been drowned.

Tom. Nay, nothing madded me ſo much, as that the Houſe of Commons praiſed this Fellow, and ordered him Thanks for his Compliment he made.

Will. O brave *Oxford* ſtill; for, at *Weſtminſter*, they always uſed to have ſo much good Manners, as to give his Majeſty Thanks for his Speech, whether it pleaſed them, or not; and now they thank a Man that gives him the Lye.

Sam. But pray, my Maſters, what did they do that little Time they ſat; or, at leaſt-wiſe, what would they have done?

Tom. I will tell thee, thou ſayeſt, the Parſon told thee of a Parliament once at *Oxford*, was called the *mad Parliament*; I think, this may be called the *fooliſh* and *k---viſh* Parliaments.

* See before, *p.* 101.

ment: They were in Hand to make ſuch a King of the Duke, if he ſhould have ſurvived his Brother, as thou never heardeſt of in thy Life.

Will. A King! why, the *Portingals* King *, that they keep a cloſe Priſoner, in an old Caſtle, at the Rock of *Liſbon*, is an Emperor, in Compariſon of that they would have made him †: A muſt have had the Name of a King, but none of the Power; nor have lived in any of his Dominions, or within 500 Miles. Would not this have been a brave King ‡?

Sam. Pray thee tell me, what have they to do with *Scotland*?

Tom. With *Scotland*!? O, they make a good Title to *Scotland*, for *Oliver* conquered it for the *Rump*, and they being the *Rump*'s Heirs, they think *Scotland* belongs to them as well as *England*; for, as ſure as thou ſtands there, they keep the Commonwealth's Title a Foot in their Minds, though they dare not publickly own it.

Sam. How ſhould that be?

Tom. I will tell thee, if I have a Crown in my Pocket, and thou haſt a Mind to have it from me, there is but three Ways to get it, either by Sleight of Hand to pick it from me, or by Words to perſuade me out of it, or take it from me by a ſtrong Hand. Now the firſt and laſt not being ſo convenient nor eaſy; if thou canſt uſe Words to make me give it thee, is not that the beſt Way?

Will. No Doubt of it.

Tom. Then Words have prevailed a great Way, and will poſſibly be attempted farther; but, if thoſe will not do, thou knoweſt what follows next; beſides, it is apparent, they aimed now to make a Puſh for a Commonwealth; for they affronted the King, in the firſt Place, as I have told you; then, in the next Place, they voted the Lords Denial to try *Fitz-Harris* ‖ was a Denial of Juſtice, and Hinderance of Diſcovering of the Popiſh Plot, and twenty Stories more they called it; which was as much as to ſay, they were not fit to ſit in that Houſe; for, if they were unjuſt in their Doings, and countenanced the Popiſh Plot, what worſe could have been ſaid of them? And if this had taken, at the next Vote they had been uſeleſs, and then welcome the *Rump* again; they would only have wanted him that was headed at *Tower-hill* twenty Years ago, what did you call him?

Will. I believe thou meaneſt Sir *Harry Vain* §.

Tom. Ay, ay, that was he, if he had been alive to have joined with the purblind Lord, and the Colonel with cut Fingers, and a few more, all had been right.

Sam. Pray thee, *Tom*, what would they have done with this *Fitz-Harris*, what is that Fellow?

Tom. I think Nobody knows what he is **; but I take him to be a *Croſs-biter* ††; but if he chance to be hanged, as he is like to be, it is doubtful he will be *croſs-bitten* himſelf.

Sam. Why the Parliament were bloody mad at him, and would needs have hanged him themſelves.

* *Don Alphonſo*, depoſed by his Brother *Peter the Second*, who was not content to ſeize the Crown and impriſon his Brother; but obtained a Diſpenſation of the Pope, to marry his Brother's Wife alſo.

† The Duke of *York*.

‡ Theſe were ſome of the Expedients propoſed inſtead of the Bill of Excluſion; which Expedients the Duke's Friends oppoſed with greater Vehemency than the Bill of Excluſion.

‖ This *Fitz-Harris* was employed by the Court to write a ſeditious Pamphlet, which, being privately printed, was to be ſent by Penny-poſt to the Proteſtant Lords, *&c.* which oppoſed the Court; and then their Houſes were to be immediately ſearched, and, where theſe Pamphlets could be found, they were to be made the Foundation of a Plot againſt the Government. This Scheme was communicated to one *Everard*, and by him diſcovered to Sir *William Waller*, who informed the King of it, who ordered *Fitz-Harris* to be taken into Cuſtody, but declared his Reſentment at Sir *William*, ſaying, That *he had broken all his Meaſures*. Therefore the Houſe of Commons reſolved to examine and try the *Iriſh* Prieſt, *Fitz-Harris*, at their own Bar, hoping to make a full Diſcovery of ſo wicked a Deſign, and to bring the Contrivers thereof to condign Puniſhment. But the Court influenced the Lords to reject the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris* by the Commons, and to order him to be proſecuted at Common Law, where the Court had Power to prevent any material Diſcoveries; and immediately to ſacrifice the Man, who had ſo imprudently divulged the Secret intruſted to him.

§ al. *Vane*.

** He was an *Iriſh* Papiſt who had free Acceſs to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, and kept a Correſpondence with her Favourite Woman, Mrs. *Wall*, and with the *French* Ambaſſador's Confeſſor.

†† *viz.* A Trapanner.

Tom.

Tom. O *Sam*, thou knoweſt not Parliament-craft, the next Way Home ſometimes is the fartheſt about. If they could have gotten the Lords to have received the Impeachment againſt him, they would have kept him alive, and played more Tricks than thou canſt imagine; they would have made him bowl off and on, as thou doſt at Nine-pins, and made his Evidence good and right in what they had a Mind; and arrant Lyes in what they liked not. And he had been as far from Hanging by their Means, as the Lords in the *Tower*; only they would poſſibly have found Law to have bailed him; which could not be found for the Treaſurer *Danby*, whom they know they have no Power to hang, unleſs they do with him, as with the old Earl of *Strafford* *.

Will. But, for all their Cunning, he may yet come to be hanged; and if he be, ſtand clear, I believe there will be Stories told, ſome will not be willing to hear.

Sam. Before my Heart, you two are gotten very cunning at State Affairs, I believe you did nothing but liſten and hearken after News.

Tom. If the Parliament had ſat at our Town a Twelvemonth, I would not have wrought in my Barge an Hour; but, if ever a Parliament deſerved a By-name, this little *ſhort-arſed* † one deſerved that I have given it, both for meddling with what they did ſo ſimply, and meddling with thoſe People and Places out of their Power.

Sam. Well, but now this Parliament is diſſolved, all this is over, and now they have neither Power to vote, nor act, nor nothing; and I hope we ſhall have Quietneſs, and the Court at *Windſor*.

Tom. It is true, they are unrooſted from their publick Sitting-places, both at *Weſtminſter* and *Oxford*; but the Men that ſhape out all the Work are not idle; that will appear before long in the *Common Hall* of *London*, and from other Places where they have Power to ſet Miſchief on Foot.

Tom. I remember Gaffar *Tomſon* of *Abington* had a dozen Men and Boys that laboured his Barge; and, to his Coſt, he found they were all plotted together to rob, ſteal, and do him any Miſchief they could; nay, would almoſt tell him to his Face, they would have what they liſt. He was a quiet honeſt Man, and loved not Trouble, and hoped, in vain, for Amendment a long Time; but at laſt he took a Reſolution and turned them all off at once, and got a new Floor-full, that knew nothing of the Roguery of the other Crew; and then all Things went well with him.

Will. He was in the Right of that; for, if he had left any of the old ones in the Barge, they would have corrupted all the reſt.

Tom. Doſt not think, there are ſome old *Rumpers* has done a great Hurt amongſt the Members?

Will. I am for a new Floor full or none at all; there is no Hopes of any Good from *Tompſon*'s old Crew.

Tom. Gaffer *Tompſon* has a ſpecial Care, not only to keep his new Men from companying with the old ones at *London* and at *Abington*; but alſo, that they ſhould not come and rob him by a ſtrong Hand.

Will. They durſt hardly do that; for then it had come to *Hangum tuum*. However, it was Wiſdom in him to have an Eye to them; for they met often together to conſult which Way to be revenged of him; and however he knew the Laws of the Land would protect him, which muſt protect every Body.

Sam. I pray *God bleſs his Majeſty*, and give him Power to put his Laws in Execution; and then, I think, none but his Enemies will have Occaſion to repine; and let the diſbanded Reformadoes do what they dare. *Amen.*

* Make a Law on Purpoſe.

† Becauſe it ſat but *ſeven Days*.

The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments. Written by Sir *Robert Cotton*. Printed *Anno Domini* 1679. *Folio*. Containing thirteen Pages.

That the Kings of England *have been pleaſed, uſually, to conſult in the great Council of Marriage, Peace and War, with their Peers and Commons in Parliament.*

TO ſearch ſo high as the *Norman* Conqueſt, that is neceſſary to lay down the Form and Government of thoſe Times, wherein State-Affairs were led in *another* Form of publick Councils: For the People wrought, under *the Sword* of the firſt *William* and his Followers, to a ſubjected Vaſſalage, and could not poſſeſs, in ſuch Aſſemblies, the Right of their former Liberties, Diviſion and Power having maſtered them, and none of their own Nobility and Heads being left, either of Credit or Fortunes.

What he retained not in Providence (as the Demeſnes of the Crown) or reſerved in Piety (as the Maintenance of the Church) he parted to thoſe Strangers that ſailed along with him, in that Bark of his Adventure; leaving the Natives for the moſt Part (as appeareth in his Survey) in no better Condition than Villanage: He moulded their Cuſtoms to the Nature of his own Country, and forbare to grant the Laws of Holy *Edward*, ſo often called for *.

To ſupply his Occaſions of Men, Money, and Proviſion, he ordered †, that all thoſe, that enjoyed any Fruit of his *Conqueſt*, ſhould hold their Lands proportionable by ſo many Knights Fees of the Crown; admitting them to enfeoff their Followers, with ſuch Parts as they pleaſed of their own Portions; which, to eaſe their Charge, they did in his and his Son's Times ‡, by two Enfeoffments, the one *de Novo*, the other *de Veteri*.

This Courſe provided him the Body of the War; the Money and Proviſion was by Headage aſſeſſed on the common People, at the Conſent of the Lords ‖, who held in all their Seigniories ſuch Right of Regality, that to their Vaſſals, as *Paris* § ſaith, *Quot Domini, tot Tyranni*, and proved to the King ſo great a Curb, and Reſtraint of Power, that nothing fell into the Care of his Majeſty after, more than to retrench the Force of his *Ariſtocoited*, that was in Time like to ſtrangle the *Monarchy* **.

Though others foreſaw the Miſchiefs betimes, yet none attempted the Remedy, until King *John*, whoſe over-haſty Undertaking brought in theſe Broils of the *Barons Wars*.

There needed not before this Care, to adviſe with the *Commons* in any publick Aſſembly, when every Man in *England*, by Tenure, held himſelf to his great Lord's Will, whoſe Preſence was ever recogniſed in thoſe great Councils, and in whoſe Aſſent his dependent Tenant's Conſent was ever included.

Before this King's Time then, we ſeek in vain for any Commons called; they were ever called for *Making of Laws*, but not to conſult touching *War* or *Peace*: He firſt, as may be gathered (though darkly by the Records) uſed their Counſels and Aſſents, in the ſixth Year of his Reign ††.

Here is the firſt Summons on Record to the Peers or Barons: *Tractatur de magnis & arduis negotiis*: It was about a War of Defence againſt the *French*, and at that Time the Commons were admitted. At this Time that may fitly be gathered by this Ordinance, *Proviſum eſt communi aſſenſu Archiepiſcoporum Communium, Baronium, & omnium fidelium noſtrorum Angliæ quod novem Milites per Angliam inveniend. de communi Re* ‡‡. And this was directed to all the Sheriffs in *England*, the antient Uſe in publick Laws.

* Doomſday Book. *Alguerus, Huntington.* † *Ex libro Fœderis in Scaccio.* ‡ *Hen* IV. Statut. ‖ *Ex libro Rub. Scaccio* § *Chronicon de Dunſtable.* ** *Benedict. Monard. in Vita Hen.* II. †† *Claus. in Dorſo.* ‡‡ *Paris* 6. *Ro.* 2 *in Dorſo.*

From

From this there is a Break, until 18 *Hen.* III. where the next Summons extant is in a Plea-Roll of that Year, but the Ordinances are loſt; from thence the Record affords no Light, until the 49th of the ſame King *, where then the Summons to *Biſhops*, *Lords*, *Knights* and *Burgeſſes* are much in Manner, tho' not in Matter, alike to the Uſe of our Times. This Parliament was called to adviſe with the King, *ro pace aſſeveranda & firmanda*, they are the Words; and where Advice is required, Conſultation muſt be admitted.

To this King ſucceeds *Edward* I. his Son, a wiſe, a juſt, and a fortunate Prince: In his Reign we have no Light of any publick Counſel in this Kind, and ſo along to the fourth of his Grandchild's Reign, but what we borrow in the Rolls of Summons, wherein the Form ſtood various according to the Occaſions †, until that grew conſtant in the Form that is now about the Entering of *Rich.* II; the Journal-Rolls being ſpoiled by the Injury of Time, or private Ends.

The King, in the Fifth of his Reign, called a Parliament, and therein adviſed with his Lords and Commons, for the Suppreſſing *Lluellin*, Prince of *Wales* ‡; and, hearing that the *French* King intended to ſome Pieces of his Inheritance in *France*, ſummoned a Parliament, *ad tractandum, ordinandum, & favendum cum Prælatis, Proceribus, & aliis Incolis Regni quælibet hujuſmodi Periculis, & Excogitatis militiis ſic abjurand.* ‖, inſerting in the Writ, that that was *Lex juſtiſſima provida Circumſpectione ſtabilita*; that that which *omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, in the thirty-fourth of his Reign, *ſuper ordinatione & ſtabilimento Regni Scotiæ*, he made the like Convention §.

His Son, the Second *Edward*, *pro ſolemnitate ſponſalium & coronationis*, conſulted with his People in his firſt Year; in his ſixth Year, *ſuper diverſis negotiis Statum Regni & expeditione Guerram Scotiæ ſpecialiter tangentibus*, he aſſembled the State to adviſe; the like he did in his eighth Year **.

The *French* King having invaded *Gaſcoigne*, in the thirteenth Year, the Parliament was called, *ſuper ordinis negotiis ſtatum Ducatus Gaſconiæ tangentibus*; and in the Sixteenth to conſult, *ad refrænandum Scotorum obſtinantiam & malitiam* ††.

Before *Edward the Third* would reſolve in his firſt Year, whether Peace or War ſhould be with the *Scots* King, he ſummoned the Peers and Commons, *ſuper præmiſſis tractare et Conſilium impendere* ‡‡.

The Chancellor, *Anno* 5, declareth from the King the Cauſe of that Aſſembly, and that was to conſult and reſolve, whether the King ſhould proceed with *France*, for the Recovery of his Seigniories, by Alliance of Marriage or by War; and whether, to redreſs the Diſobedience of the *Iriſh*, he ſhould go thither in Perſon or no ‖‖.

The Year following he re-aſſembled his Lords and Commons, and required their Advice, whether he ſhould undertake the *Holy Expedition* §§ with the *French* King or no; the Biſhops and Protectors of the Clergy would not be preſent, as forbidden by the Commons ſuch Counſels; the Peers and Commons conſult, applauding the religious and princely Forwardneſs of their Sovereign to this hard Enterpriſe; but humbly adviſe Forbearance this Year, for urgent Reaſons ***.

The ſame Year (though another Seſſions) the King demanded the Advice of his People, whether he ſhould paſs into *France*, to an Interview, as was deſired, for the Expediting the Treaty of Marriage. The Prelates by themſelves, and the Earls and Barons by themſelves, and the Knights of the Shires by themſelves, conſult a-part (for ſo is the Records †††) and in the End reſolved, that, to prevent ſome Dangers likely to ariſe from the North, it would pleaſe the King to forbear his Journey, and to draw towards thoſe Parts where the Perils were feared, *his Preſence being the beſt Prevention*; which Advice he followed.

In the following Parliament at *York*, the King ſheweth, how, by their former Advice, he had drawn himſelf towards the North-parts, and now again he had aſſembled them, to adviſe further for his Proceedings. To which the Lords and Commons, having conſulted a-part, pray further Time to reſolve, until a full Aſ-

* Clauſ. 49. *Hen.* III. in Dorſo. † Ex Rot Parl. in Archivis *London.* ‡ Clauſ. 5. *Edw.* I. in Dorſo. ‖ Clauſ. 7. *Edw.* I. m. 3. in Dorſo. § Clauſ. 34. *Edw.* I. in Dorſo. ** *Edw.* II. Clauſ. 1. 19 m. Clauſ. 6. 3 m. Clauſ. 8. 3 m. Clauſ. 13. m. 13. in Dorſo. †† Clauſ. 16. m. 27. ‡‡ *Edw.* III. Clauſ. 1. ‖‖ Rot. Parl. 5. §§ To fight the *Turks*, and recover the *Holy Land*. *** Parl. 6. *Edw.* III. ††† Rot. Parl. 6. *Edw.* III. Seſſ. 2. m. 6.

ſembly of the State; to which the King granting, adjourneth that Seſſions.

At their next Meeting, they are charged upon their Allegiance and Faith, to give the King their beſt Advice *. The Peers and Commons (conſulting a-part) delivered their Opinions, and ſo that Parliament ended.

In the thirteenth Year, the Grandees and Commons are called to conſult and adviſe, how the domeſtick Quiet may be preſerved, the Marſhes of *Scotland* defended, and the Sea ſcoured from Enemies; the Peers and Commons (having a-part conſulted) the Commons, deſiring not to be charged to counſel in Things, *des queux ils neut pas Cogniſaux*, anſwer, that the Guardians of the Shire, aſſiſted by the Knights, may effect the firſt (if Pardons of Felony be not granted) the Care of the Marſhes they humbly leave to the King and Council; and, for the Safeguard of the Seas, they wiſh that the Cinque-ports and Maritime-towns (diſcharged, for the moſt Part, from many Burthens of Inland-parts) may have that left to their Charge and Care; and that ſuch, as have Lands near the Sea-coaſts, be commanded to reſide in thoſe Poſſeſſions.

The Parliament is the ſame Year re-aſſembled to adviſe, *De expeditione Guerræ in partibus tranſmarinis* †. At this Aſſembly Ordinances are made for Proviſion of Ships, Arraigning Men for the Marſhes, and Defence of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, naming ſuch in the Record, as they conceived for the Employments.

The next Year, *De la Poole* accounteth the Expences of the War; a new Aid is granted, and by ſeveral Committees (in which divers were named that were not Peers of Parliament) the Safeguard of the Seas, and Defence of the Borders, are conſulted of ‡.

In the fifteenth Year, *Aſſenſu Prælatorum, Procerum, & aliorum de Conſilio*, the King's Paſſage into *France* is reſolved of ‖.

In *Anno* 17, *Badleſmore*, in the Place of the Chancellor, declareth to the Peers and Commons, That, whereas by their Aſſents the King had undertaken the Wars with *France*, and that by the Mediation of the Pope a Truce was offered, which then their Sovereign forbare to entertain, without their well Allowance.

The Lords a-part conſult; and alſo the Commons, returning by Sir *William Truſſel*, in Anſwer to their Advice and Deſire to compoſe the Quarrel, approve the Truce, and the Pope's Mediation.

The Pope's Undertaking proving fruitleſs, and Delays to the *French* Advantage, who in the mean Space (with *Scotland* and others) practiſed to root out the *Engliſh* Nation in *France*; the King again aſſembled his Parliament the Year following: In which the Peers and Commons, after many Days of Deliberation, reſolve to end that, either by Battle or Peace, and no more to truſt to the Mediation of his Holineſs.

In the Twelfth the Chief Juſtice *Thorpe* declaring to the Peers and Commons, that the *French* Wars began by their Advice §.

Firſt, The Truce, after by their Aſſents accepted, and now ended, the King's Pleaſure was to have their Counſels in theſe Proſecutions: The Commons being commanded, *Y ils ſe devoirent enſemble & ſi ils aſſent le devoirent noſtre au Roy & all Grandees de ſon Counſel*, who, after four Days Conſulting, humbly deſire of the King, that he would be adviſed herein by his Lords, and others of more Experience than themſelves in ſuch Affairs.

To adviſe the King the beſt for his *French* Employments, a Parliament was ſummoned, *Anno* 25. Wherein the King, by a more publick Diſpatch, willeth the Commons to elect twenty-four, or thirty, of their Houſe, to conſult with the Lords; theſe to relate to their Fellows, and the Concluſion in general, by the Lords to the King **.

In the Twenty-ſeventh, a great Council is aſſembled, many of the Lay-Peers, few of the Clergy, and of the Knights of the Shires, and Burgeſſes, but one a-piece ††. This was for the Proſecution of the *French* Wars, when honourable; and, in the Year following, a Truce being offered, the King forbare his Peers and Commons, which they in Parliament accorded unto, before the Pope's Notary, by publick Inſtinct.

The Dallying of the *French* King, in Concluſion of Peace, and ‡‡ the Falling off of the Duke of *Bretagne* (having wrought his End with *France*

* Rot. 7. *Edw.* III. Seſſ. 2. Parl. 7. *Edw.* III. m. 6.
† Rot. Parl. 13 *Edw.* III. Seſſ. 2.
‡ Parl. 14 *Edw.* III. Parl. 15 *Edw.* III. ‖ Parl. 17 *Edw.* III. § Parl. 21 *Edw.* III.
** Parl. 25 *Edw.* III. †† Parl. 27 *Edw.* III. ‡‡ Parl. 29 *Edw.* III.

by

by Reputation of the *Engliſh* Succour) is the Year following declared in Parliament, and their Advice and Aid required for the King's Proceedings.

In the Thirty-ſixth Year, he calleth his Parliament to conſult, whether War or Peace (by *David* King of *Scots* then offered) ſhould be accepted *.

In the Fortieth Year, the Pope demanding the Tribute of King *John*, the Parliament aſſembled, when, after Conſultation a-part, the Prelates, Lords, and Commons adviſe the Denial, although it be by Dint of Sword †.

In the Forty-third, the King declared to the Peers and Commons, that the *French*, againſt the Articles of the Truce, refuſed Payment of the Monies, and Delivery of the Towns, ſummoning *La Brett*, and others of the King's Subjects in *Gaſcoigne*, to make at *Paris* their Appeals, and had foraged his Country of *Poictiers*, requiring (in their Breach) whether he might not regain his Stile of *France* ‡.

The Lords and Commons had a-part conſulted; they adviſed the King to both, which he approving, altered the Inſcription and Figure of his Stile.

Two Years after ‖, it was declared to the Peers and Commons, that, by their Advice, he had again reſumed the Stile and Quarrel of *France*, and therefore called their Advice, for the Defence of the Realm againſt the *French*, Securing of the Seas, and Purſuing of the Wars; of which they conſult and reſolve to give the King an Aid.

The like Counſel and Supply was the very next following §.

In the Fiftieth, a Parliament to the Purpoſe of the former two was ſummoned **; and the Year following the King in Parliament, declaring how the *French* had combined under-hand againſt him with *Spain* and *Scotland*, required their Advice how Peace at Home, Territories Abroad, Security of the Seas, and Charge of the War might be maintained.

I have the longer inſiſted in Obſerving the Carriage of thoſe Times, ſo good and ſo glorious; after Ages having not left the Journal Entries of Parliament ſo full, which with a lighter Hand I will paſs through.

Richard the Second his Grand-child ſucceeded to the Crown and Troubles, having Nothing worthy his great Fortunes but his Birth: The Firſt of his Reign he purſued the Steps of his wiſe Grandfather, adviſing with his Peers and Commons how beſt to reſiſt his Enemies that had lately wronged many of his Subjects on the Sea Coaſts ††.

In the ſecond Year he again ‡‡ conſulted with his People how to withſtand the *Scots*, who then had combined with the *French* to break the Truce.

In the third Year, he calleth the Advice of his Parliament ‖‖ how to maintain the Regality impaired by §§ the Pope's Proviſions; how to reſiſt *France*, *Spain*, and *Scotland*, that had raiſed Wars againſt him; how to ſuppreſs his Rebels in *Guzen* and *Ireland*, and to defend the Seas.

In the fourth Year of his Reign he calleth the like *** at *Windſor*; the Year following in a great Council the King, having propoſed a Voyage Royal into *France*, now called his Parliament to determine further of that: And it is worth Obſervation, that, for the moſt Part, before any Propoſition of War or Peace was vented to the Commons, a Debate thereof proceedeth in the great Council to ſhape that fitter for popular Advice.

The Quarrel with *Spain* continuing, the Duke of *Lancaſter* offereth a Voyage againſt them, ſo the State would lend him Money; after Conſultation ††† they grant an Aid, but not to bind them to any Continuance of War with *Spain*.

In the Sixth, the Parliament was called to conſult about the Defence of the Borders, the King's Poſſeſſions beyond the Seas, *Ireland* and *Gaſcoigne*, and his Subjects in *Portugal* ‡‡‡.

The Lords approve the Duke's Intention for *Portugal*, and the Commons adviſe that the Biſhop of *Norwich*, having the *Croycery*, ſhould invade *France*.

The ſame Year the State was re-aſſembled ‖‖‖‖, to conſult whether the King ſhould go in Perſon to reſcue *Gaunt*, or to ſend his Army. The Commons, after two Days Debate, crave a Conference with the Lords; the Effect is not entered in the Roll, only they, by Sir *Thomas Puckering*, their Speaker, proteſt, that Counſels

* Parl. 36 *Edw.* III. † Parl. 40 *Edw.* III. ‡ Parl. 43 *Edw.* III. ‖ Parl. 45 *Edw.* III.
§ Parl. 46 *Edw.* III. ** Parl. 46 *Edw.* III. †† *Rich.* II. Parl. 1. m. 5. a. 6.
‡‡ Parl. 2 *Rich.* II. m. 1. ‖‖ Parl. 3 *Rich.* II. m. 4, 5. §§ *Urban* VI.
*** Parl. 4 *Rich.* II. m. 2, 3. ††† Parl. 5 *Rich.* II. Seſſ. 2. a. ‡‡‡ Parl. 6 *Rich.* II. Seſſ. 1.
‖‖‖‖ Parl. 6. *Rich.* II. Seſſ. 1. a.

of

of War did aptly belong to the King and his Lords, yet, ſince the Commons were commanded to give their Advice, they humbly wiſh a Voyage Roval by the King; if not, that the Biſhop of *Norwich* might, with the Advantage of the Pope's *Croycery*, be uſed in that Service, who accepted the Charge with ill Succeſs.

Here further the Commons pray, that the King's Uncle ſhould not be ſpared out of the Realm, before ſome Peace was ſettled with the *Scots*, and that the Lord *Delaſpar*, ſent with Proviſions of Peace from *Spain*, might firſt be heard.

The Chancellor, in the ſeventh Year, in the Name of the King, willeth the Lords a-part; and ſo the Commons do conſult, whether Peace or War with *Scotland*, or whether to reſiſt or to aſſail the King's Adverſaries of *Spain*, *France*, or *Flanders* *.

Their Opinions are not entered in the Rolls, (an Omiſſion uſually by the Clerk's Neglect) only their Petition is recorded, that the Biſhop of *Norwich* may account in Parliament the Expence of the Money, and be puniſhed for his Faults, in the Service he undertook, both which are granted.

At the next Seſſions, the ſame Year, the Commons are willed to adviſe, upon View of the Articles of Peace with the *French*, whether War, or ſuch Amity, ſhould be accepted.

They modeſtly excuſe themſelves, as too weak to counſel in ſo weighty Cauſes: But, charged again, as they did tender the Honour and Right of the King, they make this Anſwer, *Yils introdont que aſtimis ſervices terres y meſne lour leige anecoit ore per teſtarior in Guyen, ſi ſerront tenus del Roy F is per tril ſernior la villa de Callis at r es acquiſe & conquiſe des Francois, per les fore neue verroit la Commen y aniuſe Aiuſt fait ſ autrement preroit been faire*, giving their Opinions rather for Peace than War.

Peace with *France* not ſucceeding, the eighth Year, the Body of the State was called to adviſe, whether the King in his own Perſon, or the Sending of Forces againſt the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Flanders*, and *Scotland* ſhould proceed.

The King having aſſembled at *Oxon* his great Council †, to adviſe whether he ſhould paſs the Seas or no with an Army Royal; and, they not daring to aſſent without a greater Council, a Parliament, the tenth Year, was called to have the Advice of the Commons as well as the Lords, how the Realm ſhould be governed in their Sovereign's Abſence ‡.

The Truce with *France* now near expired, the Parliament ‖ was called in the thirteenth Year, to adviſe upon what Conditions it ſhould be renewed, otherwiſe how the Charge of War ſhould be ſuſtained. At this Aſſembly, and by Conſent of all, the Duke of *Lancaſter* is created Duke of *Aquitain*; the Statutes of Proviſions are now paſſed §; the Commons are named partly in the Letter to the Pope **.

The Year ſucceeding, a Parliament is called, for that the King would have the Advice of his Lords and Commons for the War with *Scotland*, and would not, without their Counſel, conclude a final Peace with *France* ††.

The like Aſſembly, for the like Cauſes, was the Year enſuing.

The Commons humbly deſire the King, to uſe a Moderation in the Law of Proviſion, ſo that the Statutes upon their Diſlike may again be exempted; and that, to negotiate the Peace with *France*, the Duke of *Aquitain* may rather than another be employed.

To conſult of the Treaty with *France* for Peace, the King in the ſeventeenth Year calleth a Parliament ‡‡; the Anſwer of the Lords is left unentered in the Rolls.

The Commons, upon their Faith and Allegiance charged, adviſe, that, with good Moderation, Proviſion may be made for *Guienne*, an Appendage of the *French* Crown, ſo it intrench not to involve the other Pieces of the *Engliſh* Conqueſt. Their Anſwer is large, modeſt, and worthy to mark.

Now ſucceeded a Man that firſt ſtudied a Popularity, as needing all to ſupport his Titles: He in the fifth Year calleth a Parliament |||, to repreſs the Malice of the Duke of *Orleans*, and to adviſe for the Wars in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; neither Counſels nor Supplies are entered into Roll; and, to reſiſt an Invaſion intended by *France* and *Britain*, he aſſembleth the State again §§.

The like was the two Years following for *France* ***. In this the Commons confer with the Lords for Guard of the Sea, and make many Ordinances, to which the King aſſented: The Peace with the Merchants of *Pruſſia*, and

* Parl. 7. *Rich.* II. Seſſ. 4. † Clauſ. 9. *Rich.* II. ‡ Clauſ. 10. *Rich.* II.
‖ Parl. 13. *Rich.* II. § Rot. Clauſ. 13 *Rich.* II. ** Boniface IX. †† Parl. 14 *Rich.* II.
‡‡ Parl. 17. *Rich.* II. ||| *Hen.* IV. Parl. 5. §§ Parl. 6. *Hen.* IV. *** Parl. 7. *Hen.* IV. *n.* 19, 20.

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the *Hanſe-Towns*, is debated, and a Proclamation publiſhed, as they reſolved by the Speaker. The Commons * complain of ninety-ſix Pieces of Ordnance loſt in *Guyenne* the Year before; the Need of the Defence of the Borders, and Guard of the Sea-coaſts, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion in *Wales*, and Diſloyalty of the Earl of *Northumberland:* They humbly deſire, that the Prince may be diſpatched into thoſe Parts with Speed, and that the Caſtle of , the Key of three Realms, might be left to the Care of the *Engliſh*, not to *Charles Navarre*, a Stranger, and to have a diligent Eye of the *Scottiſh* Priſoners.

In the tenth Year a Parliament is called, and the Commons commanded to give their Advice about the Truce of *Scotland*, and Preparation againſt the Malice of the *French* †.

His Son ‡, the wiſe and happy Undertaker, conſulteth with the Parliament in his firſt Year, how to cheriſh his Allies, and reſtrain his Enemies. For this there was a ſelect Committee of the Commons, appointed to confer with the Lords; the Matter being entered into Schedule touching *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, *Calais*, *Guienne*, Shipping, Guard of the Seas, and wary Proviſion to repulſe the Enemy.

In the Second he openeth to the Parliament ‖ his Title to *France*, a Quarrel he would preſent to Death, if they allowed and aided; Death in this Aſſembly enacted to all, that either break the Truce, or the King's ſafe Conduct.

The Year following, Peace being offered by the *French* King, and the King of the *Romans*, armed to effect the Work; the King refuſed any Concluſion, until he had had thereunto the Advice and Aſſent of his Lords and Commons; for which Occaſion the Chancellor declareth it to that Aſſembly §.

In the fourth and fifth Years, no Peace concluded with *France*, he calleth the State together to conſult about the War, concluding a Treaty of Amity with *Sigiſmond*, King of the *Romans*, by the Allowance of the three Eſtates, and entereth the Articles in the Journal-roll **.

The ſame Year, by the Duke of *Bedford*, in the King's Abſence, a Parliament †† was called to the former Purpoſe, as appeareth by the Summons, though in the Roll omitted.

The like in the ſeventh Year ‡‡.

The Treaty with *France* is by the Prelates, Nobles, and Commons of the Kingdom peruſed and ratified, in the Tenth of this King ‖‖.

This Son §§, more holy than happy, ſucceeded; adviſed in the ſecond Year with the Lords and Commons, for the well Keeping of the Peace with *France*; conſulteth with them about the Delivery of the *Scottiſh* King, and the Concluſion of it is confirmed by common Aſſent.

And in the third Year they are called to adviſe and conſent to a new Article in the League with *Scotland* for Charge of Hoſtages ***.

And in the ninth Year conclude by Name certain Perſons to treat a Peace with the Dauphin of *France* †††.

The Treaty of *Arras* (whither the Pope ‡‡‡ had ſent, as Mediators, two Cardinals) not ſucceeding, the King in Parliament (in *Anno* 1640) ſheweth, that he muſt either loſe his Title and Kingdom of *France*, or elſe defend it by Force; the beſt Means for Prevention whereof, he willeth them to adviſe him.

He ſummoneth again the next Year ‖‖‖ the Council, how the Realm might be beſt defended, and the Sea kept ſafe againſt the Enemies.

In the Twentieth, the Commons §§§ exhibit a Bill for Guard of the Sea; a certain Number of Ships aſſeſs Wages, and diſpoſe of Prizes, if any Fortune; to which the King accordeth. And that the *Gronowayes* may be declared Enemies, for aſſiſting the *Turk* in the Spoil of the *Rhodes* Knights; and that the Privilege of the Prince and Hance-towns may be ſuſpended, till Compoſition be made to the *Engliſh* for Wrongs they have done them; to which in Part the King accordeth.

The King by the Chancellor declareth in Parliament *, that the Marriage with *Margaret* the King of *Sicily*'s Daughter, was contracted for inducing the Peace made with the *French*, which the Lords (not by their Advice effected) make Proteſtation, and enter it upon the Roll.

The King intending †† to paſs in Perſon into *France*, then to treat of Peace with the King, adviſes with his Lords and Commons in Par-

* Clauſ. 7. *Hen.* IV. *n.* 33. † Parl. 10. *Hen.* IV. ‡ *Hen.* V. ‖ Parl 2 *Hen.* V.
§ Parl. 3 *Hen.* V. ** Parl. 4 & 5 *Hen.* V. †† Parl. 5 *Hen.* V. ‡‡ Parl. 7 *Hen.* V.
‖‖ Rot. Parl. 10 *Hen.* V. §§ *Hen.* VI. Rot. Parl. 2 *Hen.* VI. *** Rot. Parl. 3 *Hen.* VI.
††† 9 *Hen.* VI. ‡‡‡ *Eugenius* IV. ‖‖‖ Parl. 15 *Hen.* VI. §§§ Parl. 20 *Hen.* VI.
* *Anno* 27 *Hen.* VI. †† *Anno* 25 *Hen.* VI.

liament;

liament; and Letters of Mart are granted againſt the *Britons* for Spoils done to the *Engliſh* Merchants.

The Lord *Haſtings* and the Abbot of *Glouceſter* declared in Parliament * the Preparation of the *French*, the Breach by them of the Peace, the weak Defence of *Normandy*, and Expiration ſhortly of the Truce; requiring ſpeedy Advice and Remedy.

It was injoined the Parliament † to provide for the Defence of the Sea and Land againſt the *French*.

It was commanded by the King to the States aſſembled ‡, to adviſe for the well Ordering of his Houſe, Payment of his Soldiers at *Calais*, Guard of the Seas, Raiſing of the Siege at *Berwick* made by the *Scots* againſt the Truce, Diſpoſing of the Thirteen-thouſand Soldiers arrayed the laſt Parliament, According of Differences amongſt the Lords, Reſtraining Tranſportation of Gold and Silver, and Acquitting the Diſorders in *Wales*; of all which Committees are appointed to frame Bills.

Edward the Fourth, by the Chancellor, declareth to the Lords and Commons ‖, that having Peace with the *Scots*, entered League with *Spain* and *Denmark*, contracted with *Burgundy* and *Britain* for their Aid, in Recovery of his Right in *France*; he had now aſſembled them to give their Advice and Counſel therein proceeding, with a Charge in a ſecond Seſſion again preſſed them.

The like was at another Parliament §.

After this Time the Journals of Parliaments have been either not well preſerved, or not carefully entered: For I can find of this Nature no Record, until the Firſt of *Henry the Seventh*, wherein the Commons, by *Thomas Lovel*, their Speaker, petitioned the King to take to Wife *Eliſabeth*, the Daughter of *Edward the Fourth*, to which at their Requeſt he agreeth.

The next is the Third of *Henry the Eighth***, in which, from the King, the Chancellor delivereth to the three Eſtates the Cauſe of their Aſſembly. The firſt to adviſe a Courſe for Reſiſting the Invaſion of the *Scots*; next how to acquit the Quarrel between the King and the *Caſtiles*, and the Duke of *Guilders*.

Laſtly, For Aſſiſting the *Pope* †† againſt *Lewis* of *France*, whoſe Bull expreſſing the Injuries done to the Apoſtolick See, was read by the Maſter of the Rolls in open Parliament; the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and other Lords ſent down unto the Commons to confer thereof.

The Laſt in the Thirty-ſecond, where the Chancellor, remembering the many Troubles the State had undergone in doubtful Titles of Succeſſion, declareth that the Convocation had judged void the Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleves*; yet the King would not proceed without the Counſel of the three Eſtates ‡‡.

The two Archbiſhops are ſent to the Commons with the Sentence ſealed, which being read, and there diſcuſſed, they paſs a Bill againſt the Marriage ‖‖.

In all theſe Paſſages of publick Counſel, wherein I have been much aſſiſted by the painful Labours of Mr. *Elſing*, Clerk of the Parliament, I ſtill obſerve that the ſovereign Lord, either in beſt Advice, or moſt Neceſſities, would entertain the Commons with the weightieſt Cauſes, either Foreign or Domeſtick, to adapt and bind them ſo to Readineſs of Charge; and they as warily avoiding to ſhun Expence; their modeſt Anſwers may be a Rule for ignorant Liberty to form their Duties, and humbly to entertain ſuch weighty Counſels at their Sovereign's Pleaſure; and not out of the wild Sin of any factious Spirits.

I will only add one foreign Example, to ſhew what Uſe hath been formerly made of pretended Marriages, and of Parliaments to diſſolve them, their firſt Ends ſerved.

Maximilian the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, the one to ſecure his Poſſeſſions in *Italy*, the other to ſecure the Kingdom of *Navarre*: To both which the *French* King ſtood in the Way, projecting a Marriage of *Charles* the Grand-child with *Mary*, the King of *England*'s Siſter: It was embraced, a Contract, *per verba de præſenti*, paſſed, and a Book publiſhed, of the Benefits and Liberty to enſue the Chriſtian World by this Match.

Upon this Ground *Ferdinand* begins to incite King *Henry* the *Eighth* to War in *France*; preſents him with Succour, and deſigns him *Guienne* to be the Mark; *Dorſet* is ſent with Men and Ammunition to join with the *Spaniſh* Forces.

Then on the Borders of *Navarre* the Noiſe is, they come to aſſiſt *Ferdinand* in Conqueſt of that

* *Anno* 27 *Hen.* VI. † *Anno* 29 *Hen.* VI. ‡ *Anno* 29 *Hen.* VI. ‖ 7 *Edw.* IV.
§ 12 *Edw.* IV. ** *Hen.* VIII. Rot. Parl. 3. *Hen.* VIII. †† *Julius* II. ‡‡ Rot.
3 *Hen.* VIII. Parl. ‖‖ Ex Inſtrument. Original.

Kingdom,

Kingdom, which (though falſe) gains ſuch Reputation, that *Albert* was diſheartened, and *Ferdinand* poſſeſſed himſelf of that which his Succeſſors ſince retained, his Ends ſerved; the *Engliſh* Army in the Depth of Winter, weak and weather-beaten, are returned fruitleſs.

Maximilian then allureth the young and active King to begin with *France*, on the other Side *Turway*; and *Turway* is now the Object whither *Henry the Eighth* goeth with Victory, but, adviſed with that Pittance, maketh an End with *France*, whoſe Eye and Heart were ſet on *Maximilian*.

A new Bait the old Emperor caſteth out to catch the ambitious young Man; he will needs reſign unto him the Empire, too heavy for his Age to bear *.

The Cardinal *Sedanenſis* is ſent over to ſign the Agreement, which he did, and *France* muſt now again be made an Enemy.

To prevent this Danger, *France* releaſeth his Title to *Naples*, and offereth his Infanta *Lampſia* to *Maximilian*'s Grand-child, *Charles* of *Noyen* †.

This is acted in the Dark; and at *Arno* the *French* Commiſſioners come up the Back-ſtairs with Sixty-thouſand, and the ingroſſed Covenants, when they abuſed the King of *England*'s Ambaſſadors; a Peace went down the other Way. The Lord Cardinal returneth Home, meeteth by the Way the foul Play of his Maſter, and wrote to the King of *England*; not in Excuſe, but in Complaint, *contra perfidiam principum*, an honeſt Servant.

Ferdinand and *Maximilian* dead, *Francis* and *Charles* are Competitors for the Empire.

Henry the Eighth is courted for his Help by both, the one with Tie of Alliance (for the Infanta, the Dauphin had offered to *Henry the Eighth*) the other with the like; the one will make his Daughter a Queen in Preſent ‡, which the Dauphin cannot do; and by his Favour an Empreſs.

To further *Francis* was but to win Ambition, to prey upon all his Neighbours ‖.

The *Engliſh* are won, and win for *Spain*, all the Imperial Wealth, which *Charles* (in two Letters I have of his own Hand) then thankfully confeſſed. From *Aquiſgrave* he cometh crowned in Haſte to *England*; weddeth at *Windſor* the King's Daughter; contracteth to join in an Invaſion of *France*; to divide it with his Father-in-Law by the River of *Rhodines*; and ſweareth at the Altar in St. *Paul*'s to keep Faith in all §.

Bourbon is wrought from *France*, and entereth the Province with an Army, paid with King *Henry*'s Money **; *Suffolk* paſſeth with the *Engliſh* Forces by *Picardy*; but *Charles* the Emperor, who ſhould have entered by *Guienne*, faileth, drawing away *Bourbon* from a ſtrait Siege of *Marſeilles*, to interrupt *Francis*, then entered *Italy*; and ſo the Enterpriſe of *France* is defeated ††.

The *French* King is at *Pavy* taken Priſoner by *Peſcaro*, led to *Genoa*, carried into *Spain* by the *Emperor*'s Gallies, and forced at *Madrid* to a hard Bargain, without Privity to *Henry the Eighth* or Proviſion for him, who had borne the greater Charge of that War ‡‡.

Now the Emperor affecteth the ‖‖ Monarchy, that hath ever ſince (as ſome ſay) infected the *Auſtrian* Family of *Rome*; the fatal old Seat of Government muſt be the Seat of this new Empire; *Bourbon*, and after *Moncado*, are directed to ſurpriſe it §§; *Angelo*, the obſervant Friar, is ſent before; a Pope confined by the Emperor's Election, who meant (as his own Inſtructions warrant) to reſtore that Right again to the Imperial Throne ***.

Charles will follow from *Baçalona* with the Army, but before he muſt call a Parliament at *Toledo*. Here, whether by Direction or Affection, I dare not diſcuſs, that Aſſembly maketh Proteſtation againſt their Maſter's Marriage with *England*, and aſſigneth him *Iſabella* of *Portugal* for a Wife †††.

The Inſtrument is ſent, ſigned by the Imperial Notary, to *Henry the Eighth*, and *Charles* bemoaneth the Strait he is forced unto by them: And, before all this, he had wrought from *Rome* a Diſpenſation for his former Ally and Marriage, ſending not long after *Gonſales Ferdinand*, his Dolphin, to incite the Earl of *Deſmond* in *Ireland*, and inviting *James the Fourth* (by Promiſe of Marriage, to *Chriſtian*, the King

* Extract. Original. 1515. † Extract. Original. 15, 16. ‡ Ex Literis Car. Regis Hiſp. ‖ Ex Literis Car. V Impr. Orig. § Extract. *Windoſil.* ** Ex Orig. Inſtr. †† Ex Literis *Rici* Parl. & *Joh. Ruſſel.* ‡‡ Extract. *Madrid*, 115, 26. ‖‖ Univerſal. §§ Ex Rot. Comp. *Ruffello* & Pacis. *** Ex Inſtrum. *Carol.* V. Imp. ††† Ex Inſtrum *Hen.* VIII. *Brian* & *Gardian* ex literis *Frenſton* Epicond. legat. *Hen.* VIII. in Hiſp. Ex Proteſtat. Orig. *Toledo* Parl.

of *Denmark*'s Daughter, his Niece) to enter the *Engliſh* Borders, to buſy the *Engliſh* King, for Aſking a ſtrict Account of that Indignity *.

Henry the Eighth, with Providence and good Succeſs, and by the League of *Italy*, in which he was made *Caput Fœderis* againſt the Emperor; he inforceth him to moderate Conditions, at the Treaty of *Cambray*, 1529 †.

I may end your Honours Trouble with this one Example, and with humble Prayer, That the Catholick King may either have ſo much of Princely Sincerity, as not to intend the like, or my good and gracious Maſter a jealous Vigilance to prevent, if he ſhould, *&c.*

Robert Cotton.

* Ex literis *Car. Wol. & Grego. Gaſſalis* Inſtrum. & Sign. *Carol.* Imp. Quozag. Fiend. Capl. ſuo. Dat. 24 *Feb.* Ex libro n. n. n. *D. Carer.* Ex literis in a Com. *Northum.* Cuſto. March. *Scotiæ.*

† Extract. Orig. in Archivis *Weſtm.* Extract. *Cambren.* 1529.

The Execution of Iuſtice in *England*, for Maintenaunce of publique and Chriſtian Peace, againſt certeine Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme, without any *Perſecution* of them for Queſtions of Religion *, as is falſely reported and publiſhed by the Fautors and Foſterers of their Treaſons; xvii *December*, 1583. Imprinted at *London*, 1583, *Quarto*, containing 5 Sheets, black Letter, the firſt Edition; though, as it appears from ſome Manuſcript Additions and Alterations on the Title, and in other Parts of the Book, prepared a *ſecond* Time for the Preſs, by the Author, on the 14th of *January*, 1583.

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* *The Pope and his Party had tried all Means to ſoften Queen* Eliſabeth, *and draw her Council into their Snare, to ſubmit the Church of* England *as in Times paſt to the Church of* Rome, *and had even condeſcended ſo far as to offer to reverſe the Sentence pronounced againſt the Legality of her Mother's Marriage; to conſent to the Common-Prayer-Book's being uſed in* Engliſh; *and that the Laity might receive the Communion in both Kinds; for the Treating about which, Pope* Pius *had ſent a Nuncio as far as* Flanders: *But perceiving that theſe were inſufficient Baits to allure a Queen, who in her Minority had poſtponed her Liberty to her Religion, and was too well inſtructed in the* Chriſtian *Faith, to yield up the* Eſſentials *for a few* Externals *of Religion; reſolved at all Adventures to cruſh her, and conſequently not only raiſed her up Enemies Abroad, but exerted his Power among his deceived Zealots in* England *and* Ireland, *to try, if, under the Form of Religious Obedience, he could perſuade the Queen's*

* See Letter to Don *Bernardin Mendoza*, on Pag. 136. Vol. I. of this Miſcellany.

Subjects

Subjects to take up Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign, and deprive her of her Crown and Life. Thus, in the Year 1570, *Pope* Pius *engaged one* Felton, *to fix a Bull on the Biſhop of* London's *Palace, declaring her Subjects abſolved from their Allegiance, and commanding them to take Arms, and dethrone her,* on Pain of Damnation. *Then he ſent many Prieſts both Secular, Regular, and* Jeſuits, *from Time to Time out of their Seminaries, to corrupt the People and propagate the Doctrine of his Bull; and, therefore, the Queen, in juſt Regard to our holy Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the People, and to her own Welfare, looked no longer upon thoſe that uſurped the Name* Catholick, *to be only diſtinct Members of the* Chriſtian *Church, but, in her Dominions, as ſo many Rebels; and, conſequently, provided Laws for her own and the Nation's Security, in Church and State, againſt ſuch Traytors, as under the Form or Name of Religion maintained the rebellious Doctrine of the forementioned Bull, would take away her Crown and Life, and ſubject the Nation to a foreign Yoke. This brought on thoſe Penal Laws, which the Papiſts complained of, and would perſuade the World were enacted againſt them as Papiſts, and not as Rebels, and in Defence of which this Treatiſe is written.*

IT hath bene, in all Ages and in all Countries, a common Vſage of all Offendors for the moſt Part, both great and ſmall, to make Defence of their lewd and unlawfull Facts by Vntruthes and by colouring and couering their Deedes (were they neuer ſo vile) with Pretences of ſome other Cauſes of contrarie Operations or Effectes; to the Intent not onely to auoid Puniſhment or Shame, but to continue, vphold, and proſecute their wicked Attempts, to the full Satisfaction of their diſordered and malicious Appetites. And though ſuch hath bene the Vſe of all Offendors, yet of none with more Danger than of Rebels and Traitours to their lawfull Princes, Kinges, and Countries. Of which Sort, of late Yeeres, are ſpecially to be noted certeine Perſons naturally born Subiectes in the Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, who, hauing for ſome good Time * profeſſed outwardly their Obedience to their ſouereigne Lady, Queene *Elizabeth*, haue, neuertheleſſe, afterward been ſtirred vp and ſeduced by wicked Spirites †, firſt in *England*, ſundry Yeeres paſt, and ſecondly and of later Times in *Ireland*, to enter into open Rebellion, taking Armes and coming into the Field, againſt her Maieſtie and her Lieutenants, with their Forces vnder Banners diſplayed, inducing by notable Vntruthes many ſimple People to followe and aſſiſt them in their traiterous Actions. And, though it is very well knowen, that both their Intentions and manifeſt Actions were bent, to haue depoſed the Queenes Maieſtie from her Crowne, and to haue traiterouſly ſet in her Place ſome other whom they liked, whereby, if they had not been ſpeedily reſiſted, they would haue committed great Bloodſheddes and Slaughters of her Maieſties faithful Subiectes, and ruined their natiue Countrey: Yet, by Gods Power giuen vnto her Maieſtie, they were ſo ſpeedily vanquiſhed, as ſome few of them ſuffered by Order of Lawe, according to their Deſerts; many and the greateſt Part, vpon Confeſſion of their Faultes, were pardoned; the reſt (but they not many) of the Principall, eſcaped into forreine Countries, and there, becauſe in none or few Places, Rebels and Traitours to their naturall Princes and Countries dare, for their Treaſons, chalenge, at their firſt Muſter, open Comfort or Succour, theſe notable Traitours and Rebels haue falſely informed many Kinges, Princes, and States, and ſpecially the Biſhoppe of *Rome*, commonly called the *Pope* (from whom they all had ſecretely their firſt Comfort to rebell) that the Cauſe of their Fleeing from their Countries was for the Religion of *Rome*, and for Maintenaunce of the ſaid Popes Authoritie. Whereas divers of them, before their Rebellion, liued ſo notoriouſly, the moſt Part

* For the Space of *ten* Years, after Queen *Eliſabeth* had eſtabliſhed the *Reformed* Church, thoſe, that yet adhered to the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, continued to communicate with the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed.

† Authoriſed by the Pope's Bull to take up Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign.

of their Liues, out of all good Rule, either for honeſt Maners, or for any Senſe in Religion, as they might haue been rather familiar with *Catalyn*, or Fauourers of *Sardanapalus*, then accompted good Subiectes vnder any Chriſtian Princes. As for ſome Examples of the Heads of theſe Rebellions, out of *England* fled *Charles Neuill*, Earl of *Weſtmerland*, a Perſon vtterly waſted by Looſeneſs of Life, and by God's Puniſhment, euen in the Time of his Rebellion, bereaued of his Children, that ſhould haue ſucceeded him in the Earldome, and his Bodie nowe eaten with Vlcers of lewde Cauſes, as his Companions do ſaye, that no Enemie he hath can wiſh him a viler Puniſhment; a pitiful Loſſe to the Realme of ſo noble a Houſe, never before in any Age attainted for Diſloyaltie; and out of *Ireland* ranne away one *Tho. Stukeley**, a defamed Perſon almoſt through all Chriſtendome, and a faithleſſe Beaſt rather then a Man, fleeing firſt out of *England*, for notable Piracies, and out of *Ireland*, for Trecheries not pardonable, which two were the firſt Ring-leaders of the reſt of the Rebelles; the one for *England*, the other for *Ireland*. But notwithſtanding the notorious euill and wicked Liues of theſe and others their Confederates, voide of all Chriſtian Religion; it liked the Biſhop of *Rome*, as in Fauour of their Treaſons, not to colour their Offences, as themſelves openly pretend to do, for auoyding of common Shame of the World, but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked Purpoſes, that is, to take Armes againſt their lawful Queene, to inuade her Realm with forreine Forces, to purſue all her good Subiectes and their natiue Countries with Fire and Sworde: For Maintenance whereof there had ſome Yeres before, at ſundrie Times, proceeded, in a thundring Sort, *Bulles*, Excommunication, and other publique Writings, denouncing her Maieſtie, being the lawfull Queene, and Gods anoynted Servant, not to be the Queene of the Realm, charging, and vpon Pain of Excommunication, commanding all her Subiectes, to depart from their natural Alleageances, whereto by Birth and by Othe they were bounde. Prouoking alſo and authoriſing all Perſons of al Degrees within both the Realmes to rebell, and upon this antichriſtian Warrant, being contrarie to all the Lawes of God and Man, and nothing agreeable to a paſturall Officer, not onely all the Rabble of the foreſaid Traitors that were before fled, but alſo all other Perſons that had forſaken their natiue Countries, being of diuers Conditions and Qualities, ſome not able to liue at Home but in Beggerie, ſome diſcontented for Lacke of Preferments, which they gaped for vnworthily in Vniuerſities and other Places; ſome banckerupt Marchants, ſome in a Sort learned to Contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the Lawes of the Lande, haue many Yeres running up and downe, from Countrey to Countrey, practiſed ſome in one Corner, ſome in an other, ſome with Seeking to gather Forces and Money for Forces, ſome with Inſtigation of Princes, by Vntruethes, to make Warre upon their natural Countrey, ſome with inwarde Practiſes to murder the GREATEST, ſome with ſeditious Writings, and very many of late with publique infamous Libels, ful of deſpiteful vile Termes and poiſoned Lyes, altogether to vpholde the foreſaide antichriſtian and tyrannous Warrant of the *Popes Bull*. And yet alſo by ſome other Meanes, to furder theſe Intentions, becauſe they could not readily preuayle by Way of Force, finding forreine Princes of better Conſideration and not readily inclined to their wicked Purpoſes, it was deuiſed to erect vp certeine Schooles which they called *Seminaries* †, to nouriſh and bring vp Perſons diſpoſed naturally to Sedition, to continue their Race and Trade, and to become Seedemen in their Tillage of Sedition, and them to ſend ſecretly into theſe the Queene Majeſties Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, vnder ſecret Maſkes, ſome of Prieſthood, ſome of other inferior Orders, with Titles of *Seminaries*; for ſome of the meaner Sort, and of

* This Man, having ſpent his Eſtate profuſely in *England*, fled into *Ireland*; and, becauſe the Queen would not truſt him with the Stewardſhip of *Wexford*, he firſt vented ſeveral ſcurrilous Things againſt her Majeſty, and then fled to *Italy*; where, after ſome Time, *Gregory the Thirteenth*, allured with the Hopes of obtaining the Crown of *Ireland* for his Baſtard Son, gave him the Command of ſeveral Ships and eight-hundred *Italian* Soldiers, and ennobled him with the Titles of Marquis *De Lemſter*, Earl of *Wexford* and Caſtlehaven, Viſcount *Morough*, and Baron of *Roſs*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as if he, the Pope, had been the Sovereign thereof.

† See an Account of theſe Seminaries on Page 425. Vol. I.

Jeſuites,

Jeſuites, for the Stagers and ranker Sort, and ſuch like, but yet ſo warely they crept into the Land, as none brought the Marks of their Prieſthoode with them; but in diuers Corners of her Majeſties Dominions theſe *Seminaries*, or Seedemen, and *Jeſuites*, bringing with them certeine *Romiſh* Traſh, as of their hallowed Waxe, their *Agnus Dei* *, many Kinde of Beades, and ſuch like, have as Tillage-men laboured ſecretly to perſwade the People to allowe of the *Popes* foreſaid Bulles and Warrantes, and of his abſolute Authoritie ouer all Princes and Countries, and ſtriking many with Prickes of Conſcience to obey the ſame, whereby in Proces of ſmall Time, if this wicked and dangerous, traiterous and craftie Courſe had not bene by God's Goodnes eſpied and ſtaied, there had followed imminent Danger of horrible Vprores in the Realmes, and a manifeſt blooddy Deſtruction of great Multitudes of Chriſtians. For it cannot be denied but that ſo many as ſhoulde haue bene induced and throughly perſwaded to haue obeyed that wicked Warrant of the *Popes*, and the Contents thereof, ſhould haue bene forthwith in their Hearts and Conſciences ſecret Traitours; and, for to be in Deede errant and open Traitours, there ſhoulde haue wanted nothing but Opportunitie to feele their Strength, and to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch Nombers with Armour and Weapons, as they might haue preſumed to haue been the greater Part, and ſo by open ciuill Warre, to haue come to their wicked Purpoſes. But God's Goodneſs, by whom Kinges doe rule, and by whoſe Blaſt Traitours are commonly waſted and confounded, hath otherwiſe giuen to her Majeſtie, as to his Handmayde and deare Seruant, ruling vnder him, the Spirit of Wiſdome and Power, whereby ſhe hath cauſed ſome of theſe ſedicious Seedemen and Sowers of Rebellion, to be diſcouered for all their ſecret Lurkings, and to be taken and charged with theſe former Poyntes of High-treaſon, not being delt withall vpon Queſtions of Religion, but iuſtly, by Order of Lawes, openly condemned as Traitours. At which Times, notwithſtanding al Maner of gentle Wayes of Perſuaſions vſed, to moue them to deſiſt from ſuch manifeſt traiterous Courſes and Opinions, with Offer of Mercy; yet was the Canker of their rebellious Humors ſo deepely entred and grauen into the Hearts of many of them, as they woulde not be remooued from their traiterous Determinations. And, therefore, as manifeſt Traitours in maintayning and adhearing to the † capitall Enemy of her Maieſtie and her Crowne, who hath not only bene the Cauſe of two Rebellions alreadie paſſed in *England* and *Ireland*, but in that of *Ireland* did manifeſtly wage and maintaine his owne People, Captaines and Soldiours, under the Banner of *Rome*, againſt her Maieſtie, ſo as no Enemy coulde doe more: Theſe, I ſay, have iuſtly ſuffered Death, not by Force or Forme of any newe Lawes eſtabliſhed, either for Religion or againſt the *Popes* Supremacie, as the ſlaunderous Libellers would haue it ſeeme to be, but by the auncient temporall Lawes of the Realme, and namely by the Lawes of Parliament made in ‡ King *Edward the Thirds* Time, about the Yere of our Lord, 1330, which is about two-hundred Yeres and moe paſt, when the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Popes* were ſuffered to haue their Authoritie eccleſiaſtical in this Realme, as they had in many other Countries. But yet of this Kind of Offenders, as many of them, as after their Condemnations were contented to renounce their former traiterous Aſſertions, ſo many were ſpared from Execution ‖, and doe liue ſtill at this Day, ſuch was the Vnwillingnes in her Maieſtie to haue any Blood ſpilt, without this verie vrgent iuſt and neceſſary Cauſe, proceeding from themſelues §. And yet, neuertheleſſe, ſuch of the reſt of the Traitours as remayne in forreyne Pertes, continuing ſtill their rebellious Myndes,

* The *Agnus Dei* is Compoſition of white Wax and the Powder of human Bones, dug out of the Catatombs, or antient Burial Places of the Chriſtians at *Rome*. It is of the Form af an oval Medal with the Repreſentation of the *Holy Lamb* and *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is ſtiled *Agnus Dei*, or the *Lamb of God*, on the one Side, and the Pope's Effigy, who conſecrated it on the Reverſe. The Church of *Rome* aſcribes many Vertues to this Sort of Relique, and confines the Touch of it to Perſons in Orders.

† Pope of *Rome* and King of *Spain*. ‡ 25 *Edward* III.

‖ There were only *four* put to Death, *viz. Hanſe*, *Nelſon*, *Maine*, and *Sherwood*; who were condemned and executed for publickly Maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully depoſed by the Pope's Bull. *Stow*, pag. 682, 684, 685, and *Camden*, p. 476.

§ See Page 144. Vol. I.

and

and craftily keeping themſelues aloofe off from Dangers, ceaſe not to prouoke ſundry other inferiour ſeditious Perſons, newly * to ſteale ſecretly into the Realme, to reuiue the former ſeditious Practiſes, to the Execution of the *Popes* foreſaid Bulles againſt her Maieſtie and the Realme, pretending, when they are apprehended, that they came onely into the Realme by the Commandement of their Superiours, the Heads of the *Jeſuites*, to whom they are bound (as they ſay) by Othe againſt either King or Countrie, and here to informe or reforme Mens Conſciences from Errors in ſome Poynts of Religion, as they ſhal thinke meete; but yet, in very Trueth, the whole Scope of their ſecret Labours is manifeſtly proued, to be ſecretly to winne all People, with whom they dare deale, ſo to allow of the *Popes* ſaid Bulles, and of his Authoritie without Exception, as, in obeying thereof, they take themſelves fully diſcharged of their Alleageance, and Obedience to their lawfull Prince and Country; yea, and to be well warranted to take Armes to rebell againſt her Maieſtie when they ſhall be thereunto called, and to be ready ſecretly to ioyne with any forreine Force that can be procured to inuade the Realme, whereof alſo they have a long Time giuen, and yet do for their Aduantage, no ſmall Comfort of Succeſſe; and ſo conſequently the Effect of their Labours is to bring the Realme not onely into a daungerous Warre againſt the Forces of Strangers (from which it hath bene free aboue twenty-three or twenty-four Yeres, a Caſe very memorable and hard to be matched with an Example of the like:) But into a Warre domeſticall and civill, wherein no Blood is vſually ſpared, nor Mercy yeelded, and wherein neither the Vanqueror nor the vanquiſhed can haue iuſt Cauſe of Triumph.

And, forſmuch as theſe are the moſt euident Perils that neceſſarily ſhould follow, if theſe Kind of Vermin were ſuffered to creepe by Stealth into the Realme, and to ſpreade their Poyſon within the ſame; howſoeuer, when they are taken, like Hipocrites, they couloure and counterfeit the ſame, with Profeſſion of Deuotion in Religion: It is of all Perſons to be yeelded in Reaſon, that her Maieſtie, and all her Gouernours and Magiſtrates of Iuſtice, hauing Care to maintaine the Peace of the Realme (which God hath giuen, in her Time, to continue longer than euer in any Time of her Progenitors) ought of Duetie to almightie God, the Author of Peace, and according to the natural Loue and Charge due to their Countrie, and for auoiding of the Floods of Blood, which, in Ciuill Warres, are ſeene to runne and flowe, by all lawful Meanes poſſible, aſwell by the Sword as by Lawe, in their ſeuerall Seaſons, to impeache and repell theſe ſo manifeſt, and daungerous coulourable Practiſes, and Workes of Sedition and Rebellion. And though there are many Subiectes knowen in the Realme, that differ in ſome Opinions of Religion from the Church of *England*, and that doe alſo not forbeare to profeſſe the ſame; yet, in that they doe alſo profeſſe Loyaltie and Obedience to her Maieſtie, and offer readily, in her Maieſties Defence, to impugne and reſiſt any forreine Force, though it ſhould come, or be procured, from the *Pope* himſelf: None of theſe Sort are, for their contrary Opinions in Religion, proſecuted, or charged with any Crymes or Paines of Treaſon, nor yet willingly ſearched in their Conſciences for their contrarie Opinions, that ſauour not of Treaſon. And, of theſe Sorts, there haue been, and are, a Number of Perſons, not of ſuch baſe and vulgare Note as thoſe were, which of late haue bene executed, as, in particular, ſome by Name are well knowen, and not vnfit to bee remembered. The firſt, and chiefeſt, by Office, was *D. Heth*, that was Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and Lord Chaunceler of *England* in Queene *Maries* Time, who, at the firſt Comming of her Maieſtie to the Crowne, ſhewing himſelf a faithfull and quiet Subiect, continued in both the ſayde Offices, though in Religion then manifeſtly differing; and yet was he not reſtrayned of his Liberty, nor depriued of his proper Lands and Goods, but, leauing willingly both his Offices, liued in his owne Houſe very diſcretely, and inioyed all his purchaſed Lands during all his naturall Life, vntill, by verie Age, he departed this World, and then left his Houſe and Liuing to his Friends: An Example of Gentlenes, neuer matched in Queene *Maries* Time. The like did one D. *Poole*, that had bene Biſhop of *Peterborough*, an auncient graue Perſon, and a verie quiet Subiect.

* This refers us to Father *Parſons* and *Edm. Campian*, the two firſt *Jeſuits* employed in *England*, to preach Rebellion againſt the Queen. *Camden.*

There

There were alſo others that had bene Biſhoppes, and in great Eſtimation, as D. *Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſme* *, a Perſon of great Reputation, and alſo, whileſt he liued, of verie quiet Behauiour. There were alſo others, D. *White* and D. *Oglethorpe*, one of *Wincheſter*, the other of *Carliſle*, Biſhoppes, Perſons of a courteous Nature; and he of *Carliſle*, ſo inclined to Dutifulnes to the Queenes Maieſtie, as he did the Office at the Conſecration and Coronation of hir Maieſtie, in the Church of *Weſtminſter*; and D. *Thurleby*, and D. *Watſon*, yet liuing, one of *Ely*, the other of *Lincolne*, Biſhoppes, not preſſed with any capitall Payne, though they maintayned the *Popes* Authoritie againſt the Lawes of the Realme: And ſome Abbots, as M. *Feckman*, yet liuing, a Perſon alſo of quiet and courteous Behauiour for a great Time. Some alſo were Deanes, as D. *Boxall*, Deane of *Windſore*, a Perſon of great Modeſtie, Lerning, and Knowledge; D. *Cole*, Deane of *Paules*, a Perſon more earneſt then diſcrete; D. *Reinold*, Dean of *Exceter*, and not vnlerned; and many ſuch others, hauing borne Office and Dignities in the Church, and that made Profeſſion againſt the *Pope*, which they only began in Queen *Maries* Time to change; yet were theſe never, to this Day, burdened with capitall Peanes, nor yet depriued of any their Goods, or proper Liueloods, but only remoued from their Eccleſiaſticall Offices, which they would not exerciſe according to the Lawes. And moſt of them, and many other of their Sort, for a great Time, were retayned in Biſhoppes Houſes in very ciuill and courteous Maner, without Charge to themſelves or their Friends, vntill the Time that the *Pope* began, by his Bulles and Meſſages, to offer Trouble to the Realme, by ſtirring of Rebellion: About which Time onely, ſome of theſe aforenamed, being found buſier in Matters of State, tending to ſtirre Troubles, then was meete for the common Quiet of the Realme, were remoued to other more priuate Places, where ſuch other Wanderers, as were Men knowen to moue Sedition, might be reſtrained from common Reſorting to them, to increaſe Trouble, as the *Popes* Bull gaue manifeſt Occaſion to doubt; and yet, without charging them in their Conſciences, or otherwiſe, by any Inquiſition, to bring them into Danger of any capital Law, ſo as no one was called to any capital or bloody Queſtion, vpon Matters of Religion, but have all inioyed their Life, as the Courſe of Nature woulde: And ſuch of them as yet remayne, may, if they will not be Authors or Inſtruments of Rebellion or Sedition, inioye the Time that GOD and Nature ſhall yeelde them, without Danger of Life or Member. And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefeſt of all theſe, and the moſt of them, had, in the Time of King *Henrie the Eight*, and King *Edward the Sixt*, either by Preaching, Writing, Reading or Arguing, taught all People to condemne, yea, to abhorre the Authoritie of the *Pope*: For which Purpoſe, they had many Times giuen their Othes publiquely, againſt the *Popes* Authoritie, and had alſo yelded to both the ſaid Kinges the Title of *ſupreame Head of the Church of* England, *next vnder* CHRIST; which Title, the Aduerſaries doe moſt falſly write and affirm, that the Queenes Maieſtie doeth nowe uſe: A manifeſt Lie and Vntrueth, to be ſene by the verie Acts of Parliament; and, at the Beginning of her Raigne, omitted in her Style. And, for Proofe that theſe foreſaide Biſhoppes and lerned Men had ſo long Time diſauowed the *Pope*'s Authoritie, many of their Bookes and Sermons, againſt the *Popes* Authoritie, remayne printed, both in *Engliſh* and *Latine*, to be ſeene in theſe Times, to their great Shame and Reproofe, to change ſo often, but ſpecially in perſecuting ſuch as themſelves had taught and ſtabliſhed to hold the Contrary, a Sinne nere to the Sinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

There were alſo, and yet be, a great Nomber of others, being Laymen of good Poſſeſſions and Lands, Men of good Credite in their Countries, manifeſtly of late Time, ſeduced, to hold contrary Opinions in Religion, for the *Popes* Authoritie; and yet none of them haue bene ſought hitherto, to be impeached in any Poynt, or Quarrel of Treaſon, or of Loſſe of Life, Member, or Inheritance; ſo as it may plainely appear, that it is not, nor hath bene, for contrarious Opinions in Religion, or for the *Popes* Authoritie alone, as the Aduerſaries doe boldely and falſly publiſh, that any Perſons haue ſuffered Death ſince her Maieſties Reigne;

* *al.* Durham.

and

and yet ſome of theſe Sort are well knowen to holde Opinion, that the *Pope* ought, by Authoritie of Gods Worde, to be ſupreame and onely Head of the Catholique Church, through the whole World, and onely to rule in al Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall; and that the Queenes Maieſtie ought not to be the Gouernour ouer any of her Subiectes in her Realme, being Perſons Eccleſiaſticall: Which Opinions are, neuertheleſſe, in ſome Part, by the Lawes of the Realme, puniſhable in theſe Degrees; and yet, for none of theſe Poyntes, haue any Perſons bene proſecuted with the Charge of Treaſon, or in Danger of Life. And if then it be inquired, for what Cauſe theſe others haue of late ſuffered Death, it is truely to be anſwered, as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for Treaſon, to the Danger of their Life, but ſuch as did obſtinately maintaine the Contents * of the *Popes* Bull, aforementioned, which do import,

1. That her Maieſtie is not the lawfull Queene of *England*, the firſt and higheſt Poynt of Treaſon: And,

2. That al her Subiectes are diſcharged of their Othes and Obedience, another high Poynt of Treaſon: And,

3. All warranted to diſobey her and her Lawes, a third and a very large Poynt of Treaſon. And thereto is to be added,

4. A fourth Poynt moſt manifeſt, in that they would not diſalow the *Popes* hoſtile Proceedings in open Warres againſt her Maieſtie in her Realme of *Ireland*; where one of their Companie, D. *Sanders*, a lewde Scholler, and Subiect of *England*, a Fugitiue, and a principall Companion and Conſpirator with the Traitours and Rebels at *Rome*, was, by the *Popes* ſpeciall Commiſſion, a Commaunder, as in Forme of a Legate, and ſometime a Treaſorer or Paymaſter for thoſe Warres; which D. *Sanders*, in his Book of his *Church-monarchie*, did, afore his Paſſing into *Ireland*, openly, by Writing, gloriouſly avowe the foreſaid Bull of *Pius Quintus*, againſt her Maieſtie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth, that, by Vertue thereof, one D. *Mooreton*, an olde *Engliſh* Fugitiue and Conſpirator, was ſent from *Rome*, into the North Parts of *England*, to ſtirre vp the firſt Rebellion there, whereof *Charles Neuill*, the late Earle of *Weſtmerland*, was a head Captaine. All thereby it may manifeſtly appeare to all Men, howe this Bull was the Grounde of the Rebellions both in *England* and *Ireland*; and howe, for Maintenaunce thereof, and for Soſtering of Sedition by Warrant, and Allowance of the ſame, theſe Perſons were iuſtly condemned of Treaſon, and lawfully executed by the auncient Lawes temporall of the Realme, without charging them for any other Matter, than for their Practizes and Conſpiracies, both Abroad and at Home, againſt the Queen and the Realme, and for Maintaining of the *Popes* foreſaid Authoritie and Bull, publiſhed to depriue her Maieſtie of her Crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of her Subiectes from their natural Allegeaunce due to her Maieſtie and their Countrie, and for mouing them to Sedition: And, for no other Cauſes, or Queſtions of Religion, were theſe Perſons condemned; although true it is, that, when they were charged and conuinced of theſe Poynts of Conſpiracies and Treaſons, they woulde ſtill, in their Anſweres, colourably pretend their Actions to haue bene for Religion: But, in Deede and Trueth, they were manifeſted to be for the Procurement and Maintenaunce of the Rebellions and Warres againſt her Maieſtie and her Realme.

And herein is nowe the manifeſt Diuerſitie to be ſeene, and well conſidered, betwixt the Trueth of her Majeſties Actions, and the Falſhood of the blaſphemous Aduerſaries: That where the factious Partie of the *Pope*, the principall Author of the Inuaſions of her Maieſties Dominions, doe falſely alleadge, that a Nomber of Perſons, whome they terme as Martyrs, haue dyed for Defence of the Catholique Religion, the ſame in very Trueth may manifeſtly appeare to haue died (if they ſo wil haue it) as Martyrs for the *Pope*, but yet as Traitours to their Soueraigne and Queene, in adhearing to him, being the notable, and onely open, hoſtile Enemie in all Actions of Warre againſt her Maieſtie, her Kingdomes, and People: And that this is the Meaning of all theſe that haue ſo obſtinately maintayned the Authoritie and Contents of this Bull, the very Wordes of the Bull do declare in this Sort, as Dr. *Sanders* reporteth them.

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, declarauit Elizabe*tham prætenſo Regni iure, necnon omni & quo-*

* Four Points of Treaſon.

cunque

cunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegioq; priuatam: Itemq; Proceres, ſubditos & populos dicti regni ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, a iuramento huiuſmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuo abſolutos. That is to ſay, "*Pius Quintus*, the greateſt Biſhop, of "the Fulneſſe of the Apoſtolique Power, de- "clared *Elizabeth* to be bereued or depriued "of her pretended Right of her Kingdome, "and alſo of all and whatſoeuer Dominion, "Dignitie and Priuiledge; and alſo the Nobles, "Subiectes, and People of the ſaide Kingdome, "and all others, which had ſworne to her "any Maner of Wayes, to be abſolued for "euer from ſuch Othe, and from all Debt or "Duetie of Fealtie, and ſo forth;" with many threatning Curſings, to al that durſt obey her, or her Lawes. And for the Execution hereof, to proue, that the Effect of the *Popes* Bull and Meſſage was a flat Rebellion, it is not amiſſe to heare what the ſame D. *Sanders*, the *Popes* Firebrand in *Ireland*, alſo writeth in his viſible *Church-Monarchie*, which is thus:

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, Anno Dom. 1569, *reuerendum presbyterum* Nicolaum Mortonum *Anglum in Angliam miſit, vt certis illuſtribus viris authoritate Apoſtolica denunciaret*, Elizabetham, *quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam eſſe; ob eamq; cauſam omni dominio & poteſtate excediſſe, impuneq; ab illis velut ethnicam haberi poſſe, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi.* That is to ſay, "*Pius Quintus*, the greateſt Biſhop, in the "Yere of our Lord 1569, ſent the reue- "rend Prieſt *Nicholas Morton*, an *Engliſh-* "*man*, into *England*, that he ſhould de- "nounce or declare by the Apoſtolique Au- "thority to certaine Noblemen, *Elizabeth*, "who then was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, "to be an Heretike: And for that Cauſe, to "haue fallen from all Dominion and Power, "and that ſhe may be had or reputed of them "as an Ethnike *, and that they are not to "be compelled to obey her Lawes or Com- "mandements, &c."

Thus you ſee an Ambaſſade of Rebellion from the *Popes* Holines, the Ambaſſadour, an old doting *Engliſh* Prieſt, a Fugitiue and Conſpirator, ſent, as he ſaieth, to ſome Noblemen, and thoſe were the two Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmerland*, Heads of the Rebellion.

And, after this, he followeth to declare the Succeſſe thereof, which I dare ſay he was ſory it was ſo euil, with theſe Words:

Qua denunciatione multi nobiles viri adducti ſunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac ſperabant illi quidem Catholicos omnes ſummis viribus affuturos eſſe: verum etſi aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia Catholici omnes nondum probe cognouerunt, Elizabetham *hæreticam eſſe declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum Nobilium conſilia erant:* That is, "By "which Denunciation, many Noblemen were "induced or ledde, that they were boldened "to thinke of the Freeing of their Brethren, "and they hoped certainly that all the *Catho-* "*liques* would haue aſſiſted them with all their "Strength: But although the Matter hap- "pened otherwiſe then they hoped for, be- "cauſe all the *Catholiques* knewe not that "*Elizabeth* was declared to be an *Heretike*, "yet the Counſels and Intentes of thoſe "Noblemen were to be prayſed." A Rebellion and a Vanquiſhing of Rebels very ſmoothly deſcribed.

This noble Fact here mentioned was the Rebellion in the North: The Noblemen were the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*: The Lacke of the Euent or Succeſs was that the Traitours were vanquiſhed, and the Queenes Maieſtie and her Subiectes had by Gods Ordinance the Victorie: And the Cauſe, why the Rebels preuayled not, was, becauſe all the Catholiques had not bene duely informed that the Queenes Majeſtie was declared to be (as they terme it) an *Herctike*: Which Want of Information, to the Intent to make the Rebels mightier in Nomber and Power, was diligently and cunningly ſupplyed, by the Sending into the Realme of a great Multitude of the *Seminaries* † and *Jeſuites*, whoſe ſpecial Charge was to informe the People thereof, as by their Actions hath manifeſtly appeared.

And though D. *Sanders* hath thus written, yet it may be ſaid by ſuch as fauoured the two notable Jeſuites, one named *Robert Perſons* (who yet hideth himſelf in Corners to continue his traiterous Practiſe) the other named *Edmond Campion* (that was found out, being

* Or *Heathen*. † When put with *Jeſuits*, properly ſignifies *Secular* Prieſts, in Oppoſition to *Jeſuits*.

diſguiſed like a Roiſter, and ſuffered for his Treaſons) that D. *Sanders*'s Treaſon is his proper Treaſon in allowing of the ſayde Bull, and not to be imputed to *Perſons* and *Campion*. Therefore, to make it plaine that theſe two, by ſpeciall Authoritie, had Charge to execute the Sentence of this Bull, theſe Actes in Writing following ſhall make manifeſt, which are not fayned or imagined, but are verie Writings taken about one of their Complyces, immediatly after *Campions* Death, although *Campion*, before his Death *, would not be knowen of any ſuch Matter; whereby it may appeare what Truſt is to be giuen to the Wordes of ſuch *Pſeudo-martyrs*.

* He was tried upon the Treaſon-Act, 25 *Edward the Third*, and convicted of endeavouring to ſtir up Rebellion, and of obſtinately maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully depoſed; and, at the ſame Time, for the ſame Crime, *Ralph Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Brian* were executed: Before which Time, (1581) no more than *five* Papiſts had been put to Death in this Reign. *Camden.*

Facultates conceſſæ pp. Roberto Perſonio & Edmundo Campiano, *pro* Anglia, *die* 14. Aprilis, 1580.

PEtatur, *a ſummo Domino noſtro, explicatio Bullæ declaratoriæ per* Pium Quintum, *contra* Elizabetham, *& ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, vt obliget ſemper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus ſic ſtantibus, ſed tum demum quando publica ejuſdem bullæ executio fieri poterit.*

Then followed manie other Petitions of Faculties for their further Authorities, which are not needefull for this Purpoſe to be recited: But, in the End, followeth this Sentence, as an Anſwere of the Pope: *Has prædictas gratias conceſſit ſummus Pontifex patri* Roberto Perſonio, & Edmundo Campiano, *in* Angliam *profecturis, die* 14. Aprilis 1580. *Præſente patre* Oliuerio Manarco.

The *Engliſh* of which *Latten* Sentences is, as followeth.

Faculties graunted to the two Fathers Robert Perſons *and* Edmund Campion, *for* England, *the* 14. *Day of* April, 1580.

"LET it be aſked, or required, of our "moſt holy Lorde, the Explication, or "Meaning, of the Bull declaratory "made by *Pius* the Fifth, againſt *Elizabeth*, "and ſuch as do adheare or obey her, which "Bull the Catholiques deſire to be vnderſtood "in this Manner, that the ſame Bull ſhall "alwayes binde her and the Heretikes, but the "Catholiques it ſhall by noe Meanes bind, as "Matters or Thinges doe now ſtande or be, "but hereafter, when the publique Execution "of that Bull may be had or made."

Then, in the End, the Concluſion was thus added:

"The higheſt Pontiffe, or Biſhoppe, graunted "theſe foreſaid Graces to Father *Robert* "*Perſons* and *Edmonde Campion*, who are "nowe to take their Journeyes into *England*, "the fourteenth Day of *Aprill*, in the Yere of "our Lorde 1580. Being preſent, the Father "*Oliuerius Manarke* Aſſiſtant."

Hereby is it manifeſt, what Authoritie *Campion* had to impart the Contents of the Bull againſt the Queenes Maieſtie, howſoeuer he himſelfe denyed the ſame, for this was his Errand.

And though it be manifeſt that theſe two Jeſuites, *Perſons* and *Campion*, not only required to haue the *Popes* Minde declared for the Bull, but alſo, in their owne Petitions, ſhewed howe they and other Catholiques did deſire to haue the ſayd Bull to be vnderſtood againſt the Queene of *Englande*: Yet, to make the Matter more plaine, howe all other Jeſuites and Seminaries, yea, howe al Papiſts, naming themſelues Catholiques, doe, or are warranted to interpret the ſaide Bull againſt her Majeſtie, and her good Subjectes, howſoever they will diſguiſe it, you ſhall ſee what one

one of their Fellowes, named *Hart*, who was condemned with *Campion*, and yet lyveth, did, amongſt many other Thinges, declare his knowledge thereof, the Laſt of *December*, in the ſame Yere, 1580, in theſe Wordes following.

" The Bull of *Pius Quintus* (for ſo much " as it is againſt the Queene) is holden among " the *Engliſh* Catholiques for a lawful Sen- " tence, and a ſufficient Diſcharge of her Sub- " jectes Fidelity, and ſo remayneth in Force; " but, in ſome Poynts touching the Subjectes, " it is altered by the preſent *Pope*. For, where " in that Bull all her Subjectes are commanded " not to obey her, and ſhee being excommuni- " cate and depoſed, all that doe obey her are " likewiſe innodate and accurſed, which Poynt " is perillous to the Catholiques: For, if they " obey her, they be in the *Popes* Curſe; and " they diſobey her, they are in the Queenes " Danger; therefore the preſent *Pope*, to re- " lieue them, hath altered that Part of the " Bull, and diſpenſed with them to obey and " ſerue her, with [illegible]rill of Excommunica- " tion; which Diſpenſation is to endure, but " till it pleaſe the *Pope* otherwiſe to deter- " mine."

Wherefore, to make ſome Concluſion of the Matters before mencioned, al Perſons, both within the Realme, and abroade, may playnely perceiue, that all the infamous Libels lately publiſhed abroade in ſundrie Languages, and the ſlanderous Reportes made in other Princes Courtes of a Multitude of Perſons, to haue bene of late put to Torments and Death, onely for Profeſſion of the Catholique Religion, and not for Matters of State againſt the Queenes Maieſtie, are falſe and ſhameles, and publiſhed to the Maintenaunce of Traitours and Rebelles. And to make the Matter ſeeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular Names of all the Perſons, which, by their own Catalogue, exceed not for theſe twenty fiue Yeeres Space, aboue the Number of threeſcore, forgetting, or rather, with their ſtonie and ſenſles Heartes, not regarding, in what cruel Sort, in the Tyme of Queene *Marie*, which little exceeded the Space of fiue Yeeres, the Queenes Maieſties Raigne being five times as many *, there were by Impriſonment, Torments, Famyne and Fire, of Men, Women, Maidens and Children, almoſt the Number of foure hundred, beſide ſuch as were ſecretly murdered in Priſons; and of that Number, above twenty that had bene Archbiſhoppes, Biſhoppes, and principal Prelates or Officers in the Church, lamentably deſtroyed; and of Women aboue threeſcore, and of Children aboue fourtie, and amongſt the Women ſome great with Child, and one out of whoſe Bodye the Child by Fire was expelled aliue, and yet alſo cruelly burned: Examples beyond al Heathen Cruelty †. And moſt of the Youth that then ſuffered cruel Death, both Men, Women, and Children (which is to be noted) were ſuch, as had neuer by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, or by Confirmation, profeſſed, nor was euer taught or inſtructed, or euer had hearde of any other Kinde of Religion, but onely of that which by their Blood and Death, in the Fire, they did as true Martyrs teſtifie. A Matter of another Sort to be lamented, in Chriſtian Charity, with Simplicity of Words, and not with puffed Eloquence, then the Execution in this Time of a very fewe Traytors, who alſo, in their Time, if they exceeded thirtie Yeres of Age, had in their Baptiſme profeſſed, and in their Youth had learned the ſame Religion which they now ſo bitterly oppugned. And, beſide that, in their Opinions they differ much from the Martyrs of Queen *Maries* Time: For though they which ſuffered in Queene *Maries* Time contiued in the Profeſſion of the Religion wherein they were chriſtened, and as they were perpetually taught, yet they never at their Death

* In the two firſt Years only of her Perſecution, which began in 1555, Eight-hundred were put to Death, *Rapin*, Vol. II. p. 48. *Fol* And it is generally acknowledged, that ſhe burnt at the Stake five Biſhops, twenty-one Divines, eight Gentlemen, eighty-four Artificers, one hundred Huſbandmen, Servants and Labourers, twenty-ſix Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants, beſides ſixty-four more, who being perſecuted for their Religion, ſeven of them were whipt, ſixteen periſhed in Priſon, and twelve more buried in Dunghills. *Burnet, Strype, Heylin.* Speed, *p.* 826.

† Eſpecially if we recollect, that, by Proclamation, ſhe declared them Rebels, and ordered them to be executed, without Delay, by Martial Law, whoever were found reading an Heretical Book, and would not burn it. And ſhe expreſly forbid to pray for thoſe who were executed, or even to ſay, *God help them*; which ſhewed, that it was not the *Converſion*, but the *Deſtruction*, of theſe ſhe called Hereticks ſhe deſired.

denied their lawful Queene, nor maintained any of her open and forreine Enemies, nor procured any Rebellion, or ciuill Warre, nor did ſowe any Sedition in ſecret Corners, nor withdrewe any Subjectes from their Obedience, as theſe ſworne Seruants of the *Pope* haue continually done.

And therefore, all theſe Thinges well conſidered, there is no Doubt, but all good Subjectes within the Realme doe manifeſtly ſee, and all wauering Perſons (not being led cleane out of the Wa[illegible]e Seditious) will hereafter perceiue, [illegible] they haue bene abuſed to go aſtray. And all Strangers, but ſpecially al Chriſtian Potentates, as Emperours, Kinges, Princes, and ſuch like, hauing their ſouereign Eſtates, either in Succeſſion hereditarie, or by Conſent of their People, being acquainted with the very Trueth of theſe her Maieſties late iuſt and neceſſarie Actions, only for Defence of herſelfe, her Crowne, and People, againſt open Inuadors, and for ſchewing of ciuill Warres, ſtirred up by Rebellion, will allow in their owne like Caſes, for a Trueth and Rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not to a Biſhoppe of *Rome*, as Succeſſour to *Saint Peter*, and therein a Paſtor ſpiritual; or if hee were the Biſhoppe of all *Chriſtendome*, as by the Name of *Pope* he claymeth, firſt by his Bulles or Excommunications, in this Sort at his Will, in favour of Traytours and Rebels, to depoſe any ſoueraigne Princes, being lawfully inueſted in their Crownes by Succeſſion in Blood, or by lawfull Election, and then to arme Subiectes againſt their naturall Lordes, to make Warres, and to diſpenſe with them for their Othes in ſo doing, or to excommunicate faithfull Subiectes, for obeying of their natural Princes, and laſtly himſelfe to make open Warre, with his owne Soldiours, againſt Princes mouing no Force againſt him.

For, if theſe high tragicall Powers ſhoulde be permitted to him to exerciſe, then ſhoulde no Empire, no Kingdome, no Countrey, no Citie, or Towne, be poſſeſſed by any lawfull Title, longer then one ſuch onely an earthly Man, ſitting (as he ſaith) in *St. Peters* Chaire at *Rome*, ſhould for his Will and Appetite without any Warrant from God or Man) thinke meete and determine: An Authoritie neuer challenged by the Lorde of Lordes, the Sonne of God, *Jeſus Chriſt*, our onely Lord and Sa[illegible], the onely Head of his Church, whileſt he was in his Humanitie upon the Earth; nor yet deliuered by any Writing, or certaine Tradition from *Saint Peter*, from whome the *Pope* pretendeth to derive all his Authoritie; nor yet from *St. Paul*, the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*; but, contrariwiſe, by all Preachings, Preceptes and Writings, conteined in the Goſpel, and other Scriptures of the Apoſtles, Obedience is expreſly commaunded to all earthly Princes, yea, euen to Kings by ſpeciall Name, and that ſo generally, as no Perſon is excepted from ſuch Duetie of Obedience, as by the Sentence of *Saint Paul*, even to the *Romanes*, appeareth, *Omnis anima ſublimioribus poteſtatibus ſit ſubdita*; that is, 'Let every Soul be ſubject 'to the higher Powers *:' Within the Compaſſe of which Law, or Precept, *Saint Chriſoſtome*, being Biſhoppe of *Conſtantinople*, writeth, that even *Apoſtles*, *Prophets*, *Euangelists*, and *Monkes* are comprehended. And for Proofe of *Saint Peters* Minde herein, from whome theſe *Popes* claime their Authoritie, it cannot be plainlyer expreſſed then when he writeth † thus: *Proinde ſubiecti eſtote cuiuis humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, ſiue Regi, vt qui ſupereminet, ſiue præſidibus ab eo miſſis:* That is, 'Therefore be ye ſub-'iect to euery humane Ordinance or Crea-'ture, for the Lorde, whether it be to the 'King, as to him that is ſupereminent, or 'aboue the reſt, or to his Preſidents ſent by 'him.' By which two principal Apoſtles of *Chriſt*, theſe *Popes* the pretended Succeſſours, but chiefely by that which *Chriſt*, the Sonne of God, the onely Maſter of Trueth, ſayde to *Peter* and his Fellow Apoſtles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non ſic:* That is, 'The 'Kings of the Gentiles haue Rule ouer them, 'but you not ſo;' may learn to forſake their arrogant and tyrannous Authorities in earthly and temporal Cauſes ouer Kings and Princes, and exerciſe their Paſtorall Office, as *Saint Peter* was charged thriſe at one time by his Lorde and Maſter, *Paſce oues meas*, 'Feed my 'Sheepe,' and peremptorily forbidden to uſe a Sworde, in ſaying to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in locum ſuum*, or, *mitte gladium tuum in in vaginam:* That is, 'Turne thy Sword into 'his Place; or, put thy Sworde into the Scab-'bard.' All which Preceptes of Chriſt and his Apoſtles were duely followed and obſerued many hundred Yeres after their Death, by

* *Rom.* xiii. 1. † 1 *Peter* ii. 13, 14.

the

the *faithfull* and *godly* Biſhoppes of *Rome*, that duely followed the Doctrine and Humilitie of the Apoſtles, and the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and were holy Martyrs, and thereby dilated the Limittes of *Chriſts* Church, and the Fayth, more in the Compaſſe of an hundred Yeres, then the latter Popes haue done with their Swordes and Curſes theſe 500 Yeres, and ſo continued until the Time of one *Pope Hildebrand*, otherwiſe called *Gregory the Seuenth*, about the Yere of our Lorde 1074; who firſt beganne to vſurpe that Kinde of Tyrannie, which of late the Pope, called *Pius Quintus*, and ſince that Time, *Gregory*, now the *Thirteenth*, hath followed, for ſome Example, as it ſeemeth: That is, where *Gregory the Seuenth*, in the Yere of our Lord 1074, or thereabout, preſumed to depoſe *Henry the Fourth*, a noble Emperour, then being, *Gregory the Thirteenth*, nowe at this Time, would attempt the like againſt King *Henry the Eightes* Daughter and Heire, Queene *Elizabeth*, a ſoueraigne and a maiden Queene, holding her Crowne immediatly of God. And to the ende it may appeare to Princes, or to their good Counſellours, in one Example, what was the fortunate Succeſſe that God gaue to this good Chriſtian Emperour *Henry* againſt the proud *Pope Hildebrand*, it is to be noted, that, when the *Pope Gregory* attempted to depoſe this noble Emperour *Henry*, there was one *Rodulphe* a Nobleman, by ſome named the Count of *Reenfield*, that, by the Popes Procurement, vſurped the Name of the Emperour, who was ouercome by the ſayde *Henry* the lawfull Emperour, and in Fight having loſt his Right-hand, he, the ſaid *Rodulphe*, lamented his Caſe to certayne Biſhoppes, who, in the *Popes* Name, had erected him vp, and to them he ſaid, that the ſelfe ſame Right-hande, which he had loſt, was the ſame Hande wherewith he had before ſworne Obedience to his Lorde and Maſter the Emperour *Henry*, and that, in following their ungodly Counſelles, he had brought upon him Gods heavy and iuſt Iudgementes. And ſo *Henry* the Emperour, preuailing by Gods Powes, cauſed *Gregory* the *Pope*, by a Synode in *Italy*, to be depoſed, as in like Times before him his Predeceſſour *Otho*, the Emperour, had depoſed one *Pope John*, for many heynous Crimes: And ſo were alſo, within a ſhort Time, three other *Popes*, namely, *Silueſter*, *Bennet*, and *Gregory the Sixt*, vſed by the Emperour *Henry the Third*, about the Yere of our Lord 1047, for their like preſumptuous Attemptes in temporall Actions againſt the ſaid Emperours. Many other Examples might be ſhewed to the Emperours Maieſtie, and the Princes of the Holy Empire nowe being, after the Time of *Henry the Fourth*; as of *Henry the Fifth*, and after him of *Fredericke the Firſt*, and *Frederick the Second*, and then of *Lewis* of *Bauar*, all Emperours, cruelly and tyrannouſly perſecuted by the *Popes*, and by their Bulles, Curſes, and by open Warres, and likewiſe to many other the great Kinges and Monarches of *Chriſtendome*, of their noble Progenitors, Kinges of their ſeuerall Dominions; whereby they may ſee how this Kind of tyrannous Authoritie in *Popes* to make Warres vpon Emperours and Kinges, and to commaund them to be depriued, toke holde at the firſt by *Pope Hildebrande*, though the ſame neuer had any lawefull Example or Warrant from the Lawes of God of the Olde or Newe Teſtament, but yet the Succeſſes of their Tyrannies were by Gods Goodneſſe for the moſt Parte made fruſtrate, as by Gods Goodneſſe there is no Doubt, but the like will followe to their Confuſions at all Times to come.

And therefore, as there is no Doubt, but the like violent tyrannous Proceedings by any *Pope* in Maintenaunce of Traitours and Rebels, would be withſtoode by euery Soueraigne Prince in *Chriſtendome* in Defence of their Perſons and Crownes, and Maintenaunce of their Subiectes in Peace; ſo is there at this Preſent a like iuſt Cauſe that the Emperours Maieſtie, with the Princes of the Holy Empire, and all other Soveraigne Kinges and Princes in *Chriſtendome*, ſhould iudge the ſame to be lawfull for her Maieſtie being a *Queene*, and holding the very Place of a King and a Prince Soueraigne ouer diuers Kingdomes and Nations, ſhe being alſo moſt lawfully inueſted in her Crowne, and as for good Gouerning of her People, with ſuch Applauſe and generall Allowance, loued, and obeyed of them, ſauing a few ragged Traitours or Rebels, or Perſons diſcontented, whereof no other Realme is free as continually for theſe twenty five Yeres paſt hath bene notably ſeene and ſo publiquely marked, euen by Strangers repairing into this Realme, as it were no Cauſe of Diſgrace to any Monarchie and King in *Chriſtendome*, to have her Maieſties Felicitie compared with any of theirs whatſoever: and it may be, there are many Kinges and Princes coulde be well contented with the Fruition

tion of ſome Proportion of her Felicitie. And though the *Popes* be nowe ſuffered by the Emperour, in the Landes of his owne peculiar Patrimonie, and by the two great Monarches, the *French* King, and the King of *Spaine*, in their Dominions and Territories (although by many other Kinges not ſo allowed) to continue his Authoritie in ſundrie Caſes, and his glorious Title to be the vniverſall Biſhop of the Worlde, which Title *Gregorie the Great* aboue nine Hundred Yeres paſt, called a prophane Title, full of Sacrilege, and a Preamble of *Antichriſt*; yet in all their Dominions and Kingdomes, as alſo in the Realme of *Englande*, moſt notably by many auncient Lawes it is well knowen, how many Wayes the tyrannous Power of this Exceſſiue Authoritie hath bene and ſtill is reſtrained, checked, and limitted by Lawes and Pragmatiques, both auncient and newe, both in *France*, *Spaine*, and other Dominions; a very large Fielde for the Lawyers of thoſe Countries to walke in and diſcourſe. And howſoeuer the *Popes* Canoniſtes, being as his *Bombarders*, doe make his Excommunications and Curſes appeare fearefull to the Multitude and Simple People; yet all great Emperours and Kings aforetime, in their owne Caſes, of their Rightes and Royall Preeminences, though the ſame concerned but a Citie or a poore Towne, and ſometime but the not Allowance of ſome vnworthie Perſon to a *Biſhopricke* or to an *Abbey*, neuer refrayned to deſpiſe all *Popes* Curſes or Forces, but attempted alwayes, eyther by their Swordes to compell them to deſiſt from their furious Actions, or without any Fear of themſelues, in Body, Soule, or Conſcience, ſtoutly to withſtande their Curſes, and that ſometyme by Force, ſometyme by Ordinances and Lawes; the auncient Hiſtories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectual then of the Kings of *Fraunce*; and, in the Records of *England* doth appear, how ſtoutly the Kinges and the Baronage of *England* from Age to Age by extreme penall Lawes haue ſo repelled the *Popes* Vſurpations, as, with the uery Name of *Premunires*, his Proctors haue bene terrified, and his Clergy haue quaked, as of late Cardinall *Wolſey* did proue. But, leauing thoſe that are auntient, we may remember howe, in this our owne preſent or late Age, it hath bene manifeſtly ſeene, howe the Army of the late Noble Emperour *Charles the Fift*, Father of King *Philippe*, that nowe reigneth, was not afrayde of his Curſes, when, in the Yere of our Lorde 1527, *Rome* itſelfe was beſieged and ſacked, and the *Pope* then called *Clement*, and his Cardinals, to the Number of about thirty three, in his Mount *Adrian*, or Caſtell *S. Angelo*, taken Priſoners and deteined ſeuen Moneths or more, and after ranſomed by *Don Vgo di Moncada*, a *Spaniarde*, and the Marques of *Guaſto*, at aboue foure Hundred Million of Ducates, beſides the Ranſomes of his Cardinalis which was much greater, having not long before Time bene alſo, notwithſtanding his Curſes, beſieged in the ſame *Caſtell* by the Familie of the *Colonies* and their Fautors, his next Neighbours being then Imperialiſtes, and forced to yeelde to all their Demaunds. Neither did King *Henry the Seconde* of *Fraunce*, Father to *Henry* nowe King of *France*, about the Yeere 1550, feare or regard the *Pope* or his Court of *Rome*, when he made ſeueral ſtraight Edictes againſt many Partes of the *Popes* Claymes in Preiudice of the Crowne and Clergie of *Fraunce*, retracting the Authoritie of the Court of *Rome*, greatly to the Hinderance of the *Popes* former Profites. Neither was the Army of King *Philip* nowe of *Spaine*, whereof the Duke of *Alua* was Generall, ſtricken with any Feare of Curſing, when it was brought afore *Rome* againſt the *Pope*, in the Yere of our Lord 1555, where great Deſtruction was made by the ſaid Army, and al the delicate Buyldings, Gardens, and Orchardes next to *Rome*, Walles overthrowen, wherewith his Holineſſe was more terrified, then he was able to remoue with any of his Curſes. Neither was Queene *Mary*, the Queenes Maieſties late Siſter, a Perſon not a little devoted to the *Romane* Religion, ſo afraid of the *Popes* Curſings, but that both ſhe and her whole Counſel, and that with the Aſſent of all the Iudges of the Realme, according to the auncient Lawes, in Favour of Cardinall *Poole* her Kinſman, did moſt ſtraightly forbid the Entrie of his Bulles, and of a Cardinall Hatte at *Callis*, that was ſent from the *Pope* for one Frier *Peyto*, an obſervant pleaſent Frier, whom the *Pope* had aſſigned to bee a Cardinall in Diſgrace of Cardinall *Poole* *; neither did

* Becauſe Queen *Mary* had declared War againſt *France*, which the Pope thought *Pole* might have prevented.

Cardi-

Cardinall *Poole* himſelfe at the ſame Time obey the *Popes* Commandements, nor ſhewed himſelfe afraid, being aſſiſted by the Queene, when the *Pope* did threaten him with Paine of Curſes and Excommunication, but did ſtill oppoſe himſelfe againſt the *Popes* Commandement for the ſaide pretended Cardinall *Peyto*; who, notwithſtanding all the Threateninges of the *Pope*, was forced to goe vp and downe in the Streets of *London* like a *begging* Frier*, without his red Hatt; a ſtout Reſiſtance in a Queene for a poore Cardinalls Hatte, wherein ſhe followed the Example of her Grandfather King *Henrie* the Seventh, for a Matter of Allum, wherein the King vſed very great Severitie againſt the *Pope*. So as howſoever the Chriſtian Kinges, for ſome Reſpects in Pollicie, can endure the *Pope* to commaunde where no Harm nor Diſaduantage groweth to themſelves, yet ſure it is, and the *Popes* are not ignorant, but where they ſhall in any Sort attempt to take from Chriſtian Princes any Part of their Dominions, or ſhall giue Ayde to their Enemies, or to any other their Rebels, in thoſe Caſes, their Bulles, their Curſes, their Excommunications, their Sentences, and moſt ſolemne Anathematicals, no, nor their croſſe Keys, or double edged Sword, will ſerve their Turnes to compaſſe their Intentions.

And now, where the *Pope* hath manifeſtly by his Bulles and Excommunications attempted as much as he could, to deprive her Maieſtie of her Kingdomes, to withdrawe from her the Obedience of her Subiectes, to procure Rebellions in her Realmes, yea, to make both Rebellions and open Warres with his owne Captaines, Soldiours, Banners, Enſignes, and all other Thinges belonging to Warre: Shall this *Pope Gregory*, or any other *Pope* after him, think that a Soueraigne Queene, poſſeſſed of the two Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, ſtabliſhed ſo many Yeres in her Kingdomes as three or foure *Popes* have ſit in their Chayre at *Rome*, fortyfied with ſo much Dutie, Loue, and Strength of her Subiectes, acknowledging no Superiour ouer her Realmes, but the mightie Hand of God: Shall ſhe forbeare, or feare to withſtand and make fruſtrate his vnlawful Attempts, eyther by her Sword, or by her Lawes, or to put his Souldiers Invadours of her Realme to the Sword martially; or to execute her Lawes upon her owne rebellious Subiectes ciuilly, that are prooved to be his chiefe Inſtruments for Rebellion, and for his open Warre? This is ſure, that whoſoever either be ſitting in his Chaire, with a triple Crowne at *Rome*, or any other his Proctors in any Part of *Chriſtendome*, ſhall renewe theſe vnlawfull Attemptes, Almightie God, the King of Kinges, whome her Maieſtie onely honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her onely Soueraigne Lord and Protector, and whoſe Lawes and Goſpel of his Sonne *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhe ſeeketh to defend, will no Doubt, but deliver ſufficient Power into his Maydens Hand, his Seruant Queene *Elizabeth*, to with ſtand and confound them all.

And where the ſeditious Trumpetters of infamies and Lies haue ſounded forth and entituled certaine that haue ſuffered for Treaſon, to be Martyrs for Religion; ſo may they alſo at this Time, if they liſt, adde to their forged Catalogue the headleſs Bodie of the late miſerable Earl of *Deſmonde*, the Head of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, who, of late, ſecretly wandering without Succour, as a miſerable Begger, was taken by one of the *Iriſhry* in his Caben, and, in an *Iriſh* Sort after his owne accuſtomed ſauage Maner, his Head cut off from his Bodie; an End due to ſuch an arch Rebell. And, herewith to remember the Ende of his chiefe Confederates, may be noted, for Example to others, the ſtrange Maner of the Death of D. *Sanders* the *Popes Iriſh* Legat, who alſo, wandering in the Mountaines in *Ireland* without Succour, died raving in a Phrenſey. And before him one *Iames Fitz-Morice*, the firſt Traitour of *Ireland* next to *Stukely* the Rakehel, a Man not vnknowen in the *Popes* Palace for a wicked crafty Traytour, was ſlaine at one Blow by an *Iriſh* noble yong Gentleman, in Defence of his Fathers Countrey-Seat, which the Traitour ſought to burn. A fourth Man of ſingular Note was *Iohn Deſmonde*, Brother to the Earl, a very bloody and faithles Traitour, and a notable Murderer of his familiar Friendes, who alſo, wandering to ſeeke ſome Pray like a Wolfe in the Woods, was taken and beheaded after his own Uſage, being as he

* For the Queen let him know, that if he accepted thereof, without her Leave, or pretended to exerciſe any *Papal* Juriſdiction in her Dominions, without her Permiſſion, ſhe would bring him within the Satute of *Premunire*; ſo that he never went to *Calais* to fetch his Bulls and his Hat. See *Burnet*, Tom 3. p. 411. *Collect.*

thought

thought ſufficiently armed with the *Popes* Bulles and certaine *Agnus Dei*, and one notable Ring with a precious Stone about his Necke ſent from the *Popes* Finger (as it was ſaid) but theſe he ſaw ſaued not his Life. And ſuch were the fatal Ends of al theſe, being the principal Heads of the *Iriſh* War and Rebellion, ſo as no one Perſon remaineth at this Day in *Ireland* a known Traitour; a Work of God and not of Man! To this Nomber, they may if they ſeek Nomber, alſo adde a furious yong Man of *Warwickſhire*, by Name *Somerville*, to increaſe their Kalender of the *Popes* Martyrs, who of late was diſcouered and taken in his Way, coming with a full Intent to haue killed her Maieſtie (whoſe Life God alwayes haue in his Cuſtodie.) The Attempt not denied by the Traitour himſelfe, but confeſſed, and that he was moued thereto in [illegible] wicked Spirit, by Inticements of certaine ſeditious and traiterous Perſons his Kinſmen and Allyes, and alſo by often reading of ſundrie ſeditious vile Books lately publiſhed againſt her Maieſtie, and his End was in Deſperation to ſtrangle himſelf to Death; an Example of Gods Severitie againſt ſuch as preſume to offer Violence to his Annoynted! But as God of his Goodnes hath of long Time hitherto preſerued her Majeſtie from theſe and the like Trecheries; ſo hath ſhe no Cauſe to feare being vnder his Protection, ſhe ſaying with King *Dauid* in the Pſalme, 'My God is my Helper, and 'I will truſt in him; he is my Protection, and 'the Strength, or the Power of my Saluation.' And for the more Comfort of al good Subiectes againſt the Shadowes of the *Popes* Bulles, it is manifeſt to the World, that, from the Beginning of her Maieſties Reigne, by Gods ſingular Goodnes, her Kingdome hath enioyed more vniuerſall Peace, her People increaſed in more Nombers, in more Strength, and with greater Riches, the Earth of her Kingdomes hath yeelded more Fruits, and generally all Kind of worldy Felicitie hath more abounded ſince and during the Time of the *Popes* Thunders, Bulles, Curſes, and Maledictions, then in any other long Times before, when the Popes Pardons and Bleſſings came yerely into the Realme; ſo as his Curſes and Maledictions haue turned backe to himſelfe and his Fautors, that it may be ſaid to the bleſſed *Queene of England*, *Elizabeth*, and her People, as was ſaid in *Deuteronomy* of *Balaam*. The Lord thy God would not heare *Balaam*, but did turn his Maledictions or Curſes into Benedictions or Bleſſings; the Reaſon is, for *becauſe thy God loued thee.*

Although theſe former Reaſons are ſufficient to perſwade all Kind of reaſonable Perſons to allow of her Maieſties Actions to be good, reaſonable, lawfull, and neceſſarie; yet becauſe it may be, that ſuch as haue by frequent reading of falſe artificiall Libels, and by giuing Credite to them, vpon a Preiudice or Foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted Opinions in Favour of the *Pope*, will reſt vnſatisfied: Therefore, as much as may be, to ſatisfie al Perſons as far foorth as common Reaſon may warrant, that her Maieſties late Action, in executing of certain ſeditious Traitours, hath not proceeded for the Holding of Opinions, either for the *Popes* Supremacie, or againſt her Maieſties Regalitie, but for the very Crymes of Sedition and Treaſon, it ſhall ſuffice briefly, in a Manner of a Repetition of the former Reaſons, to remember theſe Thinges following:

Firſt, It cannot be denied, but that her Maieſtie did, for many Yeres, ſuffer quietly the *Popes* Bulls and Excommunications without Puniſhment of the Fautors thereof, accompting of them but as Words or Winde, or of Writings in Parchment wayed downe with Leade, or as of Water-bubbles, commonly called in *Latine*, *Bullæ*, and ſuch like; but yet after ſome Proofe, that Courage was taken thereof by ſome bolde and bad Subiectes, ſhe coulde not but then eſteeme them to be verie Preambles, or as Forerunners of greater Danger; and, therefore, with what Reaſon coulde any miſlike, that her Maieſtie did, for a bare Defence againſt them, without other Action or Force, vſe the Helpe of reuiving of former Lawes, to prohibit the Publication or Execution of ſuch Kinde of Bulles within her Realme.

Secondly, When notwithſtanding the Prohibition by her Lawes, the ſame Bulles were plentifully (but in ſecret Sort) brought into the Realme, and at length arrogantly ſet upon the Gates of the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace, neere to the Cathedrall Church of *Pauls*, the principal Citie of the Realme, by a lewd Perſon, vſing the ſame like a Herald ſent from the *Pope*; who can in any common Reaſon miſlike, that her Maieſtie, finding this Kinde of Denunciation of Warre, as a Defiance to be made in her principal Citie by one of her Subiectes, auowing and obſtinately maintaining the ſame, ſhould, according to Iuſtice, cauſe the Offender to haue the Reward due to ſuch a Fact?

a Fact? And this was the firſt Action of any capitall Puniſhment inflicted for Matter ſent from *Rome* to moue Rebellion, which was after her Maieſtie had reigned about the Space of twelue Yeres or more; a Time ſufficient to prove her Maieſties Patience.

Thirdly, When the *Pope* had riſen vp out of his Chaire in his Wrath, from Words and Writings to Actions, and had contrary to the Aduiſe giuen by St. *Barnard*, to one of his Predeceſſors, that is, when by his Meſſages he left *Verbum*, and took *Ferrum*, that is, left to *feede by the Word*, which was his Office; and began to *ſtrike with the Sword*, which was forbidden him, and ſtirred her Noblemen and People directly to Diſobedience and to open Rebellion, which was the Office of *Dathan* and *Abyron*; and that her lewde Subiectes by his Commandement had executed the ſame with al the Forces which they could make or bring into the Field; who with common Reaſon can diſallow that her Maieſtie vſed her Royall lawfull Authoritie, and by her Forces lawfull ſubdued Rebelles Forces vnlawfull, and puniſhed the Authours thereof no otherwiſe than the *Pope* himſelfe vſeth to do with his owne rebellious Subiectes, in the Patrimonie of his Church, as not many Monthes ſithens he had been forced to intend. And, if any Prince of People in the World would otherwiſe neglect his Office, and ſuffer his Rebelles to haue their Wills, none ought to pitie him, if, for Want of Reſiſtance and Courage, he loſt both his Crowne, his Head, his Life, and his Kingdome.

Fourthly, When her Maieſtie beheld a further Increaſe of the *Popes* Malice, notwithſtanding that the firſt Rebellion was in her *North* Parts uanquiſhed, in that he interteined Abroade out of this Realme the Traitours and Rebelles that fledde for the Rebellion, and all the Rabble of other the Fugitiues of the Realme, and that he ſent a Number of the ſame in Sorts diſguiſed, into both the Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*, who there ſecretly allured her People to newe Rebellions, and at the ſame Time ſpared not his Charges to ſende alſo, out of *Italy*, by Sea*, certaine Shippes with Captaines of his own, with their Bands of Soldiours, furniſhed with Treaſure, Munition, Victuals, Enſignes, Banners, and all other Thinges requiſite to the Warre, into her Realme of of *Ireland*, where the ſame Forces, with other auxiliar Companies out of *Spaine* landed, and fortified themſelues uerie ſtrongly on the Seaſide, and proclaymed open Warre, erecting the *Popes* Banner againſt her Maieſtie; may it be now aſked of theſe Perſons, Fauourers of the *Romiſh* Authoritie, what in Reaſon ſhould haue bene done by her Maieſtie otherwiſe, then firſt to apprehend all ſuch Fugitiues ſo ſtolne into the Realme, and diſperſed in diſguiſing Habites to ſow Sedition, as ſome Prieſtes in their ſecrete Profeſſion, but all in their Apparell, as Roiſters or Ruffins, ſome Schollars, like to the baſeſt common People, and them to committe to Priſons, and, vpon their Examinations of their Trades and Haunts, to conuince them of their Conſpiracies Abroade, by Teſtimonies of their owne Companions, and of ſowing Sedition ſecretly at Home in the Realme? What may be reaſonablie thought was meete to be done with ſuch ſeditious Perſons, but by the Lawes of the Realme to try, condemn, and execute them? And ſpecially hauing Regard to the dangerous Time, when the *Popes* Forces in her Realme of *Ireland*, and more in Preparation to followe as well into *England* as into *Ireland*, to the Reſiſtance whereof, her Maieſtie and her Realme was forced to be at greater Charges, then euer ſhe had bene, ſince ſhee was Queene thereof. And ſo by Gods Power, which hee gaue to her on the one Part, ſhe did by her Lawes ſuppreſſe the ſeditious Stirrers of Rebellion in her Realme of *England*, and by her Sworde vanquiſhed all the *Popes* Forces in her Realme of *Ireland*, excepting certaine Captaines of Marke that were ſaued from the Sworde, as Perſons that did renounce their Quarrel, and ſeemed to curſe or to blame ſuch as ſent them to ſo vnfortunate and deſperate a Voyage.

But though theſe Reaſons, grounded vpon Rules of naturall Reaſon, ſhall ſatisfie a great Nomber of the Aduerſaries (who will yeelde that, by good Order of Ciuil and Chriſtian Policie and Government, her Maieſtie could nor

* This was a ſecond Embarkation in 1580, under the Command of *San Joſeppo*, an *Italian*; who landed without Oppoſition, and built a Fort, called *Fort del Oro*, and gariſoned it with 700 Men, and Arms for five or ſix-thouſand more; which, after a Siege of ſix Days, was forced to ſurrender to *Arthur* the Lord *Grey*, Deputy of the Iſland, and to the Earl of *Ormond*; when all the *Spaniards* were put to the Sword, and the *Iriſh*, that had joined with them, were hanged. *Camden. Stow.*

can do no leſſe than ſhe hath done, firſt to ſubdue with her Forces her Rebelles and Traitours, and nexte by Order of her Lawes to correct the Ayders and Abettors, and, laſtly, to put alſo to the Sworde ſuch Forces as the *Pope* ſent into her Dominions) yet there are certaine other Perſons, more nifely addicted to the *Pope*, that will yet ſeeme to be vnſatisfied, for that, as they will terme the Matter, a Nomber of ſillie poore Wretches were put to Death as Traitours, being but in Profeſſion Schollars or Prieſtes, by the Names of *Seminaries*, *Jeſuites*, or ſimple Scholemaſters, that came not into the Realme with any Armour or Weapon, by Force to aide the Rebelles and Traitours, either in *England* or in *Ireland*, in their Rebellions or Warres; of which Sort of Wretches that Comiſeration is made, as though for their contrary Opinions in Religion, or for teaching of the People to diſobey the Lawes of the Realme, they might haue bene otherwiſe puniſhed and corrected, but yet not with capitall Payne. Theſe Kinds of Defences tend only to find Fault rather with the Severitie of their Puniſhments, then to acquite them as Innocentes or quiet Subiectes. But, for Anſwere to the better Satisfaction of theſe nyſe and ſcrupulous Fauourers and Traitours, it muſt muſt be with Reaſon demaunded of them (if at leaſt they will open their Eares to Reaſon) whether they thinke that when a King, beeing ſtabliſhed in his Realme, hath a Rebellion firſt ſecretly practiſed, and afterwards openly rayſed in his Realme by his own ſeditious Subiectes, and when, by a forreine Potentate or Enemie, the ſame Rebellion is mainteyned, and the Rebelles by Meſſages and Promiſes comforted to continue, and their Treaſons againſt their naturall Prince auowed, and conſequently when the ſame Potentate and Enemie, beeing Authour of the ſaid Rebellion, ſhall with his owne proper Forces inuade the Realme and Subiectes of the Prince that is ſo lawefully and peaceably poſſeſſed; in theſe Caſes, ſhall no Subiect, favouring theſe Rebelles, and yeelding Obedience to the Enemie the Inuador, be committed or puniſhed as a Traitour, but onely ſuch of them, as ſhall be found openly to carrie Armour and Weapon? Shall no Subiect, that is a Spial and an Explorer for the Rebel or Enemie, againſt his naturall Prince, be taken and puniſhed as a Traitour, becauſe he is not found with Armour or Weapon, but yet is taken in his diſguiſed Apparell, with Scrolles and Writings, or other manifeſt Tokens, to proue him a Spie for Traitours, after he hath wandered ſecretly in his Soueraignes Camp, Region, Court or Citie? Shall no Subiect be counted a Traitour, that will ſecretly giue Earneſt and Preſt Money to Perſons to be Rebelles or Enemies, or that will attempt to poiſon the Victual, or the Fountaines, or ſecretly ſet on Fire the Ships or Munition, or that will ſecretly ſearch and and ſound the Hauens and Creekes for Landing, or meaſure the Depth of Ditches, or Height of Bulwarkes and Walles, becauſe theſe Offenders are not founde with Armour or Weapon; the Anſwere, I thinke, muſt needes be yeelded (if Reaſon and Experience ſhall have Rule with theſe Aduerſaries) that all theſe and ſuch like are to be puniſhed as Traitours; and the principall Reaſon is, becauſe it cannot be denied but that the Actions of all theſe are neceſſarie Acceſſaries, and Adherents proper, to further and continue all Rebellions and Warres. But if they wil denie, that none are Traitours that are not armed, they will make *Judas* no Traitour, that came to *Chriſt* without *Armour*, colouring his Treaſon with a *Kiſſe*.

Now therefore it reſteth to applie the Factes of theſe late Malefactours, that are pretended to haue offended but as Schollars, or Bookemen, or, at the moſt, but as Perſons, that, onely in Wordes and Doctrine, and not with Armour, did fauour and helpe the Rebelles and the Enemies. For which Purpoſe, let theſe Perſons be termed, as they liſt, Schollars, Schoolemaſters, Bookemen, Seminaries, Prieſtes, Jeſuites, Fryers, Beade-men, Romaniſtes, Pardoners, or what elſe you will, neyther their Tytles, nor their Apparel hath made them Traitours, but their traiterous, ſecret Motions and Practiſes: Their Perſons haue not made the Warre, but their Directions and Counſels haue ſet vp the Rebellions. The very Cauſes final of theſe Rebellions and Warres haue bene to depoſe her Majeſtie from her Crowne: The Popes Bull hath roared it ſo to be; the Cauſes inſtrumentall are theſe Kinde of Seminaries and Seedemen of Sedition: Their ſecret Teachings and Reconciliations haue confirmed it: The Fruites and Effectes thereof are, by Rebellion, to ſhedde the Blood of all her faithfull Subiectes: The Rewardes of the Inuadours (if they could preuaile) ſhould be the Diſinheriting of al the Nobilitie, the Clergie, and the whole Comminaltie, that would (as they

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are bounde by the Lawes of God, by their Birthe, and Othes) defend their naturall gracious Queene, their natiue Country, their Wiues, their Children, their Family, and their Houſes. And now examine theſe, which you cal your vnarmed Schollars and Prieſtes, wherefore they firſt fled beyond Sea out of the Realme, and why they liued and were conuerſant in Companie of the principall Rebelles and Traitours at *Rome*, and in other Places, where, it is proued, that they were Partakers of their Conſpiracies: Let it be anſwered, why they came thus by Stealth into the Realme; why they haue wandered vp and downe in Corners, in diſguiſed Sort, changing their Tytles, Names, and Maner of Apparel; why they haue intiſed and ſought to perſwade, by their ſecrete falſe Reaſons, the People to allowe and beleeue all the Actions and Attempts, whatſoeuer the *Pope* hath done, or ſhall do, to be lawfull; why they haue reconciled and withdrawen ſo manie People in Corners, from the Lawes of the Realme, to the Obedience of the *Pope*, a forreyne Pote[illegible] and open Enemie to the eſtabliſht Religion and Lawes of *England*, whom they know to have already declared the Queene to be no lawfull Queene; to haue mayntayned the knowne Rebelles and Traitours; to haue inuaded her Majeſties Dominions with open Warre. Examine, further, how theſe vagarant, diſguiſed, vnarmed Spies haue anſwered, when they were taken and demanded, what they thought of the Bull of *Pope Pius Quintus*, which was publiſhed to depriue the Queenes Majeſtie, and to warrant her Subjectes to diſobey her: Whether they thought, that all Subjectes ought to obey the ſame Bull, and ſo to rebell? *Secondly*, Whether they thought her Majeſty to be the lawfull Queene of the Realme, notwithſtanding the ſaid Bull, or any other Bull of the *Pope*? *Thirdly*, Whether the *Pope* might giue ſuch Licence, as he did, to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, and other her Majeſties Subjectes, to rebell, as they did; or giue Power to D. *Sanders*, a natural borne Subject, but an vnnaturall worne Prieſt, to take Armes, and moue Warres, as he did in *Ireland*? *Fourthly*, Whether the *Pope* may diſcharge the Subjectes of her Majeſtie, or of any other Princes chriſtened, of their Othes of Obedience? *Fifthly*, Whether the ſayd traiterous Prieſt, D. *Sanders*, or one *Briſtowe*, a rebellious Fugitiue, did, in their Bookes, write truely or falſly, in approuing the ſayd Bull of *Pius Quintus*, and the Contentes thereof? *Laſtly*, What were to be done, if the *Pope*, or any other aſſigned by him, would inuade the Realme of *England*; and what Part they would take, or what Part any faithfull Subiect of her Majeſties ought to take? To theſe fewe Queſtions, very apt to trie the Trueth, or Falſhoode, of any ſuch ſeditious Perſons, being iuſtly before condemned for their Diſloyaltie; theſe lewde, vnarmed Traitours, I ſay, would no wiſe anſwere directly hereto, as all other faithfull Subiectes to any Prince Chriſtian ought to doe. And, as they, upon Refuſall to anſwere directly to theſe Queſtions onely, might haue been iuſtly conuinced, as guiltie of Treaſon; ſo yet were they not thereupon condemned, but vpon all their other former Actions, committed both Abroade, and in the Realme, which were no leſſe traiterous then the Actions of all other the Spyes and Traitours, and of *Iudas* himſelfe afore remembred, which had no Armour nor Weapon, and yet at all Times ought to be adiudged Traitours. For theſe diſguiſed Perſons (called Schollars, or Prieſtes) hauing bene firſt conuerſant of long Time with the Traitours beyonde the Sea in all their Conſpiracies, came hither by Stealth in Time of Warre and Rebellion, by Commaundement of the capitall Enemie, the *Pope*, or his Legates, to be ſecret Eſpialles and Explorers in the Realme for the *Pope*, to deliver, by ſecret *Romiſh* Tokens, as it were an Earneſt, or Preſt, to them that ſhoulde be in Readines to ioyne with Rebelles, or open Enemies, and in like Sort, with their hallowed Baggages from *Rome*, to poyſon the Sences of the Subiectes, powring into their Heartes malicious and peſtilent Opinions againſt her Majeſtie and the Lawes of the Realme; and alſo to kindle and ſet on Fire the Heartes of diſcontented Subiectes with the Flames of Rebellion, and to ſearch and ſound the Depthes and Secretes of all Mens inwarde Intentions, either againſt her Maieſtie, or for her: And, finally, to bring into a Beadroll, or, as it were, into a Muſter-roll, the Names and Powers, with the Dwellings, of all thoſe that ſhoulde be readie to rebelle, and to ayd the forrein Inuaſion. Theſe Kinds of ſeditious Actions for the Seruice of the *Pope*, and the Traitours and Rebelles Abroade, haue made them Traitours; not their Bookes, nor their Beades, no not

their Cakes of Waxe, which they call *Agnus Dei*, nor other their Reliques, nor yet their Opinions for the Ceremonies or Rites of the the Church of *Rome*; and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that theſe did iuſtly deſerue their capitall Puniſhments, as Traitours, though they were not apprehended with open Armour or Weapon.

Nowe if this latter Repetition, as it were, of all the former Cauſes and Reaſons afore recited may not ſerue to ſtop the boiſterous Mouthes, and the peſtiferous Tongues, and venimous Breathes of theſe, that are infected with ſo groſſe Errors, as to defende ſeditious Subiectes, Stirrers of Rebellion againſt their naturall Prince and Countrey; then are they to be left, without any further Argument, to the Iudgement of the Almightie God, as Perſons that haue couered their Eyes againſt the Sunnes Light, ſtopped their Eares againſt the Sound of Iuſtice, and oppreſſed their Heartes againſt the Force of Reaſon; and, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, 'They ſpeake Lyes, they are 'as venemous as the Poiſon of a Serpent, euen 'like the deafe Adder that ſtoppeth his Eares.'

Wherefore, with Chriſtian Charitie to conclude, If theſe Rebels and Traitours, and their Fautors, woulde yet take ſome Remorſe and Compaſſion of their naturall Countrey, and would conſider, how vaine their Attempts haue bene ſo many Yeres, and how many of their Confederates are waſted by Miſeries and Calamities, and how none of all their Attempts, or Plotts, haue proſpered; and therefore would deſiſt from their vnnatural Practiſes Abroade: And, if theſe *Seminaries*, ſecret Wanderers, and Explorators in the Darke woulde imploy their Traueiles in the Workes of Light and Doctrine, according to the Vſage of their Schooles, and content themſelues with their Profeſſion and Deuotion; and that the Remnant of the wicked Flocke of the Seedemen of Sedition would ceaſe from their rebellious, falſe, and infamous Railings and Libellings, altogether contrary to Chriſtian Charitie; there is no Doubt, by Gods Grace (her Maieſtie being ſo much giuen to Mercie, and deuoted to Peace) but al Colour and Occaſion of ſhedding the Blood of any more of her naturall Subiectes of this Land, yea, all furder bodely Puniſhments ſhould vtterly ceaſe. Againſt whoſe Malices, if they ſhould not deſiſte, Almighty God continue her Maieſtie, with his Spirit and Power, long to reigne, and liue in his Feare, and to be able to vanquiſh all Gods Enemies, and eſpecially her Rebelles and Traitours, both at Home and Abroade, and to maintaine and preſerue al her naturall good louing Subiectes, to the true Seruice of the ſame Almightie God, according to his holy Worde and Will.

Many other Thinges might be remembred for Defence of her Maieſties princely, honourable, and godly Actions in ſundrie other Thinges, wherein alſo theſe and the like ſeditious Railors haue of late Time, without all Shame, by fained and falſe Libels, ſought to diſcredit her Maieſtie and her Gouernement; but, at this Time, theſe former Cauſes and Reaſons, alleadged by Way of Aduertiſements, onely for Mayntenance of Trueth, are ſufficient to iuſtifie her Maieſties Actions to the whole Worlde.

2 Eſdr. iv.

Magna eſt Veritas, & præualet.

Great is the Truth, and ſhe ouercometh.

A Dil-

A Diſcourſe of Marriage and Wiving, and of the greateſt Myſtery therein contained: How to chuſe a good Wife from a bad. An Argument of the deareſt Uſe, but the deepeſt Cunning, that Man may err in; which is, to cut by a Thread, between the greateſt Good or Evil in the World. Pertinent to both Sexes, and Conditions, as well thoſe already gone before, as ſhortly to enter this honeſt Society.

Amare & ſapere vix Diis conceditur.

By *Alex. Nicchol*[illegible] Batchelor in the Art he never yet put in Practice.

He that ſtands by, and doth the Game ſurvey.
Sees more oftimes, than thoſe that at it play.

London, printed by *N. O.* for *Leonard Becket*, in the *Inner-Temple*, 1615. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-one Pages, including the Dedication and Preface.

To the virtuous young Gentleman, and his worthily reſpected Friend, Mr. Thomas Edgworth, *under Treaſurer of* Windſor, *Health and Content in his own Perſon, and in the happy Fruition of his virtuous Wife.*

SIR, your Felicity, the higheſt Top of Enjoyment in this Kind, is become the Aim, that the practick Art, in this School of Direction, levelleth at you being already inſtated (with Envy and Admiration) in that Bliſs, which others may thus toil after in moſt beſeeming Circumſtances (by many Degrees) to come ſhort of: When I enter this Courſe of Life (as, for aught I know, I may one Day marry) be it my higheſt Ambition, with all my Directions, to have one to be a near Imitator of her ſo many religious and moral Virtues, for whoſe happy Continuance my beſt Wiſhes ſhall be ſpent, that ſhe may long continue yours, to make you a Father of happy and undoubted Children; Sons for the Earth, and Saints for Heaven; multiplying upon your Head all the Comforts in that Covenant: And for this Treatiſe, which, by your Direction, comes forth to direct others to that Model of Happineſs, wherein you ſtand eminent, may it have that Succeſs with all, that it hath had Approbation with you, and as kind Entertainment with the World, as thoſe beſt Creatures, the Subject thereof, in their Perfection deſerve; which are the Seed and Seminary thereof, and which (by this Means) have maintained that laſting, and yet un-ended, War againſt thoſe two arch and unwearied Adverſaries of Mankind,

kind, *Time* and *Death*, the Waſters thereof, and Conſumers of all ſublunary Things; which began their Siege, againſt the firſt Man that lived, and have ever ſince held on without League, or Imparlance, for the Space of theſe Five-thouſand five-hundred Years and upwards, and which ſhall go on and continue the Siege, to the End thereof, and Conſummation of all Things: Wherein, if it ſhall be ſo happy (beyond Expectation) the Pain thereof hath been well undertaken, and your Encouragement, fortunately ſeconded, which howſoever I leave it to the Adventure, and you to your Heart's beſt Wiſhes.

By him that intirely is dedicated yours,

ALEX. NICCHOLES.

To the Youth and Batchelary of England, hot Bloods at high Revels, *which forethought of this Action, and all others, that hereafter intend this Adventure.*

SInce that the meaneſt Bleſſing in Man's Life,
Is not the Dowry of a virtuous Wife;
No otherwiſe then is the adverſe Croſs,
To him that bears it, the moſt eaſy Loſs.
Therefore to you, whoſe weary Bonds yet keep,
Severing the Arms wherein you long to ſleep;
That have, before-hand many a tedious Hour,
Wiſh'd that approaching Minute in your Pow'r,
Which when arriv'd, moſt ſlowly brought to paſs,
Cancels but Parchment to inroll in Braſs:
What not ſo ſhort a Term of Years ſhall end,
Unleſs one ſhew himſelf the kinder Friend;
Wherein, leſt your too forward Haſte ſhould ſtray,
Here is before-hand chalked out a Way:
(As Conſcience craveth, for ſo large Connexion
Should not be enter'd in without Direction.)
Which who ſo walks into the true Intent,
Shall not commit that Action to repent.
The Ignorant by this have ſharper Eyes,
More deeper Inſight to theſe Myſteries;
And, were their Underſtanding dark or blind,
To paſs this Labyrinth 'tis here refin'd:
Here are the Characters inſculp'd and read,
That make a happy or a loathed Bed.
What Woman is, on whom all theſe depend,
Her *Uſe*, *Creation*, *Excellence*, and *End*.
In making Choice how much to be confin'd,
To *Beauty*, *Riches*, *Parentage*, or *Kind*;
What are the chief Diſturbers of this State,
That ſooneſt point a Man that ſoreſt Fate.
Here are the Rocks diſcover'd to the Eye,
That he that would not ſhipwreck may ſail by.
And theſe the matter being aforehand laid,
Unbalanc'd Pleaſures to each Youth and Maid,
That, when Experience ſhall their Sweetneſs tell,
Inſtead of Heaven they purchaſe not a Hell.
And that the Joy their forward Youth hath ſought,
Uncroſly match'd, may come more near their Thought.
But you whoſe Luſts, this Limit ſhall not tie,
For more Enlargement to Variety,
That will not any your own proper call,
The better intereſted to commerce with all:
As, when your Lord and Lady down are laid,
Behind the Door to woo the Chamber-maid;
Or amongſt Neighbours, where you lead your Lives,
To be the more familiar with their Wives;
Or any Place where-e'er you do eſpy
A pretty Morſel pleaſing to your Eye,
To ſeize it more ſuſpectleſs, being known,
Than he that hath at Home a Wife of 's own;
Well, take that Bleſſing, but withal this Curſe,
To walk on *weak Legs*, with an *empty Purſe*.

The

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If by this Level thou a good Wife hit,
Thank God that e'er this Book was bought, or writ.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Inſtitution and Author of Marriage.

IT is not good for Man to be alone * (ſaith the alone and abſolute Goodneſs of all Goodneſs itſelf) *Faciamus ergo adjutorem ei: Let us therefore make him a Helper meet for him:* So the Creation of the Woman was to be a Helper to the Man, not a Hinderer; a Companion for his Comfort, not a Vexation to his Sorrow, for *Conſortium eſt Solatium*, i. e. *Company is comfortable*, though never ſo ſmall, and *Adam* took no little Joy in this, his ſingle Companion, being thereby freed from that Solitude and Silence, which his Loneneſs would elſe have been ſubject to, had there been no other End, nor Uſe in her more, than this her bare Preſence and Society alone: But, beſides all this, the Earth is large and muſt be peopled, and, therefore, they are now the Crown of his Workmanſhip, the laſt, and beſt, and perfecteſt Piece of his Handy-work, divided into Genders, as the reſt of his Creatures are, *Male* and *Female*, fit and enabled, *Procreare ſibi ſimilem*, i. e. *to bring forth their like*, to accompliſh his Will, who thus bleſſed their Fruitfulneſs in the Bud: *Increaſe, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth.* Well might St. *Paul* ſay, obſerving this, *Marriage is honourable amongſt all Men, and the Bed undefiled*; ſince God himſelf was the Author and Inſtitutor thereof, even in Paradiſe; who gave the Woman to the Man, before, in his Sleep, *Adam* loſt a *Rib*; but, now being awake, *reperit Coſtam*, he hath his Rib again, with Intereſt and Increaſe, branched into many *Veins*, and *Ribs*, and *Bones*, and Arteries of wonderful Uſe, and admirable Quality. So the Creation of Woman as it was for Man, ſo it was out of Man; *Adam* was made of the Slime of the Earth, and, were it not to make Woman proud, I would tell her, ſhe was of that better Subſtance, of that well huſbanded Workmanſhip, and refined Matter, refined and purified by the Touch of his Hands, in moulding to ſo excellent a Proportion as Man; of a Bone taken out of his Side (which that Side ever wanteth ſince, as Anatomiſts obſerve) to make him the more pliable towards her; not of a Bone of his Foot, that ſhe ſhould be ſo low or contemptible, or of his Head, ſo high or ambitious, but of his Side, a middle Part, that ſhe might be of a middle Condition, his

* *Gen.* ii. 18.

Fellow

Fellow and Companion, not his Servant or Slave, for *Socii ſunt qui junguntur lateribus*, i. e. *They are Fellows that walk Side by Side*; of a Bone near to his Heart, to put him in Mind of Dilection and Love; from under his Arm of Protection and Defence, *&c.* Now the Author of this Creation we find here to be the Author of this Myſtery: He, who made the Woman of the Man, gave her to the Man, even God himſelf, who, as *Caſſianus* ſaith further, in the very Prime and Beginning of the World, *Dedit* this *Unam Uni*, i. e. *Gave this one Woman, to one Man*, and no more than one, although for the Increaſe and Peopling of all the yet uninhabited Regions and Kingdoms of the Earth: In which, no Doubt, the Divine Wiſedom had a Reſpect to the Love, not to the Luſt of Man; aiming hereby to advance the one, and ſuppreſs the other, for where Love is divided there it is weakened, can never be ſtrong, and as we ſee by Experience, he who loves many *formally* never loves any *fervently*; for Unity is Love's Number, cannot tranſcend, and God would have an intire Affection between the Huſband and the Wife, which he himſelf, in Perſon, thus vouchſafed to honour by Conjunction, that, as their Bodies were then not two, ſo their Deſires ſhould be but one; and withal to inſinuate, by this his proper Inſtitution, the more Reſpect and Reverence to that holy Ordination, which had ſo high a Beginning, and ſo holy an End, honoured by his Perſon, by his Prophets, by his Miracles, and which ſhould ſo generally be exerciſed, throughout all Eſtates and Conditions, Ages and Times, to the End of the World, and Deſiſtency of all Things, which by this Means (before that eternal Diſſolution) ſhould run a long and continued Race in Deſpight of Grave and Death.

CHAP. II.

Of the Excellency of Marriage, with the Conſequence and Uſe thereof.

THE Excellency thereof doth the more manifeſt itſelf in this, in that it was an Addition of Beatitude and Bleſſedneſs, to that happy and abſolute Eſtate that *Adam* had in his firſt Creation and Innocency; that it was ſo precious a Flower, that it would not thrive but in ſo pure a Soil; that God himſelf was the Author to inſtitute it, and the Prieſt to celebrate it, before ever Sin and Impurity had tainted the Earth, or blemiſhed the angelical Beauty of either the Bride or Bridegroom; and, though the Conſequence in that Place brought Sorrow and Death, yet hath it a Relation to as full, nay more ample Joy and Life in the Extent and Determination thereof, than it could otherwiſe have had in that firſt Perſeverance and Fruition, from which, tho' now by Sin, our beſt Faculties, Privileges and Prerogatives, in all Kinds, are ſo clouded, eclipſed, and fallen away, that we diſcern not aright the Excellencies, true Uſes and Ends of ſo divine a Myſtery in itſelf, notwithſtanding we do yet in this Twilight perceive ſuch Glimpſes and Sparkles of original Purity and Felicity unextinguiſhed therein, that we are wedded by our own Wills, and induced by ſo natural a Coaction to the Embracement thereof, for the mutual Society and Comfort of Life, without which it could neither ſubſiſt nor continue, more than to any other Duty or Action therein commanded or required whatſoever.

From the Excellency of the Inſtitution, come we to the Excellency of the true Uſe, the Danger of the Contrary, and therefore the deep Regard to be had before-hand, as in the Enterpriſe itſelf, being of ſuch weighty Moment and Import, of which one, thus farther diſplaying it, writeth:

Marriage, of all the human Actions of a Man's Life, is one of the greateſt Weight and Conſequence, as thereon depending the future Good, or Evil, of a Man's whole After-time and Days; that *Gordian* Knot, once faſtened, not to be unlooſened but by Death; the Means either to exalt on high to Preferment, or caſt down headlong to Deſtruction, and the preſent Diſpoſer of a Man's whole Eſtate and Fortune to his greateſt Joy or Miſery, and therefore with his *tale pondus* (as before) not be danced into lightly or unadviſedly, with the firſt that comes to Hand, as a blind Man lays his Hold, but ſoberly entered upon with mature Advice, Years, and Deliberation, Conſent, and Counſel of Parents and Friends; for it is in this Action as in a Stratagem of War: *Wherein he that errs can err but once, periſheth unrecoverably to all after Advice and Relief.* And therefore

therefore that merry Proverb is not amiſs, that thus implieth: That in *Wiving* and *Thriving* a Man ſhould aſk Counſel of all the World, it being a Matter of ſuch Difficulty, Doubt, and Danger to be reſolved in; ſuch a continual Storm and Tempeſt to thoſe that launch not forth in a proſperous Gale, having perverted their Felicity therein, by running from the Rule of God in their Choice, that (with *Jonas*) ſuch, to be delivered, were better be caſt alive into the Sea, to the Belly of the Whale, and Mercy of the mercileſs bottomleſs Deep (though with him they never came to Shore again) than endure ſuch a perpetual Vexation it is the Harbinger unto, with ſuch a *Leviathan* of the Land as is a furious Woman; for, as a virtuous Woman is a Haven of Beauty, ſo a wicked Woman is a Sea of Evils, and in her Tide more full than that Element of Monſters; worſe far to live with than a ſmoaky Houſe, for that, for the moſt Part, offends only the Eyes in the Head, but this all the Senſes in the Body; nay, he, that hath ſuch a Familiar, hath a worſe Neighbour of his own than *Horſam* ſhould have had, if her fabulous Dragon had been true; yet, though in the Curſe it be ſubject to theſe Evils, bleſs it in the true Uſe, and it is, of all human Comforts, the greateſt; for, if the mutual Society between Friend and Friend be ſo great, that in Affliction it adminiſtereth Comfort, and in Joy it heapeth the Meaſure to the Brim, by detracting from the Sowre, and adding to the Sweet, by a ſenſible Participation of either's Quality, how much more then ſhall it be enlarged by ſuch a Friend, who is to us a ſecond Self, or Treaſurer of our own Thoughts, and therefore more nearly intereſted in either the one or the other.

Beſides this, in thy *Marriage*, the very Name whereof ſhould portend unto thee *Merry-age*, thou not only uniteſt unto thyſelf a Friend, and Comfort for Society, but alſo a Companion for Pleaſure, and in ſome Sort a Servant for Profit too, for a Wife is all theſe; beſides, by the Excellency and Bleſſing of this Inſtitution, thou continueſt thy Name, thy Likeneſs, and thy Generation walks upon Earth, and ſo liveſt in thy Similitude, in Deſpight of Death, when thou thyſelf art dead, and raked up in Duſt, and otherwiſe without Remembrance, unleſs by ſome ruinous Stone, or ragged Epitaph, and ſo (in ſome Sort) makeſt thy Body immortal, like thy Soul, and not only by this doſt thou add to the *Sons of the Earth*, but *to the Saints of Heaven*; beſides, by this, ſo excellent, ſo honourably accounted of amongſt all Men, are thy wild and unbridled Affections reduced to Humanity and Civility, to Mercy and Clemency, and thou thyſelf called back to look into thyſelf, and to underſtand the Subſtance and Truth of Things; and therefore he that hath no Wife is ſaid to be a Man unbuilt that wanteth one of his Ribs, aſleep as *Adam* was till his Wife was made, for Marriage awaketh the Underſtanding as out of a Dream; and he that hath no Wife is ſaid to be a Man in the Midſt of the Sea, periſhing for Want of this Ship to waft him to Shore; is ſaid to be parched in the Heat of the Sun, that hath not this Vine to reſt him under her Shadow; if Sickneſs come, it brings thee a Phyſician; if Health continue, it is partly a Preſerver. But to go further, to equal it with the beſt commended Virginity, where is the Man this Day living, whoſe Virginity may be compared with *Abraham*'s Marriage, in whom all the Nations of the Earth were bleſſed? St. *Auſtin* oppoſeth it to the Virginity of St. *John*; but the greateſt Authority we have, in Praiſe of Marriage, is the Union of *Chriſt* with his Church compared unto it; the Bond whereof is the Holy Ghoſt, the Contract the Goſpel, the Apoſtles the Regiſters, all married Men except St. *John* and St. *Paul*; and *Jeſus Chriſt* ſealed it with his Blood, the Betrothing whereof is here below in the Church, but the Wedding itſelf ſhall be ſolemniſed in Heaven. It is likewiſe the Original of all Pairs, of all Couples, *Primum par, fundamentum parium*, ſaith one, Father and Child, Maſter and Servant, Huſband and Wife, all grow out of this firſt Union and Conjunction; all Kindred and Affinity in the World take their Birth from this Root, without which Men would live diſperſed like ſavage Beaſts, and irrational Creatures, without Diſtinction or Separation of Tribe or Family, which are the firſt Parts of a Commonwealth.

CHAP. III.

Worldly Choice what it is, or how, for the moſt Part, Men chuſe their Wives.

IT is a Faſhion much in Uſe in theſe Times to chuſe Wives as Chapmen ſell their Wares, with *Quantum dabitis?* i. e. *What is the moſt you will give?* And, if their Parents or Guardians ſhall reply, Their Virtues are their Portions, and others have they none, let them be as dutiful as *Sarah*, as virtuous as *Anna*, as obedient as the Virgin *Mary*; theſe, to the wiſe Man, every one a rich Portion, and more precious than the Gold of *Ophir*, ſhall be nothing valued, or make up where Wealth is wanting; theſe may be Adjuncts or good Additions, but Money muſt be the Principal of all that marry, and (that Scope is large) there are but few that undergo it for the right End and Uſe, whereby it comes to paſs that many attain not to the Bleſſedneſs therein. Some undergo this Curſe inſtead of Bleſſing, merely for Luſt chuſing their Wives moſt unfitly, as Adultereſſes; and ſuch are ſaid to marry by the Eye, looking no further than a carnal Beauty is diſtinguiſhed, which conſiſts in the outward Shape and Lineaments of the Body, as in Gate, Geſture, Countenance, Behaviour, *&c.* And for ſuch a one, ſo ſhe be fair, and can kiſs, ſhe hath Portion enough for ſuch a Pirate; but when this Flower withers, as it is of no Continuance, for Diſeaſes blaſt it, Age devours it, Diſcontent doth wither it (only Virtue is not foiled by theſe Adverſaries) what ſhall continue Love as then to the End? Their Winter ſure ſhall be full of Want, full of Diſcontent, that thus, Graſshopper-like, reſpected their Summer. There are others that marry to join Wealth to Wealth, and thoſe are ſaid to marry by the Fingers Ends; ſome others there are that take their Wives from the Report or good Liking of others, and thoſe are ſaid to take their Wives upon Truſt, and ſuch, I hope, are not ſeldom deceived in their Venture. There are ſome that marry for Continuance of Poſterity, and thoſe come neareſt to the true Intent, for the End of Marriage is *proles*, i. e. *Iſſue*; it was the primal Bleſſing, *Increaſe and multiply*. God hath given and bequeathed many Precepts and Commandments to Mankind, yet, of all that ever he delivered, never was there any better obſerved (for the Letter) than this; nay, the moſt Part are ſo ready to accompliſh his Will herein, that, for Haſte, many Times, they overſlip the true Circumſtances thereof, doing it, *propter intentionem, præter viam*, for God requires *Liberi*, not *Spurii*, i. e. *Children*, not *Baſtards*; and thoſe that thus increaſe it, do it more for the *Manner* than the *End*, more for Luſt than for Love.

CHAP. IV.

How to chuſe a good Wife from a bad.

THIS Undertaking is a Matter of ſome Difficulty, for good Wives are many Times ſo like unto bad, that they are hardly diſcerned betwixt, they could not otherwiſe deceive ſo many as they do; for *the Devil can transform himſelf into an Angel of Light*, the better to draw others into the Chains of Darkneſs; ſo theſe, his Creatures, themſelves into the Shape of Honeſty, the better to intangle others in the Bonds of Repentance; if, therefore, the Yoke of Marriage be of ſuch Perpetuity, and laſting even, *usque ad necem*, i. e. *until Death*, and the Joy or Grievance thereon depending of equal Continuance therewith, either to make a ſhort Heaven or Hell in this World, it is not therefore to be undergone but upon the dueſt Regard, and moſt adviſed Conſideration that may be; and, becauſe it is ſuch a Sea, wherein ſo many ſhipwreck for Want of better Knowledge and Advice, upon a Rock, that took not better Counſel in the Haven, I have, therefore, in ſome Sort, to prevent this Danger, erected (as it were) certain Land-marks and Directions in the Way, to give Aim to ſuch Paſſengers as ſhall hereafter expoſe themſelves to the Mercy of this Fury; and the rather, becauſe our Age is ſo adventurous, whether Boldneſs or Blindneſs be their Guide, that *mere Children* dare undertake with Veſſels ſcarce capable to hoiſt up Sail, and adventure thoſe Paſſages,

Paſſages, that former Times, which, in their Nonage, never precedent us in the like, would have thought ſcarce navigable; but many Times this Calm, that leads them forth in a Sun-ſhine with Pleaſure, brings them Home in a Tempeſt, with Sorrow; and, therefore (as I ſaid) he that would not repent him afterwards, let him be adviſed before; for, *wiſe Foreſight, for the moſt Part, is crowned with happy Succeſs*; therefore, ſay not hereafter (for it is a weak Remedy) *Utinam ſaperem*, i. e. *Would God I had been better adviſed*, but be it ſo.

The *firſt* Aim that I would give to him, that would adventure this Voyage (for Marriage is an Adventure, for whoſoever marries, adventures; he adventures his Peace, his Freedom, his Liberty, his Body; yea, and ſometimes his Soul too) is, that in his Election, after he hath made Choice of his Wife, which ever I would have grounded upon ſome of theſe promiſing Likelihoods, *viz.* That ſhe be of a *ſober* and *mild* Aſpect, *courteous* Behaviour, *decent* Carriage, of a *fixed* Eye, *conſtant* Look, and *unaffected* Gate, the Contrary being oftentimes Signs of ill Portent and Conſequence; for as the common Saying is, *An honeſt Woman dwells at the Sign of an honeſt Countenance*; and wild Looks (for the moſt Part) accompany wild Conditions; a rolling Eye is not fixed, but would fix upon Objects it likes, it looks for, and affected Nicety is ever a Sign of laſcivious Petulancy.

Next, regard, according as thine Eſtate and Condition ſhall beſt inſtruct thee, the *Education* and *Quality* of her thou haſt ſo elected, her *Perſonage* not being unreſpected; for Love looks ſometimes as well with the Eye of the Body, as with the Mind, and Beauty, in ſome, begets Affection, and Affection augmenteth Love; whereas the Contrary would decreaſe and diminiſh it, and ſo bring thee to a loathed Bed, which muſt be utterly taken Heed of, for the dangerous Conſequences that follow; therefore let thy Wiſdom ſo govern thine Affection, that, as it ſeize not up Deformity to thine own proper Uſe, for ſome ſiniſter Reſpect to be ſhortly after repented of; ſo, likewiſe (for the Mean is ever beſt) that it level not at ſo high and abſolute Endowment and Perfection, that every carnal Eye ſhall bethink thee Injury, that every goatiſh Diſpoſition ſhall level to throw open thy Incloſures, that thy Wife ſhall be harder to be kept, than the Garden of the *Heſperides*; for, as the *Italian* Proverb is,

Whoſe Horſe is white, and Wife is fair,
His Head is never void of Care.

Next, after thou haſt thus elected thy Choice, and conſidered her in herſelf, with the aforeſaid Circumſtances, and this one more (not being of his Mind, that merrily ſaid, ſpeaking of his Wife, Since he was to make Choice out of Things that were evil, he thought it moſt Wiſdom to chuſe the leaſt;) to regard, that ſhe be not of too dwarfiſh a Size and Kindred, to ſtore thee with a Generation of Pigmies, Dwarfs, Half-men, that want the Majeſty and Power of Height and Strength, and the Comelineſs a good Stature is, for the moſt Part, wedded unto. After this, a little look back to the Stock, from whence ſhe ſprung, for, as *Ezekiel* ſaith, *Like Mother, like Daughter*; and Experience and Nature approve it, that the Fruit will reliſh of the Tree, from whence it ſprung, as the Roſe is not gathered from the Hawthorn: And, as his Majeſty well obſerved, If Men be ſo careful to have their Horſes and Dogs of a good Breed and Race, which are only for external and ſuperficial Uſes and Pleaſures, how much more ſhould they their Wives of their own Boſoms, from whom they expect to raiſe and continue their own Generations and Poſterities upon Earth, to repreſent and preſerve alive their own Image and Virtues behind them, from Generation to Generation, *uſque ad longinquum*, &c.?

CHAP. V.

What Years are moſt convenient for Marriage,

THE forward Virgins of *our Age* are of Opinion, that this Commodity can never be taken up too ſoon, and therefore, howſoever they neglect in other Things, they are ſure to catch Time by the Forelock in this; if you aſk this Queſtion, they will reſolve you, *Fourteen* is the beſt Time of their Age, if *Thirteen* be not *better* than that; and they have

for the moſt Part the Example of their Mothers before them, to confirm and approve their Ability; and this withal they hold for a certain Ground, that, be they never ſo little, they are ſure thereby to become no leſs; the Effects that, for the moſt Part, enſue thereafter, are dangerous Births, Diminution of Stature, Brevity of Life, and ſuch like; yet all theſe Pains will they adventure for this Pleaſure: Now as theſe will not ſtay till their Youth, but marry in their Childhood, before either Blood or Affections ripen them thereto by their early Forwardneſs, ſo are there others that as much offend in the Contrary, by paſſing over their Youth for certain cautionary worldly Reſpects, to ſalute this Society with their Age, like to him that hath ſuffered his Houſe to burn down to the Bottom, before he would ſeek to extinguiſh the Flame, when the other as needleſsly forward, as he fooliſhly ſlow, throws on Water e're any Fire come near it; the Extremity in both is utterly diſtaſteful, and, as I have already ſhewed briefly the Indiſcretion in either, ſo I might thus continue it further along in the firſt: That ſuch ſhould take upon them to govern others, that (which as may well appear in this) know not yet how to govern themſelves; the latter, that they utterly abandon the right Uſe of Marriage; for, if the chief End thereof be Propagation and Increaſe, both for the Kingdom of Earth and Heaven, why then do they defer ſo long till their Blood be froſty, and their Bones be empty, their Lamps be waſted, and their Spirits conſumed, hiding in the Earth their Talents from Uſe, which might have been otherwiſe multiplied, by a lawful Uſury, to a happy Increaſe and excellent End, and therefore worthy ſuch of their juſt Reward, which is (for the moſt Part) to periſh in themſelves as the laſt of their Name and Poſterity upon Earth.

Diogenes being aſked, what Time of a Man's Life was beſt to marry, anſwered, in Youth it was too ſoon, and in Age it was too late, cynically inſinuating thereby, that it was beſt *never*: Indeed, ſome of our unfortunate Conjunctions might have been happy, in embracing his Counſel, when Planets of malevolent Aſpect and Influence are unfortunately houſed, like two oppoſite Poiſons in a Stomach, one ever ſick of another, fearfully portending their own Deſtruction and Ruin; yet, not to diſcomfort any that are to enter herein, the beſt Good and moſt abſolute Perfection that ever was in the World, and moſt general, never did all participate in the Fruition thereof, although the greateſt Number did; God gave Sight to all, yet all partake not the Benefit thereof; Health to all, yet ſome are daily incumbered with Sickneſs; Limbs to all, yet ſome we ſee are decrepid and lame, although the moſt enjoy them, theſe Infirmities having in their Being rather deficient than efficient Cauſes; for God created not Blindneſs, Lameneſs, Sickneſs, or ſuch like, but the Deprivation of their better Oppoſites is the Cauſe of their Producement and Effect: So likewiſe in Marriage God gave a general Bleſſing to the firſt Inſtitution and Uſe thereof; he *bleſſed* it by his Word, he *honoured* it by his Preſence, he *confirmed* it by his Miracles, where he turned Water into Wine, to ſhew that thoſe that celebrate it in the right Manner, to the lawful and true End, ſhall have their Sorrow turned into Joy, their Water into Wine; but the contrary, their Joy into Sorrow, that is, their Wine into Water.

One ſaith, Wives are young Men's Miſtreſſes, Companions for Middle-age, and old Men's Nurſes, ſo that a Man may have a Quarrel to marry when he will: But the Apoſtle ſaith here, *Rejoice in the Wife of thy Youth:* As thereby he would point out the *fitteſt* Time; *in thy Youth*, whilſt thou haſt Blood in thy Veins, and Marrow in thy Bones; Health in thy Loins, and Security in thy Sufficiency; when thou mayeſt beget an Off-ſpring, and by Courſe of Time be ſo bleſſed, as to ſee thy Childrens Children ingrafted into the Church, and Common-wealth, in honourable Offices and Functions, to thy Peace of Conſcience, and Quietneſs in thy laſt *Dimittis*: Late Repentance, they ſay, is ſeldom true Repentance; and it is obſervable, that in theſe late Marriages is ſeldom found that true Comfort and Happineſs, which it is crowned withal in due Seaſon; therefore begin not the World, divide not thyſelf, thy Love, when thou art going out of the World.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That Conveniency and Fitneſs, in Choice, is more to be regarded, than either Beauty, Riches, or any other Addition of Mind, or Fortune.

IN this one and abſolutely greateſt Action of a Man's whole Life, Men, for the moſt Part, are either ſo careleſs in their Will, or ſo blinded in their Judgment, or ſo carried away by Affection, that they regard not that which moſt materially concerneth the Peace, the Welfare, and Felicity of their whole Life and Conſervation therein; for their Eye, for the moſt Part, either ſeizeth upon Beauty, and thoſe are ſuch that chuſe an Apple for the red Side, as the Serpent deceived *Eve*, which afterwards in the Taſte ſets the Teeth on Edge; or the Heart upon Riches, and they are rather married to the Subſtance, than the Owner: Some again marry for Gentility, not reſpecting their own Ignobility and Baſeneſs, which, for the moſt Part, it upbraideth them with all their Life long; and though all of theſe are joined by the Ring (the Emblem of Wedlock) yet few underſtand the Moral thereof, which is a repreſentary Fitneſs to be reſpected: I mean not Equality or Fitneſs of Stature, for the more equal Conjunction and Action, but a Fitneſs in Affection; for as that being either too big, or too little, pincheth the Finger, or ſtayeth not on; ſo, where this Equality doth not ſympathiſe in Affection, there is either a Falling off from the Bond of this Duty, or a Shrinking up of the Joy and Felicity therein: The cholerick Man, who, for ſome outward Reſpect, maketh this his expected Heaven a Hell, by unaptly enjoining unto himſelf Provocation and Impatience, ever to kindle that Fire a-freſh, which of itſelf conſumes, without farther Addition, the very Peace and Tranquillity, Life and Spirit of Soul and Body, whenas he ſhould rather have elected, as an Allayer to this Fury, Meekneſs, and Endurance; ſuch a Lenitive as this ſhould rather have waſted the Malady, than augmented the Miſery; for what Concord, or Society, can be expected to be enjoyed, when Natures more repugnant than the Elements are joined in one: Free Spirits with wiſer Diſpoſitions, where they grapple and tug without Eaſe and Releaſement, for Breath and Liberty: Heroes Thoughts with dull Affections, where there is no Correſpondence to their Height or Elevation: Knowledge with Ignorance, where there is no Zeal to communicate; old Age with Youth, where there is no Deſire of Enjoyment, preventing the Good by ſome blind Inducement, which either might have claimed by their Likelihood, in more ſuitable Fitneſs, bearing the Yoke with Repining and Diſpleaſure, as preſſing too heavily, which otherwiſe might have been ſupported with Eaſe and Delight, as ſcarce taſted or felt: Therefore, whoever thou art, know this in thy Choice, that wouldeſt for Bondage adventure thy Freedom, that every good Woman makes not for every Man a good Wife, no otherwiſe than ſome one good Diſh digeſts with every Stomach: Therefore, as for thy Trade, thou wilt chuſe a fit Servant, for thy Stomach a fit Diet, for thy Body fit Cloathing, ſo, for thy inſeparable, daily, nightly Society, chuſe a fit Companion, according to the Poet's Rule in a leſſer Senſe:

Eligat equalem prudens ſibi quiſq; ſodalem.

Let every wiſe and diſcreet Man
Chuſe him a fit Companion.

The Thief for his Burglaries takes his fitteſt Opportunity and Society: The Huſbandman his Seaſons for his Seed-time and Harveſt: The Lawyer the Advantage of Aſſizes and Terms: The Merchant for Adventure the Tide and the Winds, and all theſe the Fitneſs befriendeth the Endeavour; and ſhall the Huſband then think to eſtabliſh his Purpoſe, his Peace, ſo great, and ſo greatly thereon depending, without this Vigilancy and Obſervance? The old Rule will teach him new Wit, in his Aptneſs, which ſaith,

He, that a fit Wife to himſelf doth wed,
In Mind, Birth, Age, keeps long a quiet Bed.

Art thou a Remnant of the Age of ſome miſpent Youth, fallen from the Badge of one Baſeneſs to another, as frowned out of ſome convenient Maſter's Favour, for not pleaſing;

pleaſing thy Miſtreſs, that now, to ſupport thy Creature, would ſmoak thee out a Living in ſome blind and conſcious Corner, ſmell thee then a Wife out a little tainted, the ſweeter for thy Purpoſe, and as apt to fall down as thy Vapour to fly up, taking Care (unleſs thou wilt diſrank thyſelf, or ſingle out from the too common Shame and Abuſe in this Kind) that ſhe be ſuch a one as can take it, and being light can light it.

Art thou a Merchant, a Mariner, a Termer, chuſe thee a Wife of ſome phlegmatick Humour, that, like a rich Creditor, with her large Stock of Virtue, without Breaking out, can forbear thee, upon Occaſion, a Month or two, a Year or two, a Term or Voyage, leſt otherwiſe, thou Abroad, ſhe prove an Actor with thy Factor at Home, or for thee, whilſt thou laboureſt for this Right in this Caſe, do againſt thee that Wrong in another, which no Law can help, nor Prevention hinder, nor Patience bear; if otherwiſe, though thou eſcape the Perils of the Sea, thou art in Danger of the Pirates of the Land; or thou, though thou get a Judgment at the Hall, ſhalt be ſure to have Execution againſt thee at Home: And from whence elſe proceed theſe lamentable Jars of Houſholds, worſe than the open Wars of Kingdoms, that devour and eat up whole Families? Whence proceed theſe Separations, Exclamations, Disjunctions? Whence ariſe they, but exhaled and drawn up with the Heat of this paraborical Sun (the Muck and Mammon of the World) the Beams whereof blind the Eye ſometimes of Conſcience, as well of Underſtanding and Judgment; whoſe Conjoining of Hands may reſemble the League between the *Low-Countries* and *Spain*, where Hearts can no more be brought to Unity and Affection one with another, than thoſe ever vowed Enemies thus taken Truce? Theſe Reſpects, I ſay, like that Reſpect of State, and no other, have proſtituted, under one Covering, many a froſty *January*, and youthful *May*; many a *green Deſire*, and *gray Performance*; which could no more cohabit than theſe different Seaſons, otherwiſe aforehand meant, and afterwards ſatisfied, though with a ſhameful Breaking out, to the Ruin and Deſtruction of both the one and the other; meer Groans, and many of my late Remembrance, lip-bearded, as Witches, with their warted Antiquity and Age, have angled into their Beds with this baited Golden Hook (for Lucre of Deſire and Luſt) on their Parties, Youth whoſe Chins have never yet fallen under the Razor, leſs that Way, by their *Heat* and *Hair*, expreſſing Man than their Wives (Wives, nay, rather Matrons, and Mothers to their Children proſtituted, the Shame and Unevenneſs whereof hath even cracked this fore-mentioned Wreath in the Ring, broke *Priſcian*'s Head, in the unequal Conjugations, the Deſtruction whereof hath not ſlowly followed, but thus quickly, like a *Gangrene*, crept on by a careleſs Neglect in the one, and earneſt Deſire in the other, and a timely Repentance in both: The one thus (to his precedent Aim) the better ſupported to his wild Pleaſures Abroad, whilſt the other, with her fruſtrated Intention and Hope, all tame and penitentiary, left deſtitute to bewail her Grievance at Home. But go further, admit Impoſſibilities, that *Age* and *Youth*, *Summer* and *Winter*, could be one, yet how would the *Autumn* with her Tempeſts blaſt the *Summer*, and her tender Buds of that Seaſon, and *Summer*, again, contradicting her contrary Melting, her Snows and Froſts into nothing, what Pangs and Travels, and Throbs and Throws, would they ſuſtain one with the other, till they brought an End and Confuſion to both? Even ſo admit, that Youth could aſſume ſuch a Habit of Gravity that might like an Age, and Age again ſo ſhake off her Unneceſſaries, that ſhe could look amiable in the freſh and green Eye of Youth; yet muſt this Mixture of unequal Heats be more pernicious to either, than thoſe blaſting contrary Seaſons one to another: From theſe unequal Conjunctions break forth thoſe maſterful Jealouſies, thoſe inſupportable Diſcontents, that have not ſet but even in Blood and Death, ruined their Owners, afflicted and wrung into Lamentations their Friends, Allies, and Aſſociates, and drawn Blood from the Heart of any one that had but a Hand or Finger in the Carriage: Many Inſtances of theſe we know of late Times, which we may remember, whilſt I overpaſs them, to recite one of more Antiquity, as it is delivered by Tradition.

An Alderman's Wife *, ſometimes of *London*, her Huſband deceaſed, and ſhe a rich Widow left, but as old in Years, as rich in

* *Stow*'s Survey.

Subſtance

Subſtance (more for Deſire of Portion than Perſon, was ſollicited to an unequal Banes and Marriage, by a young and courtly Gentleman, and which afterwards ended her Bane) whoſe Deſire being obtained, and he Maſter of her Subſtance, moſt lewdly laviſhed it away upon riotous and evil Company, grew careleſs of her Regard, and utterly abandoned her Society, both Bed and Board, which when with Sorrow ſhe perceived; with her too late Repentance, herſelf thus rifled of her Goods, upbraided of her Friends, forſaken of her Huſband, deſtitute of all Comfort, ſhe took the Evening to her Mourning, went into a Spring near *Shoreditch*, a Place that takes the Name from a like fatal Accident, and there ended her Days and Sorrows by Drowning*, which Font to this Day is chriſtened by her Name, a Remembrance of her Miſery, and Warning to After-times, and called by her Name *Dame Annis a Clare* *. And therefore whoever thou art, entering into this common Garden of Humanity, reſpect, for thy better Bleſſing and Proſperity therein, more than *Beauty*, *Birth*, or *Riches*, this *Harmony* and *Fitneſs*, wherein is no *Jar*, no *Strife*, no *Diſcontent*, nor *Wearineſs*, and which ſhall land thee proſperouſly at the Haven of thy Reſt, when this other, either *Tackling*, *Fraught*, or *Sail*, may endanger to periſh thee in the Flood.

* Where now is kept the Cold-Bath at *Hoxton*, near *Shoreditch*.

CHAP. VII.

What is that chief Moth, and Canker, that eſpecially undermineth and fretteth the Marriage-Bed.

PRide, Ambition, Equality with others, the Example of others, Variety of Appetite, the Unreliſhneſs of that which is lawful, Deſire of that which is reſtrained, is unlawful; and then the Oratory of the Devil of Darkneſs, in the Shape of an Angel of Light, working upon theſe Advantages, hath overthrown, and betrayed to this Vulture, and his mercileſs Talent, that Fort and Citadel, with as eaſy Reſiſtance as a Bower of Glaſs, that ſhould be ſo unſpotted, but more impregnable than a Bulwark of Stone; admitted Treaſon to the Heart of the City, coped with the moſt dangerous Enemy in the World, opened thoſe Gates with Weakneſs, and this Stratagem, that an Engine ſhould not aſſail with Strength and Might; broke down the Door that ſtruck dead the Owner, laid open theſe Incloſures, that have bondaged the Lord of the Soil perpetually till Death, to incloſe his own ſuppoſed Intereſt and Uſe. Ambition and Pride, you twin-born Siſters, you, you it is, and the Dependency of your Eſtate (you true and indulcitate Iſſues of *Lucifer*) that have broken down this Hedge of the greateſt Conſequence and Site that ever was erected, and which elſe had kept out the aſſailing and ſeducing Enemies that batter and undermine the very Supportance, Root, and Life-blood of Chaſtity itſelf, letting in, at theſe Caſements, evil Conceits, and Motives more blaſting thereto, than the Breath of Lightning, and made the Vows of Marriage of leſs Stability than the Oaths of drunken Men. Ambition, Equality, Example, you foremention'd Evils, you Foot-ball Players, which ſhort-heeled Creatures, it is you that are arraigned and found guilty in this Tryal.

The Country Damſel under the thatched Roof of her natural Habitation, where ſhe ſcarce ever thought of ſo much Pride as Handſomeneſs, never beheld her Hue otherwiſe preſented than in a Bowl of Water, that dreamed more devoutly under that innocent Covering, being aſleep, than others pray in their lofty Palaces, being awake; who can ſcarce there remember Marriage, but ſhe bluſhes to think what a Shame it is to lie with a Man: Yet afterwards bring her to the City, enter her into that School of Vanity, ſet but Example before her Eyes, ſhe ſhall in Time become a new Creature, and ſuch a ſtrong Mutation ſhall ſo ſtrangely poſſeſs her, that ſhe ſhall have new Thoughts, new Purpoſes and Reſolutions, and, in the End, ſo ſhoulder out her Modeſty, that ſhe ſhall not bluſh to do that unlawfully, which before ſhe was baſhful to think on lawfully. Come to the City, there you ſhall have ſome good amongſt many bad, but ſhould have many more, were it not for this *Sickneſs* of this ill *Example*; therefore, well were it with the World, *if what were moſt*

moſt done were moſt good: Such a one could be content (for any Deſire of Novelty or Change, or for any Heat in her Blood, more than might be lawfully allayed) to be honeſt, but that ſhe knows ſuch a Friend, and ſuch a Gentlewoman, her Goſſip, have their Variety of Gowns, of Gifts, of Favours, and Variety of Pleaſures too, interchanging with Variety of Perſons, and in this Regard ſhe will be no longer her own Foe, to keep herſelf longer without ſuch a Friend; ſhe ſees the *World takes Notice of no more than it ſees*, and *they are accounted moſt chaſte, that can beſt ſeem ſo.* In this Reſolution ſhe pulls up the *Floodgates*, where her Tide of Vanity is ſwelled to the Brim, which immediately overflows, and drowns her therein, extinguiſhing all former Sparks of Virtue and Reſpect, which before this Conqueſt ſhe debated with, and bears her along with the periſhing Multitude, for theſe brittle Reſpects, that here ſhe is inſnared with.

The Court, the very Element and Center of theſe Sins, the *ne plus ultra*, for any Example beyond that, being the Pattern to itſelf, and to others, the Reſpects, that join there, are the Reſpects of Pleaſure, not of Profit; the higheſt Ambition of theirs is to be moſt allured, moſt deſired, to have moſt Servants, moſt Friends, moſt Favours; and theſe ſhould preſage moſt Falls, whoſe open Outſides, Boſoms, were their Inſides ſo diſplayed, it would be found a a poor and idle Sin, had not there been harboured, whoſe Sattin Outſides, and ſilken Inſides, ſoft Raiment, and ſweet Feeding, ſo ſtroke the Skin, and perſuade the Blood that it will not be perſuaded.

There is a Text in Woman, that I would fain have Woman to expound, or Man either; To what End is the Laying out of the embroidered Hair, embared Breaſts, vermilioned * Cheeks, alluring Looks, Faſhion Gates, and artful Countenances, effeminate, intangling, and inſnaring Geſtures, their Curls and Purls of proclaiming Petulancies, boulſtered and laid out with ſuch Example and Authority *in theſe our Days*, as with Allowance and beſeeming Conveniency? Such apiſh Faſhions and Follies, that the more ſeverer out-worn Ages of the World, deceaſed and gone, ſhould they have but lifted up their Head, in their Times, would have hiſſed out of Countenance to Death: But as, to pleaſe, Woman hath much ſtarched up Man from his Slovenry, ſo to delight Man (or rather his Enemy) hath the Woman thus increaſed in Pride. Doth the World wax barren through Decreaſe of Generations, and become, like the Earth, leſs fruitful than heretofore? Doth the Blood loſe his Heat, or do the Sun-beams become more wateriſh, and leſs fervent, than formerly they have been, that Men ſhould be thus inflamed and perſuaded on to Luſt? Or hath this Age of Sin uſurped ſuch a ſeeming Purity, or Thought, that the moſt licenſed Luſt hath the Original from Concupiſcence, or ſome Taint of Sin, and therefore muſt be thus dragged up to this Anchor, like a Pitcher by the Ears, by theſe Blood near-touching Witcheries, and Inducements? No, rather the Contrary, witneſs the Superfluity and Increaſe of theſe our Times, of this our Kingdom, that hath more People than Paſture, more bringing forth than breeding, for that is compelled to empty itſelf into far diſtant Regions and Kingdoms: Is it not rather the Contrary, when the Youth of both Sexes are daily cropped in the Bloſſom by this forward Motion, or rather headſtrong Devil, and unripely preſſed to that Action, foreſtalling Maturity and Fitneſs, where a *Veſtal* ſhould be more pointed at in a Cloyſter, than a Comet in the Air? Is it not rather the Contrary, when Luſt is grown ſo unbounded, ſo headſtrong, that it will not be hemmed, nor incircled within any Laws, or Limits, of God, or Man; when it will garbadge without all Reſpect, or Controul, upon Adultery, Fornication, Poſſeſſed, the Unpoſſeſſed, the Bond, the Free; where Care ſhall more poſſeſs a Man to keep his fair Wife from foul Play, when he hath her, than Jealouſy did to loſe her, when he firſt rivaled for her; where Virtue ſhall not ſo diſguiſe itſelf, in any Habit, but Vice will trace it out, and betray it. The ignorant *Papiſts*, or other Sectaries of Hereſies, moſt commonly give no other Reaſon for their ſeduced Errors, than Example of Multitude, of Parents, Progenitors, or Friends, that went before them; ſo the Example of this Evil, ſo common, ſo much made of, ſo cockered, ſo thriving, ſo bedecked, ſo admired, ſo dandled on the Lap of Greatneſs, of Authority, draws Millions to Perdition after it, for the greateſt Part never look further, than the Example of the greateſt Number; the Coach eaſily runs, that is drawn with

* Painted.

many

many Horſes, ſoon follows One where Thouſands lead the Way: Theſe have disjoined in Chambers, by the Devil, that were conjoined in the Church by God; and yet it muſt be ingenuously confeſſed, it is but *a cold Comfort to go not Hell for Company.* Luſt, that boiling, damned Putrefaction of the Blood, that raging, ruling, headſtrong Sin of this Age, that is too apt to break out, though it went cloathed in Sackcloth and Hair-Cloth, and fed only (as ſaith an Author) with the *Capuchin* † Diet of Graſs and Herbs, and ſuch like, and ſuppreſſed with all the Subjection can be impoſed to ſubdue it, that yet, like Lime, it would flaſh and fly out through all theſe Impoſitions: But, on the Contrary, we are ſo far from ſubduing that Paſſion, and keeping it under, by any ſuch Means, that it is attired and ſet out in the moſt artful, bewitching, and inticing Temptation that may be deviſed, whole Days and Nights, and Thoughts and Studies, and Coſts and Cares, caſt away thereon, for the better Succeſs therein, though the worſe Ill thereby, for the End thereof is but Repentance and Sorrow.

Another main Enemy, to open this Breach, is Impatience of Reſtraint and Limitation, for that, which is moſt forbidden, is moſt deſired: He is the old Devil that ſtill tempts in that Likeneſs, that came to *Eve* in Paradiſe, and perſuaded her to eat the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, upon whom he obtained ſuch a Victory and Conqueſt, in that firſt Battle that ever was fought, that never ſince hath he diſtruſted the Force of that Stratagem: Every Woman is an Abridgement of all Woman-kind, contains the Shape, the Proportion, the Lineaments, the Members, the Uſe of all the Women in the World, and likewiſe ſo of Man. Why ſhould not Deſire then, being ſo linked in the moſt ſufficient and wiſeſt Allowance, that God and Man thought meet, couch and ſubmit itſelf to theſe Ordinances, but that Concupiſcence and Luſt inkindle Deſire, and it findeth not Delight in that it hath, but in that it would have, according as the Poet verifieth:

Luſt never takes Delight in what is due,
But ſtill leaves known Delights to ſeek out new.

It looks out of the Window, where Fuel is adminiſtered where Temptation entereth in: Edgeth itſelf upon one for Reſpects that it can conceive, but not utter; upon another for ſomething it likes, but knows not what; it makes Choice of a third, for Modeſty baits his Luſt in that Flame, to think with what Looks it could look in Concluſion, that is ſo fired with Bluſhes in but proffered, concerning Circumſtances, though far diſtant and remote from either Time or Action: Upon a fourth, for her quaint Conceit, and diſcovers by debating how ſhe could uſe it, being put to her *Non-plus*, in the bare Point of Trial; with the Beauty of a fifth, to conceive what a large Fruition it were to be inflamed on the Promontory of the Hill, when the Demeans, and adjacent Vallies, to that fuller Surfeit, reſtrained not their Shades nor Mountains: And indeed, to conclude, there is none ſo ugly, none ſo deformed, but Luſt will find Argument to make Uſe of it, may it but have Means to enjoy it.

* A *Capuchin* is a Friar of the moſt ſtrict Obſervance of St. *Francis*'s Order in the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP. VIII.

Advice for Choice, and whether it be beſt to marry a Widow, or a Maid.

HE, that marrieth a Widow, hath but a Reverſion in Tail; and, if ſhe prove good, may thank Death for his Aim; if evil, upbraid him, and not unjuſtly for his Occaſion: He, that takes her thus half worn, makes Account ſhe hath that will pay for new Dreſſing; ſhe ſeems to promiſe Security in her Peace, yet invites many Times to a troubleſome Eſtate, when the Conqueſt atchieved ſcarce countervails the Wars; the Principal of her Love is periſhed with the Uſe, for what is once firmly ſet on, can never be cleanly taken off, and he muſt never look to be inriched that hath her. The End of her *Marriage* is *Luſt* and *Eaſe*, more than *Affection* or *Love*; and, deſerve what thou canſt, the Dead ſhall upbraid thee by the Help of her Tongue, flattered behind his Back, the more to vex thee

to thy Face: The beſt is, though the worſt for thee, they are navigable without Difficulty, more paſſable than *Virginia*, and lie at an eaſier Road, as unſatiate as the Sea, or rather the Grave, which many Times the ſooner preſents them thither? At the Deceaſe of their firſt Huſbands, they learn commonly the Tricks to turn over the ſecond or third, and they are in League with Death, and Coadjutors with him, for they can harden their own Hearts like Iron to break others that are but Earth; and I like them the worſe, that they will marry; diſlike them utterly, they marry ſo ſoon; for ſhe that ſo ſoon forgets the Flower and Bridegroom of her Youth, her firſt Love and Prime of Affection, which, like a Colour laid on in Oil, or dyed in Grain, ſhould cleave faſt and wear long, will hardly think of a Second in the Neglect and Decay of her Age. Many Precedents we have againſt theſe ſudden, nay againſt theſe ſecond Marriages, derived from former Times, the Ages of more Conſtancy, and Shame of theſe latter. The Daughter of *M. Cato*, bewailing a long Time the Death of her Huſband, being aſked, which Day ſhould have her laſt Tear, anſwered, the Day of her Death (not the End of a Month or Year) for, ſaith ſhe, ſhould I meet with a good Huſband, as I had before, I ſhould ever be in Fear to loſe him; if with a bad one, I had better be without him. In like Manner, *Porcia*, a young and honourable Lady, having loſt her Huſband, anſwered, ſollicited by another, *A happy and chaſte Matron never marries but once. Valeria*, having loſt her Huſband, importuned by another, anſwered: *My Husband ever lives in my Thoughts. Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mauſolus*, King of *Corinth*, could not be brought to any ſuch Action, but ſtill anſwered, being mindful of her Huſband deceaſed, *Upon thy Pillow ſhall never Second reſt his Head.* She died a Widow, and, in Memory of her Huſband, erected that Monument, or Tomb, the Coſt and Fame whereof hath overſpread the World; which Wife and Monument *Lucinius* thus farther commendeth:

Rex dudum erat, &c.

There was a King, of whom it may be read
In ancient Stories, ſepulchred e're dead.
More Wrong you'll ſay they did him, to deprive
Him of his Kingdom thus, he being alive.
No, he had all his Rights, more than Kings have,
That rul'd a Kingdom, and reign'd [illegible] Grave;
A Kingdom, nay a little * World and more,
A great World, and reſpected as before.
Nay, even a Regimen that hath diſturb'd,
The ableſt Health and Policy to curb.
A Woman's Heart and Mind, and, which more ſtrange:
Free from Variety of Thought or Change:
So willingly ſubjected to his Blood,
Ne'er to depoſe him, whilſt her Empire ſtood.
Of whom all Loves and Laws did firm remain,
In Force, till one Stone did incloſe them twain.
Of whom it may be ſaid, now ſhe is gone,
There's few ſuch Tombs erected, Women none.

Such a Widow couldſt thou marry, ſhe were worthy thy Choice; but ſuch a one ſhe could not be, becauſe ſhe would not then marry.

Compare the Loyalty of our Times with thoſe of more ancient, and ſee how they equal thy Conſcience and Carcaſe breaking; how, with thy piled up Cheſts, they build up Monuments of Remembrances to thy Name and Memory after Death; nay, rather obſerve, but how their Ambition, thus heated, makes them forgetful of themſelves, as well as thee: Knowing this, who would not, with theſe diſtracted Times, to leave the Purchaſe of a Ladyſhip to his Wife, glide like a Shadow in his Life upon Earth, with a ſhrinking Inſide, and penurious Outſide, and ſleep with broken Thoughts and diſtracted Dreams, together with Pain, and forbear, with Want, that which his living Enemy may afterwards ſpend with Pleaſure, and ſurfeit with Fulneſs? Who can love thoſe living that he knows will ſo ſoon forget him, being dead; that are but Summer Swallows for the Time of Felicity, that will hang about one's Neck, as if they had never Arms for others Embraces, or as though extreme Affection, without Controul, could not but thus manifeſt itſelf, and break out; yet Deceaſe and ſuch a *Lethe* of Forgetfulneſs ſhall ſo ſoon over-

* If a Man be a little World, Woman is a great World, for the Greater contains the Leſs, and not the Leſs the Greater.

take

take thee, as if thou hadſt never been; nay, ſo little a Quantity of Time ſhall confine it, that ſhe ſhall not lie-in her Month but ſhe ſhall be churched again, and open to another all thy Fruitions, with as freſh and plenteous an Appetite, as the Harlot to her next Sinner. Younger Brothers, and poor Knights, may ſometimes to theſe Monſters make Uſe of their Births and Titles, making them pay dear (as it coſt) for their Dubbing, and Releaſe of Purgatory they are in with old Rank and Faſhion to their new *Elyſium* and Inſtalment; and it muſt be confeſſed, unwiſe they were, but with good Boot and Addition, to refuſe a Virginity to accept a Widowhood; and yet many Times, with a *Turkiſh* Fate, we pay dear for our *Credo quod habemus*, that Article of Belief we ſo fondly build upon, when we pay for the Jewel that another hath ſtolen, and in Hope of Treaſure embrace the ranſacked Caſket; yet they are to blame that have thus been to blame, and for their eaſy Puniſhment their firſt Night ſhall diſcover them. Be not ſudden then therefore upon thy Reſolution in this Point, becauſe Deceit, many Times, lurks in a modeſt Face, but let long Acquaintance, or Inquiry, the more ſecure thee. The Country deceives the City, and the City again returns it with Intereſt, and Luſt ſo reigns in both, that there is ſcarce the Quantity of Virgins to be found in either to match the Parable in the Scripture; they have Faces fairer than Men, but Hearts more deformed than Devils: It is ill Building upon a broken Foundation; Amendment may ſkin the Sore, but the Scar will long after retain a Blemiſh, yet no Doubt free Thought, which is free, and Dreams and Wiſhes, which are but Shadows, though the rifling Ruffians that break through all Boſoms, and ſuperficially raviſh all Women Kind, from Eight to Eighty; and no Doubt from actual Tranſgreſſions many may be found free, for there was never Infection ſo general, but it ſpared ſome; never Battle ſo great, that all were wounded; ſome of *Eve*'s Offspring have withſtood the Temptation, all have not taſted the forbidden Tree; and ſuch a one, if thou canſt pray, to prey upon, ſhe hath Portion enough, without other Portion, if ſhe thus continue it, for ſhe ſhall make thee a Father of undoubted Children; ſhe ſhall not wrinkle thy Thoughts with diſtracting Jealouſies, nor upbraid with a former Huſband thy Unkindneſs; her Maiden Thoughts ſhall receive from thee a more perfect Impreſſion of Love and Duty, and return it back more legibly indorſed and written, free from all former Character, Inſcription, or Soil; her Affection ſhall be ſtrong, not allayed by former Wearing; ſhe ſhall be ſuch a one, as it is a Heaven to live withal, a Miſery to mourn without; ſhe ſhall live to thy Senſes and Delight, as the budding Roſe in the Youth of the Spring; nay, ſhall be ſuch a one, that, *He, that walketh by thy Door, ſhall point at her; and he, that dwells by her, ſhall envy him that hath her*, and every Man ſhall admire his Hap, but he moſt fully rejoice and be glad that hath her, and all Generations ſhall call ſuch bleſſed.

CHAP. IX.

Since the End of Marriage is Iſſue, whether it be lawful for old Couples to marry that are paſt Hope of Children; or whether it be lawful for an old Man to marry a young Maid, or the Contrary.

THE chief End of Marriage is *Proles*, i. e. *Iſſue*; yet there are other Reſpects in that Covenant, that, no Doubt, may tolerate the moſt ancient in this Kind: God ſaw that it was not good for *Adam* to be alone, therefore he made him a Helper; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rather marry than burn*: And, as it is in another Place, *Væ ſolis: Wo to him that is alone, for, if he fall, he hath none to help him up*: Now thoſe in Age, to come neareſt to a common and ſubcorrective Underſtanding, are moſt defective in their Members, and, therefore, moſt ſubject to fall, and ſo, by Conſequence, have moſt Need of this Help, to raiſe them up, of this Staff for their Stay; and, beſides, for aught that ever I could hear, or obſerve, that Age is moſt prone to ſcorch itſelf in the Flames of that Fire, and therefore may lawfully partake the Remedy againſt it; and, for the latter Propoſition, for aught I ſee, the Law forbids not the Act, but the Circumſtances may breed ſome Danger, for, if the Wife be young enough, though the Huſband be never ſo decrepid, ſhe ſhall not be out of all

Likelihood to ſee Increaſe of her Body; but he that thus undertakes to manage, in his Age, what hath ſhaked the Heart of Youth, may be commended for his Valour, but ſhall never be crowned for his Wiſdom: And for ſuch a one (I truſt) he ſhall not need to be jealous, for that his Doubt ſhall be apparently enough reſolved. One aſked *Diogenes*, upon a Time, for ſome Direction how to chuſe a Wife, becauſe he was a Philoſopher; ſaith he unto him, Fellow, chuſe one without a Head (if thou canſt) without a Body, and without Limbs, ſo her Hands ſhall not offend in Striking, nor her Tongue in Railing, nor her Body in Luſting. Another Time, ſeeing a Man in his old Age going to Church, to make up his ſecond Marriage, he ſaid, *O Fool, haſt thou ſo lately been ſhipwrecked, and wilt needs to Sea again?* The Law of God, nor Man, doth not forbid ſuch Marriages, but no Policy in Earth commends them; Man and Wife ſhould be two in one: But can Heat and Cold, Youth and Age, be in one, and not be repugnant? He, that adventures ſo for Sweet-meats, ſhall find them reliſhed with much bitter Sauce. They ſay, the *Oak* would long laſt, were it not for the entwining and embracing *Ivy*; but, in this Caſe, I intend the Contrary, for the aged Oak here blaſteth the younger Ivy, which the Heat of Youth muſt again renew, according to our Poet:

No ſharper Corr'ſive to our blooming Years,
Than the cold Badge of Winter blaſted Heirs.

Many worldly Reſpects may conjoin theſe Marriages, but this *Solder* will crack in the Wearing; and he, that ſo old ſeeks for a Nurſe ſo young, ſhall have Pap, with a Hatchet, for his Comfort.

CHAP. X.

The Difference between Love and Luſt.

LUST, the Deſtroyer of *Love*, the Supplanter and Underminer of Chaſtity, the Spring-froſt of Beauty, the Tyrant of the Night, the Enemy of the Day, the moſt potent Match-maker in all Marriages under Thirty, and the chief Breaker of all, from Eighteen to Eight; that proteſts that in a hot Blood, that it never performs in a cold; a Regarder only of the preſent, and to that Effect will, with *Eſau*, ſell a Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage, no longer eſteeming the Object than the Uſe; which, in like Example, is thus further followed, according to the more common Obſervance:

Friends, Soldiers, Women, in their Prime,
Are like to Dogs in Hunting-time:
Occaſion, Wars, and Beauty gone,
Friends, Soldiers, Women, there are none.

More dangerous, when it roves without Limits, than the Lion without the Verge of his Grate; for he but only would deprive the Body of Life, but this both of Life and Soul, and Fame, ſubject to more oppoſite immediate Paſſions and Contradictions in itſelf, than any Senſe or Humour in the Nature of Man: As now, well treated, fairly ſpoken, lodged where it beſt likes; anon, hated without Enduring, curſed out of Charity, thruſt out of Doors, and yet not only, though all this more immediately oppoſite, then prepoſterouſly fondly headlong, that, for a Minute's Joy, will incur a Month's Sorrow; that for one Drop of Water, will mud the whole Fountain that gave it; for one ſweet Fruit, will blaſt the whole Tree that bare it: Whereas the Effect and Force of Love is contrary, oppreſſing Folly, ſuppreſſing Fury, aiming to preſerve, not to deſtroy; and, to that End, regards the End, by ſubduing Paſſions and Motives, that would ſeem to oppoſe the Tranquillity thereof; and, in Concluſion, rejoiceth in the true Fruition, without Diſcontent, without Satiety, having captivated and ſubdued, though with ſome Difficulty, thoſe Paſſions, that Senſe, for a Time, would have been beſt pleaſed with, to triumph, at laſt, in more full Fruition, to that Purpoſe that one thus writeth:

Love comforteth, like Sun-ſhine after Rain;
But Luſt's Effect is Tempeſt after Sun.
Love's golden Spring doth ever freſh remain;
Luſt's Winter comes, 'ere Summer half be done.

In

In *Love*, there is no *Envy*, no *Jealouſy*, no *Diſcontent*, no *Wearineſs*, for it digeſteth and maketh ſweet the hardeſt Labour; and, of all Things, doth the neareſt reſemble the Divine Nature, for *God is Love*; it hath in it Unity without Diviſion, for true Love hath not many Objects; it is a *Fire much Water cannot quench*: Now *Luſt* contradicteth all theſe; for, whereas *Love* is bounded with eaſy Limits, *Luſt* is more ſpacious, hath *no Mean, no Bound, but not to be at all*; more deep, more dangerous than the Sea, and leſs reſtrained; for the Sea hath Bounds, but it hath none; not Woman, but all Woman-kind is the Range thereof, and all that whole Sect, not able to quench it neither: Full of Envy it is, for it envies all without his Reach, and envies its own Nature, that it cannot be ſatisfied: Walking, for the moſt Part, in Similitude of an old Goat, in the Shape of an incontinent Man.

In *Love*, there is no Lack; in *Luſt*, there is the greateſt Penury; for, though it be cloyed with too much, it pines for Want: Ambitious it is, for, where it treads, it puffs up, and leaves a Swelling after it; turns low Flats into little Mountains, down which precipitate Folly tumbles headlong to Confuſion; a haſty Breeder of diſinheritable Sinners it is, ſuch as have more Pleaſure in the Begetting, than Comfort in the Bringing forth; beſt contented, when it loſeth moſt Labour. To conclude, though *Love* and *Luſt*, in a half Brotherhood, dwell both under one Roof, yet ſo oppoſite they are, that the one, moſt commonly, burns down the Houſe, that the other would build up.

CHAP. XI.

The beſt Way to continue a Woman chaſte.

IS not the *Magicians Ring*, nor the *Italians Lock*, nor a continual *Jealouſy* ever watching over her, nor to humour her Will in idle Fancies, adorn her with new Fangles (as the well appayed Folly of the World, in this Kind, can witneſs) but for him that would not be baſely mad with the Multitude; would not beſpeak Folly to crown him; would not ſet to Sale that he would not have ſold; for who ſets out his Ware to be cheapened, and not bought? That would not for his *Shop* have his *Wife*, *for a relative Sign*, is to adorn her decently, not dotingly; thriftily, not laſciviouſly; to love her ſeriouſly, not ceremoniouſly; to walk before her in good Example (for, otherwiſe, how canſt thou require that of thy Wife, that thou art not, wilt not be thyſelf; *Vis tu uxorem tuam victricem eſſe, & tu victus jaces?* i. e. *Wouldſt thou expect thy Wife a Conqueror, when thou thyſelf lieſt foiled at the ſame Weapon?*) to acquaint her with, and place about her good and chaſte Society; to buſy and apply her Mind and Body, in ſome domeſtick, convenient, and profitable Exerciſes, according to her Education and Calling, for Example, to the Frailty of that whole Sex, hath a powerful Hand, as it ſhall induce either to Good or Evil.

There are of Opinion, that there is, in Marriage, an inevitable Deſtiny, not to be avoided, which is either to be *Actæoned* *, or not to be; if it be not, as is the Opinion of ſome damned in the Error of *Predeſtination*, then let him take a Houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, divide it like an Inn, into as many ſeveral Lodgings as Rooms; make his Wife Chamberlain to them all, attire her like a Sacrifice, paint her out like a *Mayor*'s Poſt, or *May*-pole; let her have freſh Youth and high Feeding, luſtful Company to excite her, her Huſband abſent: All theſe Opportunities preſent; yet, notwithſtanding, this Deſtiny ſhall preſerve him, to wear his Brow as ſleek, as he that never fetched again the loſt Rib to his Side, as unbunched as the Front of a Batchelor; but, if the Contrary, be ſhe the moſt pure in Seeming, a very Siſter of that Sect, the Opinion of the *Browniſts* ſhall ſo near cleave to her Skin, that ſhe ſhall beſate thy Forehead in thy *Sleep*, and kill thee *dead* in that Image of thy *Grave*: Be ſhe *Papiſt*, Abſolution ſhall ſo reſolve her, that ſhe ſhall ſin upon Preſumpti-

* Horned.

on;

on; nay, though thou hadſt *Argus*'s Eyes, thou ſhalt not eſcape it, for

No Policy, they ſay, can that prevent,
Whereto two Parties give their full Conſent.

Be ſhe what ſhe will, in this Caſe, it ſhall be all one for thee to reſtrain, or give Liberty, where thou dwelleſt, or what thou doeſt, for thy Deſtiny is ſo allotted, and it ſhall be accompliſhed: The raſh Opinion, and careleſs Security of either, is worthy the Reward, which, for the moſt Part, it doth deſervedly receive.

It was an Error in Religion, that one *Ludovicus* had, who had given himſelf over to this damnable Opinion and Security of the Devil, that, if he were ordained to be ſaved, ſaved he ſhould be, without any Enquiry or Diligence of his; if otherwiſe, though he toiled to Death in his beſt Endeavour, it would not help nor reſerve him: In this Conceit, ſettling himſelf in the moſt *Epicurean* and diſſolute Courſe of Living that might be, he continued, till upon a Time he fell into a moſt grievous Extremity of Sickneſs, when ſending for a *Phyſician*, who, beforehand acquainted with his damnable Error, came not, but ſent him Word, that he needed not his Help, for, if his Hour were come, he could not preſerve him; if otherwiſe, he ſhould recover, though never any thing were adminiſtered unto him; which eaſy Application he underſtood himſelf, and that he muſt uſe the beſt Means and Endeavour, as well for the Safety of his Soul, as the Preſervation of his Body, not knowing the Event of their concealed Ends, and ſo at once (by that Means) was happily cured, both in Mind and Body.

In no leſs palpable Error are thoſe, that, ſo wittingly and violently, are carried on either Side in this dangerous Stream of a corrupted Judgment, to the apparenteſt Spectacle, and certaineſt Shame, that Woman may do them, making that unqueſtionably their Diſhonour by this Conſequence, which a ſober Courſe might have directed to a more certain End. Therefore, whoever thou art, that wouldſt not wink at ſuch a Shame; that, ſo Profit doth ſucceed, wouldſt not regard whether Hand brought it in; uſe good Endeavour, ſuch Foreſight and Warineſs as may provide for *Competency*, prevent *Indigence* and *Want*, two great Allayers of Affection, and a main Inciter of impatient Bearers to this Folly and Abuſe; and, above all, ſeek to *plant in her Religion*; for ſo ſhe cannot *love God, but, withal, ſhe muſt honour thee*; increaſe her Knowledge in good Things, and give her certain Aſſurance and Teſtimony of thy Love, that ſhe may, with her's again, the more reciprocally equal thy Affection; *for true Love hath no Power to think, much leſs act amiſs:* And theſe, diſcreetly put in Practice, ſhall more preſerve at all Times, and Temptations, than *Spies*, or *Eyes*, *Jealouſy*, or any *Reſtraint*, for theſe ſometimes may be deluded, or overwatched, or prevented by Opportunity, but this never.

CHAP. XII.

The Pattern of a bad Huſband, and a good Wife, in two Letters inſtanced.

FAIR Miſtreſs, what ſo long I have expected,
And, till this Opportunity, neglected,
Is now ſo happened, as it would invite
Me to enjoy my abſolute Delight.
Your Huſband abſent, and your Servants gone,
And you, but with your Maid, left all alone.
Where, leſt ſad Care, or Melancholy, grieve you,
My beſt Endeavour's ready to relieve you.
What female Comfort can one Woman find,
Within the Bed with other Woman-kind?
What tedious Gate the irkſome Hours do keep,
When there's no Joy to wake, no Mind to ſleep?
Beſides, the fearful Terrors of the Night,
Which Women, and weak Minds, do much affright:
All which, fair Love, if you'll be rul'd by me,
We will convert ſo far, from what they be,
That thoſe, which now are bitter for to think,
Shall taſte like *Nectar*, that the Gods do drink.

The

The ſtrangeſt Monſter that was ever bred,
That Seas have nouriſh'd, or elſe Deſart fed,
Tranſported from his ſolitary Den,
A common Object to the Sight of Men,
Loſeth his Admiration and Delight,
In little Time, and pleaſeth not our Sight:
Our *Appetite*, the *Viand* ne'er ſo good,
Cloy'd with one *Diſh*, will ſoon diſtaſte her *Food*:
That *Muſick*, of all other, beſt we deem,
If ever in one *Key*, we harſh eſteem:
Man's Nature doth deſire to hear and try
Things that are new, to taſte Variety;
And I of *Women* this Opinion hold,
They are not much in Love with Things are old;
Which makes me thus more boldly to diſcover
My ſelf unto you, your new Friend and Lover:
In Hope to be accepted, for whoſe Pleaſure,
I'll ſpend my beſt Life, and my deareſt Treaſure.
Object not, you already are enjoy'd,
With *Venus'* Pleaſures dull'd and overcloy'd.
Why joyful *Widows*, when their Huſbands die,
Might this object, but yet you ſee they try;
Becauſe they think, Variety of Men
May make old Pleaſures new Delights again.
She, that contents herſelf with any one,
For many Nights, as well might lie alone.
Leſs Diff'rence is not 'twixt the Virgin Life,
And State of Pleaſure, being call'd to Wife,
Than is between the *Elyſium* of one *Bed*,
That's croſsly fated, to that's largely ſped.
I have a Wife myſelf, I tell you true,
Yet in the old Kind ſeek for Pleaſures new:
Taking not now Delight that I have took,
To ſhake the Tree that I ſo oft have ſhook.
We ſee, in any Country that we dwell,
The *Air*, the *Earth*, nay *All* that others tell:
Yet notwithſtanding 'tis our common'ſt Faſhions,
To ſeek out other Kingdoms, other Nations.
Each Woman doth abridge all Woman-kind,
But yet one Woman fits not each Man's Mind:
Nor every Man, Experience too, too common,
Can fit, can pleaſe, or ſatisfy each Woman.
Since then the Senſe, the Appetite and Mind,
In freſh Variety all Pleaſure find;
Let us then meet, all nice Reſpects to ſmother,
And fully ſatisfy and joy each other:
So ſhall I reſt, by your Obligement due,
A ſecret Friend and faithful Servant true.
The World can judge no further than it ſpies,
And where we act ſhall be from Sight of Eyes;
Windows nor Walls can neither hear nor ſee,
And, for the Bed, 'tis try'd for Secreſy:
Then ſeem but chaſte, which is the chiefeſt Part,
For what we ſeem each ſees, none knows the Heart.
And ſo your Huſband and the World will deem
You to be that you are not, but do ſeem.
Your Huſband he's Abroad, where, I am afraid,
He hath deſerved to be ſo appaid.
My Chain here take you, wear it for my Sake,
And, as you find me yours, Account ſo make.
And here's my Ring in Earneſt of a Friend,
The lateſt Token that my Wife did ſend.
And here's my Purſe, within it Store of Gold,
Able to batter down the ſtrongeſt Hold:
Your dainty Limbs ſhall be more neatly clad,
In coſtlier Raiment than they erſt have had:
And, for your Stomach, it ſhall not digeſt
Any Thing, but the rareſt and the beſt.
Theſe daily from me with a pleaſing Chear,
Which Huſbands grudge to part with once a Year.
Though for their Maintenance I ſell my Land,
Diſherit Heirs, for that I will not ſtand:
So you be mine in that Senſe I conceive you,
Which, till your Anſwer manifeſt, I leave you.

Her REPLY.

ABuſed Sir, much griev'd am I to ſee,
That you ſo long have tarried Time and me,
And now, when both your Good ſeem to conſpire,
They ſhould in no Sort anſwer your Deſire:
My Huſband's Abſence ſeemeth to import
In your Conceit ſome Hope to ſcale his Fort;
But know by that you ſmall Advantage find,
For he is always preſent in my Mind:
The Thought of whom, whate'er his Perſon be,
Is able to repulſe your Battery.
And for the Hours that you ſo tedious deem,
That by your Preſence would ſo ſhorten'd ſeem:
I cannot tell with others what't might do,
With me 'twould rather make one Hour ſeem two:
And, for the fearful Terrors of the Night,
What could affright me worſe than would your Sight?
My Maid and I, a Pleaſure not repented,
Will tell old Stories long ago evented
To paſs the Time; or, when ſuch Watch we keep,
We'll think good Thoughts, or pray until we ſleep:
For know my untaint'd Mind did ever hate,
To buy Damnation at ſo dear a Rate:
To taſte ſweet *Nectar* for a Day or Hour,
And ever after to digeſt the ſour.
'Tis not Variety I ſeek or crave,
My whole Delight is in the one I have:
And ſhe, that's not contented with her Lot,
I hold more Monſter than the Sea hath got.
The Friendſhip which you proffer me preſerve,
For thoſe that will your Kindneſs more deſerve.
The Objection here you alledge is fondly ſtrange,
That Women, though old Cloathes they love to change
And Fancies too, in ſomething, doth 't infer
That in this groſs Point they muſt therefore err.
I am another's Parcel, I confeſs,
And you by your Acknowledgment no leſs:
Now, what a Sin were this unworthy Life,
I ſo to wrong my Huſhand, you your Wife?
My Huſband, who dares ſwear that I am juſt,
Should I ſo much deceive his honeſt Truſt?
Your Wife, although a Party I not know,
I hope, imagines likewiſe of you ſo.
For Shame go then repent, and be not naught,
Be worth her good Opinion, honeſt Thought.
Let fleſhly Widows, when their Huſbands die
They ne'er did love, ſeek new Variety:
For me, I vow, if Death deprive my Bed,
I never after will to Church be led
A ſecond Bride, nor never that Thought have,
To add more Weight unto my Huſband's Grave,
In ſecond Huſband let me be accurſt,
None weds the Second, but who kills the Firſt.
You have a Wife you write, give her your Love,
And that will all your wand'ring Thoughts remove;
You love her not, by theſe Effects I ſee,
For, where Love is, there's no Satiety.
Can you ſo far forget Humanity,
As, having ſhak'd the Fruit, deſpiſe the Tree?
It is not Love, but Luſt, that thus abuſes,
To make it weary of the Walks it uſes.
Thoſe, who to foreign Countries do repair,
Change not their *Minds*, although they change the *Air* *,
Preferring ſtill, through Novelty Deſire,
Their Country's Smoke, before another's Fire.
Like Uſe obſerve unto yourſelf to take
From the Objection that you ſeem to make:
That, though you ſee of beauteous Women many,
And you, by Choice, poſſeſs the mean'ſt of any,
More to reſpect her, you your Wife have made,
Than others Sun-ſhine, to your proper Shade.

* *Cœlum non Animum, &c.*

Suppreſs

Suppreſs that Luſt, that Soul and Body wounds,
For, where it once breaks o'er, it hath no Bounds:
One Woman doth abridge all Woman-kind,
The Volume then, at large, why would you find?
For, ſure, I think, where that doth bear no Prize,
The Book at large might weary, not ſuffice.
Another Argument, to back your Suit,
You alledge that Walls and Windows will be mute,
And that the World hath no ſuch piercing Eye,
The Secret of the Dark to ſearch and try:
As if there were not one, whoſe Power imparts,
To ſee through Doors, and Windows, and through Hearts;
From whoſe bright Eye, no Secreſy can hide
That which is guilty and would not be ſpy'd;
Then what avails to have the World acquit us?
When our Conſcience, like a Fiend, ſhall fright us.
And, for the Bed, although it cannot tell,
Yet out their Shame will break that do not well.
My Huſband, he's from Home, I muſt confeſs,
Whoſe Acts you meaſure by your Guiltineſs;
But, whereſoe'er he be, well may he ſpeed,
E're any ſuch Thought from my Heart proceed:
Admit he were in Evil ſo compact,
Would I revenge the Wrong by ſuch an Act?
If that I ſhould, were't not a helpleſs Part,
To kill my Soul, becauſe he breaks my Heart?
Your Chain of Gold here back again I ſend,
I'll have no Earneſt ſure of ſuch a Friend:
And there's your Ring, full little doth ſhe know,
That ſent in Love, that you would uſe it ſo:
And there's your Purſe, and all your Gold therein,
They're *wicked Angels* *that would tempt to Sin.
My Fort is more impregnable than they,
That much perſuade, although they little ſay.
As for my Body's homely Cloathing-weed,
It keeps me warm, ſufficeth Nature's Need,
Which ſcarce more coſtly do; and, for my Fare,
My Diſhes wholſome, though they homely are.
Let thoſe, that diſcontented do abide,
Go wrong their Huſhands to maintain their Pride;
For me, the meaneſt Rag would hide my Skin,
Should better pleaſe me, than rich Robes of Sin;
Which, when I aſk, my Reaſon ſhall be ſuch,
No Huſband in the World ſhall need to grudge.
Then, for your Heirs, reſerve your Lands to them,
They ſhall not curſe my Bones who did undo them.
Call back yourſelf, and think I am your Friend,
That thus would ſtay you from your wilful End:
Call back yourſelf, or I may ſafely tell
You 're running down the ſteepeſt Hill to Hell;
As, when cold Blood, and better Thoughts, ſhall ſhew,
You'll hold me then your Friend, though now your Foe:
And more rejoice, in that I did refel
Your lawleſs Pleaſure, than conſent: Farewel.

* *Engliſh* Coin of Gold, that were current in thoſe Days.

CHAP. XIII.

An Admonition to Huſbands and Wives for Unity and Concord.

IN that you are bound, you muſt obey, for this Knot can neither be cut nor unlooſed, but by Death; therefore, as wiſe Priſoners, incloſed in narrow Rooms, ſuit their Minds to their Limits, and not, impatient they can go no further, augment their Pain by Knocking their Heads againſt the Walls; ſo ſhould it be the Wiſdom both of Huſbands and Wives, that have undergone either this Curſe, or Bleſſing, as the Succeſs or Uſe may make it unto them, to bear it with Patience, and content the Aſſwager of all Maladies and Misfortunes, and not to ſtorm againſt that which will but deeper plunge them in their own Miſery; for what Madneſs were it for any one to croſs himſelf daily, becauſe another hath croſſed him once? Or, becauſe another hath vexed him, therefore to vex himſelf? Who is ſo weak in Diſcretion, that, by ſome Diſaſter having blemiſhed one Eye, for Grief thereof will weep out the other? That Mother tries a mercileſs Concluſion:

Who, having two ſweet Babes, when Death takes one,
Will ſlay the other, and be Nurſe to none.

Therefore, ſeeing it is ſo, whoſoever thou art in this Diſaſter, ſeek to plant an Affection and Love, at leaſtwiſe a Patience to that which muſt of Neceſſity be endured; for there is nothing ſo eaſy, that the Want of this may not make hard; nor ſo harſh, that this may not better temper: There are many Occaſions, that this Age adminiſtereth, more than former have done, of the Uſe of this Armour (though all other ruſt by the Walls of Peace) introduced by the over-curious Reſpects of ſecondary Cauſes, by ſecondary Perſons, that for theſe Uſes periſh the principal, by joining Hands, where Hearts are more disjunctive than different Sectaries; and what is the Iſſue of this, but a weary Patience, or ſudden Deſtruction? Others conjoin themſelves by untimely Folly, and theſe, many Times, have a timely Repentance when Pleaſures ebb, and Sorrows begin to flow. As, for Inſtance, a Youth of able Means, hopeful Expectation, equal Carriage, regardfully befriended, carefully watched over, purpoſed to better Deſtiny, pricked on by ſome rebellious Blood, and guilty Opportunity, ſtrikes down all theſe Hopes in the Heat of his Luſt with a greaſy Kitchin-wench in a Corner, and ſeizeth her to his proper Uſe for unlucky Conſequences; this being done, oppreſſed in Mind, forſaken of his Friends, ſhall he the more augment his Miſery, by Thought of this his perverted Felicity, with Rage, and evil Suffering? No, rather let him love her, ſince it was his Fortune to have her, and his Fault to take her, and endeavour ſo to work and huſband that croſs Beginning, to a more happy Continuance and Ending, taking St. *Paul*'s Counſel to his Practice, which thus adviſeth, *Huſbands, love your Wives, and be not bitter unto them:* Love them for your own Peace, for your own Profit; dwell with them according to your Wiſdoms, as with the weaker Veſſels; for there is no Offence where Love is, for Love covereth the Multitude of Offences, of Diſlikes, and becauſe, the rather, that God inſtituted it, who himſelf is Love; ſetting aſide Contention, domeſtick, civil, uncivil Strife, the Forerunner of Ruin, and the Purgatory upon Earth; remembering whoever they be, that fall into this Predicament, they have, before God and Man, by joining of Hands, taken an everlaſting Peace one of another, more inviolably to be kept, than the Leagues of Nations; for, as nothing is more odious in the Sight of God or Man, than Self-violence againſt a Man's own Perſon, and there was never any inraged that Way, but wanted either Reaſon, or Faith, in the deepeſt Diſcontent; ſo then, by this Conſequence, he muſt either be mad or deſperate, that ſhall, to that End, lay Hands on his Wife, being Part of himſelf, for they are no more two, but one. As *Adam* and his Rib at firſt were but one Side, till ſevered and divided from him; ſo after by Marriage it was joined again to as abſolute Unity as before, after which he pronounceth and thus witneſſeth of himſelf: *She is Fleſh of my Fleſh, and Bone of my Bone*; he the Head, and ſhe as Part of the Members; which ſo being, to be divided and at Odds were as the Hand to lift up, or the Foot to kick againſt the Head, the King and Governor,

nor, or the Head againſt theſe his Inſtruments, Supporters, and Miniſters, the Harmony whereof, in this little World of Man, may inſtruct, in Example, all houſhold Commonwealths in the World, to Unity. Commonwealths I ſay; for every married Man, for the moſt Part, hath three Commonwealths under him; he is a Huſband of a Wife, a Father of Children, and a Maſter of Servants; and therefore had Need of Government in himſelf, that muſt govern all theſe, and, to that Purpoſe, cannot take unto himſelf a better Practice or Precedent, than from this Uniformity of the Body, where the Head ſtands aloft like a King in his Throne, giving Direction and Command to all his Subjects; biddeth the Foot go, and it goeth, the Hand fight and it fighteth, the Members aſſiſt, and they aſſiſt it; and this Harmony preſerves the whole Man, which otherwiſe would deſtroy it; ſo muſt it be between Man and Wife, that myſtical Head and Member, or both periſh; and, for that Reaſon, ſhall a *Man forſake Father and Mother* (the neareſt that elſe could be) *and cleave to his Wife, being then no more two, but one*; and whom he taketh from her Parents and Friends, not to offer her Violence, but to tender that Love with Increaſe, which, for his Sake in theſe ſhe parteth with, and ſhe likewiſe to him, which, beſides the Profit, hath the Applauſe both of God and Man, according to the Alluſion of the *Pſalm* cxxxiii. *Ecce quam bonum & jucundum fratres habitare in Unum*, i. e. *Behold how good and pleaſant a Thing it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity.* Therefore, avoid Diſcord, thou that wouldeſt ſee the Fruit of thy Labours, for Unity gathereth what Diſcord diſperſeth; avoid Jealouſy, that unreſolved Vexation, that labours to ſeek out what it hopes it ſhall not find; that many Times foreruns that Evil, which it cauſeth to follow after, being the Author of Diſſenſion, Diſtaſte, Miſery, and ſometimes of Murder too, as many Examples teſtify; of which I have here inſerted one of moſt ancient Truth, and lamentable Action, of a King that had a Son, by whoſe Sword it was propheſied his own Father and Mother ſhould periſh, who, therefore to prevent that fatal Deſtiny, forſook his Inheritance, and went into a far diſtant Country to inhabit, where, Fortune yet favouring, he increaſed to great Honour and Riches, and, to augment his greater Felicity, was eſpouſed to a Wife, right noble, rich, and exceeding beautiful; of whoſe Welfare and happy Succeſs, his Father and Mother afterwards hearing (being depoſed of their Kingdom, and in extreme Miſery) travelled to viſit, for Relief and Succour; and happening to his Houſe in his Abſence, where making themſelves known unto his Wife, to be her Huſband's Father and Mother, ſhe kindly entertained them, and having well repleniſhed their Bodies by Food and Suſtenance, to reſt them the eaſier after their Travel, ſhe laid them both in her Huſband's Bed; after which he, ſuddenly entering in, poſſeſſed with this deadly Jealouſy, and miſſing his Wife, goes into the Chamber, where perceiving two in his Bed aſleep, he ſo inraged with Paſſion (taking it to be his Wife and ſome Adulterer with her) drew forth his Sword, and ſlew them both thereon at once; who, when he perceived his Father and Mother, heavily repented, with Sorrow and Woe, and ſhortly after died with Grief and Penſiveneſs. And, beſides all this, becauſe it is thought (for the moſt Part) to call a Man's own Guiltineſs into Queſtion, as *Petrarch*, to that Purpoſe, well obſerveth, who thus noteth:

There's no Man jealous, I durſt paſs my Word,
Nor fears the Scabbard, but hath ſtruck with th'Sword.

If Children, which are the very Pledges of Love, make you Parents, reliſh their Years with Learning and Piety, let God's Law be the Seaſoning of their firſt Thoughts, for we know by Experience, green Veſſels long reliſh of the firſt Liquor they receive, and by Inſtruction they may be as ſoon taught to ſay *Hoſanna* to *Chriſt*, as Bald-pate to *Eliſha*; as ſoon a good Word as a bad Scoff: Affect not one more than another, love them all, but dote upon none, with the Folly of the moſt; let them be Children, not Wantons; walk before them, eſpecially their riper Years, with the more obſervant Example, which will be better to them, than many good Leſſons. Repine not with the wicked Wordling, who had rather ſee his Counting-houſe invironed with upbraiding Bags, than his Table with this bleſſed Garland of Children, but be thankful for them, whatever thy Poverty, for, as they are *Pignora*, Pledges, ſo are they *Benedictions*, Bleſſings; and it ſhall be more pleaſing to thy Conſcience, upon thy Death-bed, to ſeal them as Treaſure for the Kingdom of Heaven, to yield up thy Spirit in the midſt of

their Invironing, than to unſeal ſo many Bags of evil heaped Treaſure, too near after performed Legacies, every Piece wherein ſhall rend thy Heart in Pieces at that Hour, to think of the guilty Atchieving thereof: Beſides, he, that hath much Riches, is ſubject to many Cares, many Fears, Dread of Oppreſſion of Violence; but he, that hath many Children, hath even a Peace in War, a Security even in greateſt Danger, for he ſhall ſpeak boldly with his Enemies in the Gate; they are as ſo many Swords in thy Defence, ſo many Arrows in thy Quiver; Arrows (as ſaith one) becauſe they may be ſo levelled, by good Education and Example, to ſhoot at thine Enemies, as by the contrary againſt thyſelf. I do not ſee but that natural Reaſon and meer carnal Man may be gravelled, incumbered, and diſquieted, in many Circumſtances of Carriage in this Buſineſs; but thoſe muſt be debated and forethought, before the Entering therein, not repented of afterwards: If thou haſt laid thy Hand to this Plough, become a Huſbandman in this Exerciſe; thou muſt not by any Means look back, for then the Allurement of other Beauties will breed a Diſlike of thine own, in which that thou mayeſt be the better contented, have ſome Part in thine own Portion, for as the Saying is:

Who takes a Woman foul unto his Wife,
Doth Penance daily, yet ſins all his Life.

The Charges of Children, the Unfaithfulneſs of Servants, the Diſquietneſs of Neighbours, would wiſh for a former Liberty and Releaſement, and nothing digeſteth this Courſe of Life more than Conſtancy and Perſeverance; and, becauſe it is a Trade of ſuch Myſtery and Art, therefore (as a famous Man of our Time writeth) thoſe, that have but ſeven Years to learn any other, have three Times ſeven to acquaint themſelves in the Labyrinth of this, and the Management thereof, before they undertake it; therefore having this Notion make Uſe thereof, either diſcharge it willingly and contentedly, or undertake it not at all.

CHAP. XIV.

Certain Precepts to be obſerved either in Wiving or Marriage.

1. WOO not by Ambaſſador.

2. Make not thy Friend too familiar with thy Wife.

3. Conceive not an idle Jealouſy, being a Fire, once kindled, not eaſily put out.

4. Affect him not, that would ill poſſeſs thee.

4. Blaze not her Beauty with thine own Tongue.

6. If thy Eſtate be weak and poor, marry far off and quickly; if otherwiſe firm and rich, at Home, and with Deliberation.

7. Be adviſed, before thou conclude, for, though thy Error may teach thee Wit, it is uncertain in this, whether thou ſhalt ever have the like Occaſion to practiſe it.

8. Marry not for Gentility, without her Support, becauſe it can buy nothing in the Market without Money.

9. Make thy Choice rather of a virtuous than a learned Wife.

10. Eſteem rather what ſhe is of herſelf, than what ſhe ſhould be by Inheritance.

11. *Intactam quæris, intactus eſto.*
Be that Example to thy Wife, thou wouldeſt have her to imitate.

For he, that ſtrikes with the Point, muſt be content to be beaten with the Pommel.

12. She whoſe Youth hath pleaſed thee deſpiſe not her Age.

13. That thou mayeſt be loved, be amiable.

14. Sail not on this Sea without a good Compaſs, for a wicked Woman brings a Man to Repentance, ſooner than a Surfeit, ſooner than Suretiſhip.

15. It is the greater Diſpraiſe to Children to be like to wicked Parents.

16. It is more Torment to be jealous of a Man's Wife, than reſolved of her Diſhoneſty.

And the more Miſery, that a Man may be aſſured of her Vice that Way, but cannot be of her Virtue.

17. True Chaſtity doth not only conſiſt in keeping the Body from Uncleanneſs, but in with-holding the Mind from Luſt; and ſhe may

may be more Maid that hath been unwillingly forced thereto in Body, than ſhe that hath barely conſented in Heart.

18. A true Wife ſhould be like a *Turquoiſe* Stone, clear in Heart in her Huſband's Health, and cloudy in his Sickneſs.

And like a *Tortoiſe*, under her Shell ever bearing her Houſe upon her Back.

19. Defer not thy Marriage to thy Age, for a Woman, out of her own Choice, ſeldom plucks a Man (as a Roſe) full blown.

20. Marry ſo thy Body, that thou mayeſt marry thy Mind; which, that thou mayeſt the better do, thus meditate:

1. That, if thou had'ſt, in Variety of Women, out-paralleled *Solomon*, thou ſhouldeſt, in the End, give up thy Verdict with his; *That all is but Vanity, and Vexation of Spirit.*

2. That it is in Luſt, as in Riches, where to deſire Nothing, and to enjoy all Things, is but one: To uncover more ſeveral Nakedneſſes than the *Turk* from his Decimary *Seraglio* hath Authority for, with an unſatiate illimited Appetite, and to deſire none, at leaſtwiſe, no Variety, is the ſame, ay with Advantage.

3. That, if thou ſhouldeſt, thus ſeeking to pleaſe thine Appetite in a Thouſand, but want one thou deſireſt, thou ſhouldeſt more grieve for that little Want, than rejoice in all thy former Plenty.

4. Then, ſince what thou can'ſt enjoy, conſume thy Oil to the Socket, and thy Subſtance to a Morſel, will not be One to thy Pleaſure for Ten-thouſand that eſcape it, the Variety is ſo large, never to be gathered into one Bundle of thy Fruition, to ſet up thy Reſt, but, the more thou purſueſt it, the more thou art diſtracted: Content thyſelf within thy lawful Limits, and deſtroy not thyſelf to run after that thou can'ſt never overtake; which, the faſter thou followeſt it, the ſwifter it flies from thee.

5. That it were a Grief to die for the full Pleaſure of any Senſe, but a Torment for a Taſte to a greater Diſtemper; like to him that ſhould purchaſe, at a dear Rate, ſalt Water to quench his Thirſt, which, the more he ſhould drink, ſhould but the more increaſe it.

6. That, if Beauty, or Wiſdom, or any other Portion of the Body or Mind aſſail thee, reſel them with this Thought, That they are but Shadows of that Subſtance, which ſhould the more allure thee! But Pictures, which, if they pleaſe, are but that the Pattern ſhould be the more deſired.

Think, that as each Day is an Abridgment of all Time, preſents the ſame Light, the ſame Uſe, the ſame Sun and Firmament, and the Ending of this renews but the ſame Tomorrow: So each Woman, an Abridgment of that whole Sex, and Infirmity, how mean ſoever, expreſſeth the ſame Subſtance, the ſame Mould and Metal, Proportion, Quality, and Uſe, of all other in the World: Who then would be ſo mad againſt Senſe, though they would perſuade otherwiſe by Title, by Trapping, by copious Adulterating all Parts, to believe (as they would be thought) that they are other than what they are, other than the ſame, unleſs worſe than other: The ſame Way, and the ſame Faſhion, leading to the Harborough of the ſame Site, of the ſame Condition and Quality, though a little more Circumſtances (in ſome than other) beats the Buſh, and uſhers it on. Know this, that the End of all ſuch Variety is no more than one Diſh, dreſſed and preſented by a ſeveral Cook; and Faſhion the ſame, in all one, but in Circumſtance and Carriage: Who would be thus mad, without Reaſon, to toil after the whole Alphabet of Women, when the leaſt Letter in the Row expoundeth all that Text and Coverture? And, for Title, or Tomb-like Bravery, well may they work upon the Eye of Folly, but never beſiege the Heart of Underſtanding: And, as it was lately well obſerved by one, who, to that Effect, thus further noted their Vanity:

Things were firſt made, then call'd, Woman the ſame,
With, or without, falſe Title, or proud Name.

And, if this be not yet enough, take with thee, beſides, for a Concluſion, and Bar to all the reſt, this Motto, or Sentence, to lead thee Home: That,

Since all Earth's Pleaſures are ſo ſhort and ſmall,
The Way, to enjoy moſt, is to abjure them all.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Diſcontents in all Ages, Sexes, States, and Conditions.

UNmeddled Joys here to no Man befall,
Who leaſt, hath ſome; who moſt, hath never all:
I have examin'd, from the King on's Throne,
To him that at his chained Oar doth groan,
Every Eſtate, Condition, and Degree,
Situate between this large Extremity:
Yet, whereſoever that I caſt mine Eye,
I never was ſo fortunate to 'ſpy
That Man that had ſo great a Bleſſing lent him,
That had not ſomewhat in't to diſcontent him.
The rich Man, with his Cares and Fears oppreſt,
In all he hath, can find but little Reſt:
Ill Creditors, unthrifty Heirs, and Loſſes,
Or elſe the Gout, or ſomething worſe, all croſſes.
The Poor, in Want, forſaken of his Friends,
Thinks, that, where Wealth is, there all Sorrow ends:
But yet, as here, immediately I ſhow,
The Rich, that hath it, doth not find it ſo.
One Tradeſman, he diſlikes his own Vocation,
And on a worſe he ſets his Admiration.
The ſingle Man commends the married Life,
That hath the ſweet Fruition of a Wife:
That opens all her Beauties, and her Treaſure,
In Hills and Dales, that he o'er-walks at Pleaſure:
That may unſtarted, and unfear'd, partake,
Whole Nights together, that which he doth quake
To ſnatch in Corners, when he muſt away,
Sometimes diſturb'd, when he would longer ſtay:
Baniſh'd like *Tantalus*, in his forced Haſte,
To touch the Sweetneſs that he may not taſte.
The married Man, whom all theſe Dainties cloy,
Thinks that the Sauce the Sweetneſs doth deſtroy:
And that to purchaſe is ſo wond'rous dear,
That he had rather faſt, than find the Chear.
Then Children c me, and they augment his Charges,
And Jealouſy, ſometimes, all theſe enlarges:
That what th' other thinks doth Heaven excell,
He, that enjoys it, finds it but a Hell:
And wiſheth now, but that it is too late,
That with the Batchelor he might change his State.
Therefore, methinks, his Application fit,
That to a publick Feaſt compared it;
Where thoſe that long have ſat, and cloy'd with Meat,
Would fain riſe up, as others fain would eat.
Th'ambitious Youth, leſt Folly over-ſway him,
Hath Tutors, Rod, and Parents Eye to ſtay him:
Noting the Liberty of riper Years,
With more Impatience his Reſtrainings bears:
When elder Times again (the more 'tis ſtrange)
Would fain creep back again, and with him change.
The buſy Lawyer beating of his Brain,
To make rough Points by Precedencies plain;
Who, from a Judgment wrongfully gone out,
Doth ſometimes bring another's Right in Doubt,
By judging by it, let the firſt but ſtray,
And all go Wrong, that are adjudg'd that Way:
Noting the Merchant, how, from foreign Shores,
The Winds and Waves land Wealth unto his Doors:
That where he ſleep, or wake, or reſt, or play,
So Airs be proſperous, he grows rich that Way:
Diſlikes his Choice. The Merchant he in Danger,
T'whom Rocks, and Shelves, and Pirates are no Stranger:
That tries the Wonders of the unknown Deeps,
Whom, but a three-inch'd Board, from Danger keeps:
Trafficks with unknown Airs, and unknown Friends,
Leaving his Wife at Home to doubtful Ends:
Who, in his wat'ry Pilgrimage is ſaid
To be with neither Living nor the Dead:
Commends the Lawyer that hath Power and Skill,
Either to make or mar, to ſave or ſpill

A Man's

A Man's whole Revenue, and therefore need,
Either for Speech or Silence, to be feed.
The Empirick uncredited that tugs,
With forceleſs Herbs, and with effectleſs Drugs,
Commends the Church-man for his happy Share,
Securely freed from temporary Care:
When he, again, with Diſcontents full many,
Thinks the Phyſician's happieſt Life of any;
For, by how much the Body's better deem'd,
Than is the Soul, ſo much more he's eſteem'd;
Which is by much, for let the Body grieve it,
There's nothing unattempted may relieve it.
But, for the Soul, although it die and languiſh,
We ne'er regard the Dolour, nor the Anguiſh:
But, to the greateſt Danger, do reply,
It will recover, or, it cannot die:
Therefore, to him that doth the Phyſick bring,
To this regardleſs diſeſteemed Thing,
Hath a poor Meed more recompens'd his Merit,
That cures the Body, than applies to th' Spirit;
And what, in Health, Men grapple and retain,
If Sickneſs comes, it flies to eaſe their Pain.
He, that by Avarice, and damn'd Extortion,
Hath heap'd up many a Pound, to his Heirs Portion,
So far from Thought of doing any Good,
That, what it was, he never underſtood;
Sets up his Reſt, for ever here to dwell,
And, therefore, thinks no other Heaven or Hell.
Yet, when this Serjeant, Death, comes to aſſail him,
To thee he opens, hoping thou can'ſt bail him:
And, though thou can'ſt not, do but ſeem to aſſent,
And he'll reward thee to thine own Content.
Therefore, this Art and Trade, whoe'er neglect it,
Let him exchange with me, that do affect it.
He that a weary languiſh'd Youth hath led,
To think what Pleaſures are in Marriage-bed;
That hath intreated Hours and Years to haſte them,
To cancel Bonds, that he may come and taſte them:
When there arriv'd, not finding to content him,
What Expectation did before preſent him,
Let him appeaſe his Thoughts upon this Ground,
That, in this World, that Purchaſe is not found.
There's Diſcontent in every Sect and Age,
As well in Childhood, as in Parentage.
There's Diſcontent in every Man's Vocation,
Therefore purſues it Newneſs, Innovation.
There's Diſcontent, from Scepter to the Swain,
And from the Peaſant, to the King again.
Then whatſoever in thy Will afflict thee,
Or, in thy Pleaſure, ſeem to contradict thee;
Give it a Welcome, as a wholeſome Friend,
That would inſtruct thee to a better End:
Since no Condition, Sect, nor State is free,
Think not to find in this what ne'er can be.

The Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue, divided into five Parts: A *Medicine*, a *Poiſon*, a *Serpent*, *Fire*, and *Thunder*. Whereunto is added divers new Epigrams never before printed. The fifth Edition, with more new Additions. *London*, printed for *Richard Harper*, and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the *Hoſpital-Gate*, 1638. *Duodecimo*, containing eighteen Pages.

The Frontiſpiece, or Meaning of the wooden Picture, in the Title-Page.

This little Emblem here doth repreſent
The bleſs'd Condition of a Man content,
Bleſs'd with a Bleſſing ſent him from above,
A quiet Wife wholly compact of Love;
In Middle of the Title I have plac'd them,
With Hand in Hand, my Muſe ſo much hath grac'd them.
The ſmiling Sun, that o'er their Heads doth ſhine,
Doth ſhew true Love is heavenly and divine.
Now, at each Corner of the Title here,
Men diſcontented in their Minds appear.
One ſadly ſits, his Wife is grown ſo curſt,
Her Words like Poiſon make him ſwell and burſt.
Another Man is by a Serpent ſtung,
What is this Serpent but a Woman's Tongue?
Another from the Fire ſeems to turn,
To ſhew that Women's Tongues like Fire will burn.
Another ſounds his Horn, and doth rejoice,
To drown a ſcolding Woman's clamorous Voice.
The Cloud of Thunder o'er his Head, you ſee,
Doth ſhew what thund'ring Tongues in Women be.
Horns roar, and Thunder rattles from the Sky,
Yet Women they will ſtrain their Voice as high.
Reader, no longer on the Title look,
But caſt thine Eye a little on the Book:
Read it quite o'er, and ſurely thou wilt ſay,
Thy Money is well laid out, not caſt away.

To the new-married Man.

YOung Man, that now haſt ventur'd on a Wife,
And know'ſt not the Conditions of her Life;
For thou may'ſt live perhaps with her a Year,
Before her Qualities to thee appear:
Make much of her on whom thy Love is plac'd,
Be ſure thou offer not the firſt Diſtaſte:
For, if thou doſt, thou openeſt a Way,
For Diſcontent to enter in I ſay;
If ſhe be kind of Nature, mild, and chaſte,
Make much of her, for thou a Jewel haſt;
If ſhe be quarrelſome, and curs'd of Nature,
Why Policy will t me the fierceſt Creature.
Lions and Tigers by Policy are tamed,
And other Creatures, which here are not named.
Some Men will beat their Wives, but that's the Way,
To make them obſtinate and go aſtray;
Others no Means unto their Wives allow,
And ſay, that is the Way to make them bow;
But ſuch as theſe are Knaves and clowniſh Boors,
For that's the Way to make them to be Whores.
But, if thou ſeeſt her ſtrive to wear the Breeches,
Then ſtrive to overcome her with kind Speeches.

If

If this will not prevail, why then be ſure,
That ſuch a Wife as ſhe is quite paſt Cure.
With evil Company refuſe to go,
For that's enough to make a Sheep a Shrew.
And to this End that thou ſhould'ſt careful be,
Here thou ſhalt know what I have done for thee.
If that a Woman's Tongue ſeem ſtrange unto thee,
I'll ſhew what Good or Evil they may do thee.

Into five Parts this Tongue I will divide,
The firſt Part is the beſt, as ſhall be try'd;
And theſe be they in Order written under,
A *Salve*, a *Poiſon*, a *Serpent*, *Fire*, and *Thunder*:
And firſt a Woman's Tongue a Salve I'll prove,
If ſhe be one that doth her Husband love.

How a Woman's Tongue may be ſaid to be a Medicine.

THere was a comely, handſome, proper Maid,
That lov'd a young Man very well 'tis ſaid,
Unknown to him or unto any other,
For ſhe conceal'd it even from her Mother;
But ſhe grew love-ſick, and ſo wond'rous ill,
Becauſe poor Wench ſhe could not have her Will:
Which made her Mother call her then to Task,
What ail'd her to be ſick, ſhe her did aſk.
The baſhful Maid at firſt would nothing ſay,
And yet, ſhe being willing to obey
Her Mother's Will, thus ſhe to ſpeak began,
And ſaid ſhe was in Love with ſuch a Man;
If ſhe enjoy'd him not, ſhe was undone,
And made th' unhappieſt Creature under th' Sun.
Her Mother did at this begin to chide,
And ſaid ſhe was too young to be a Bride:
Nevertheleſs to the Man's Friends ſhe went,
To have both his good Will, and their Conſent.
This Motion did the young Man's Mother pleaſe,
But yet ſhe ſaid that he had a Diſeaſe,
That was the Cauſe of all her Grief, alas!
But yet ſhe would not tell her what it was.
But, to be ſhort, they married were with Speed,
Unto the love-ſick Maid's Content indeed.
And, ſince ſhe found he was a luſty Lad,
She wonder'd what Diſeaſe her Huſband had:
She found her Huſband ſound in Wind and Limb,
And no Diſeaſe or Sickneſs troubled him,
But on a Time he went forth ſound and well,
And came Home very ſick, the Truth to tell;
For he had been among a drunken Crew,
So the new-married Wife his Sickneſs knew:
Huſband, quoth ſhe, I now do underſtand
What your Diſeaſe is, come give me your Hand:
Be of good Comfort, for I will aſſure you,
I under God will undertake to cure you.
It is a catching Sickneſs and Diſeaſe,
Which to prevent, I'll tell you, if you pleaſe;
My Words ſhall be as Phyſick for your Soul,
If I may freely ſpeak without Controul:
He gave Conſent, and thus ſhe did begin,
To tell her Husband 'twas a grievous Sin:
It will, quoth ſhe, if you do uſe this Thing,
Both Soul and Body to Confuſion bring:
And that in Time it will impair your Health,
Weaken your Body, and conſume your Wealth:
'Twill rob you of your Senſes and your Wit,
And for all Goodneſs make you quite unfit:
O'erthrow your Credit; O let me perſuade
You from this Vice; wherefore ſhould it be ſaid,
That you, that are of all Men held diſcreet,
Should come Home ſtumbling, reeling in the Street?
When every little Boy, to your Diſgrace,
Will laugh at you, and jeer you to your Face.
And which is more, if this I often ſee,
It will go near to break the Heart of me.
Then, if you love me, and me well reſpect,
Baniſh that Vice, Sweet-heart, and now reject:
That Company that you eſteem ſo dear,
That ne'er will leave you till they leave you bare.
So with ſuch Words as theſe ſhe did prevail,
For ſhe poor Heart could neither ſcold nor rail:
And her kind loving Words were not in vain,
For he was never after drunk again.
O happy Men that do ſuch Wives enjoy,
Whoſe Tongues are Medicines to cure Annoy.

How a Woman's Tongue may be ſaid to be a Poiſon.

A Man that had a nimble-tongued Wife,
With whom he liv'd a diſcontented Life:
For ſhe would tell all that her Huſband did,
And from her Goſſips nothing ſhould be hid.
If he ſometimes did come Home drunk to Bed,
About the Town it ſhould be publiſhed.
If he a Woman do ſalute or kiſs,
Why all the Town forſooth muſt know of this.
This made the poor Man weary of his Life,
Becauſe he had ſuch an unnat'ral Wife.
Upon a Time to his Neighbour's Houſe he went,
Much vex'd in Mind, and wond'rous diſcontent.
He ſits him down, but not a Word he ſpake,
Until his Buttons from his Doublet brake;
It ſeems his Heart poor Man with Grief was thruſt,
Which made his Buttons from his Doublet burſt.
He ſwell'd, as if he poiſoned had been,
Which cauſed them to call their Neighbours in;
Which when the People ſaw, quoth they, the Man
Is ſurely poiſon'd; ſo away they ran,
Some for ſtrong Waters, ſome for Sallet Oil;
Which when he ſaw, he could no leſs but ſmile:
Quoth he, 'tis true, it was a Woman's Tongue,
That hath, like Poiſon, done me ſo much Wrong.
No Poiſon worſe than this, for certainly
It made my Buttons from my Doublet fly.
O Women, be not cruel unto Men,
Ill Words are worſe than Poiſon now and then.

How a Woman's Tongue may be ſaid to be a Serpent.

THere was a Man was by a Serpent ſtung,
And aſked Counſel both of Old and Young,
What Med'cine to apply unto his Sore,
Which every Day did vex him more and more;
At laſt a Woman, old, and lame, and blind,
Told him that if that Serpent he could find,
Bid him pull out the Sting, and not in vain,
For he ſhould mend, and ſoon be well again.
It is impoſſible for me, quoth he,
So many Serpents in that Place there be,
To find the ſelf-ſame Serpent out again,
That puts me now unto ſuch Grief and Pain.
Another Man ſtood by that had a Wife,
That was a Shrew, that raiſed wond'rous Strife:
Quoth he, I have a Serpent every Night,
That lieth in my Boſom, and can bite;
And ſure I think the beſt Way it will be,
To cut that Sting out that ſo troubleth me.
And by Experience I do know her Tongue
To be that Sting that does me ſo much Wrong.
So Home he goes, and doth her kindly greet,
And takes his Wife and binds her Hands and Feet.
With that the Tempeſt did begin to riſe,
She ſwore that ſhe would claw out both his Eyes.
Ay, quoth the Man, I'll give you leave to claw,
Your Hands being bound, ſo he his Knife did draw;
What will you murder me, you Knave, quoth ſhe?
No, I will only cut thy Tongue from thee,
Reply'd the Man: When ſhe heard him ſay ſo,
My Gentlewoman knew not what to do.
But ſhe intreated him to ſpare her Tongue,
And promis'd ſhe would never do him Wrong,
But that ſhe would be loving, kind, and mild,
And even as harmleſs as the new-born Child;
Bid him do what he will, if baſe he found her;
So upon this Condition he unbound her,
And, having tamed her by Policy,
They ever after lived quietly.
Men have enough to do that marry Shrews,
Better tame them by Policy than Blows.

How

How a Woman's Tongue may be ſaid to be a Fire.

A Simple Countryman a Wife had married,
So good, that he wiſh'd longer he had tarried.
To Plough and Cart he uſed for to go,
But the poor Man was troubled with a Shrew:
And, being one Day vexed in his Mind,
He went abroad ſome Comfort for to find.
He overtook two Men in Diſcontent,
That had Shrews to their Wives, to whom he went.
Well overtaken, honeſt Men, quoth he,
Let not my Company offenſive be,
Nor me reject, 'cauſe I am ſomething rude,
And do into your Company intrude;
For I walk here, only to eaſe my Mind,
Becauſe ſmall Comfort I at Home can find.
'Tis true, when any Storm is on the Sea,
Men ſeek for Harbour, 'cauſe they ſafe would be;
And, when a Storm upon the Land doth riſe,
He that makes little haſte Home is unwiſe.
But when a Storm is in the Houſe, O then,
The Field and Sea are beſt for ſuch poor Men.
Faith, Friend, ſaid they, we know your Meaning well,
Our Caſes are alike, the Truth to tell:
And here we walk like Pilgrims, as you ſee,
And right glad of your Company we be.
Then one of them out of his Pocket took
Some Notes out of an old decayed Book,
And 'cauſe the reſt ſhould not his Words deſpiſe,
He took ſome Notes from Scripture too likewiſe;
Theſe were the Words, as I remember well,
The Tongue is ſet upon the Fire of Hell.
O, quoth the Plough-man, if theſe Things be true,
It will be ne'er the worſe for me nor you:
For we, that have our Hell upon the Earth,
Shall have, I hope, our Heaven after Death.
So Home he goes unto his Wife with Speed,
And, though that he could neither write nor read,
Yet he had learn'd enough to ſchool his Wife,
Hoping hereby to make her mend her Life;
So in he comes, and with his Wife is bold,
Thinking 'twould not be long 'ere ſhe would ſcold:
Which to prevent, becauſe he did miſdoubt her,
He told her that ſhe carried Hell about her;
And that one told him, being a Scholar great,
That a Woman's Tongue it is the Devil's Seat;
And that it is a moſt pernicious Lyar,
A Backbiter and a conſuming Fire.
The Woman, hearing this, did hide her Face,
It was a certain Sign ſhe had ſome Grace.
When he ſaw this, he kiſs'd her lovingly,
And after that they lived quietly:
And ſome report her Eyes in Tears ſhe drench'd,
And, with thoſe Tears, Hell-Fire itſelf was quench'd.

How a Woman's Tongue may be ſaid to be a Thunder.

THere was a Huntſman did a Wife enjoy,
Whoſe Tongue did breed him much Annoy;
But when ſhe ſcolded, he his Horn would ſound,
Purpoſely her clamorous Tongue he'd drown'd.
But, on a Time, her Voice ſo high ſhe rears.
She drowns the Horn, and the poor Huntſman's Fears.
Away he goes unto a Neighbour's Houſe,
To drink away his Grief, and to carouſe:
Neighbour, quoth he, pray take it not in Scorn,
Reſolve me what is louder than a Horn?
Thunder, quoth he, is louder, my good Friend.
Now Heaven quoth the Huntſman, me defend
From ſuch like Thunder as I heard ev'n now,
That drowned my ſhrill Horn, and fear'd me too.
Thunder brings Rain, quoth he, O Heavens ſave you,
Take in your Clothes, and ſay, I Warning gave you.
Quoth the other Man, you know not what you ſay,
For there hath been no Thunder all this Day.

Yes, quoth the Huntſman, I dare boldly ſwear,
Such a like Thunder I did never hear,
Not in the Element, but here below,
Unto my Terror, yet unknown to you.
The Thunder is in my Wife's Tongue too common,
No Thunder like the Thund'ring of a Woman.
He takes his Leave, and homewards he makes Haſte,
Hoping, that now the Tempeſt is quite paſt;
But, all the Way he goes, he cries a-main,
Women, take in your Sheets, 'tis like to rain;
For, ſince it thunder'd, 'tis not yet an Hour,
And, after Thunder, is uſually a Show'r:
But, when his Wife did come to know of this,
Her Tongue did never after do amiſs;
Nor was ſhe after known to be ſo bold,
To thunder with her Tongue, to rail, or ſcold.
Thus Policy, by wiſe Men, ſtill is uſed
To tame a Shrew, by whom they are abuſed.
Thus in five Parts I do divide the Tongue,
And yet no civil Woman do I wrong;
Nor yet uncivil Women can deny,
But that, of them, I ſpeak but ſparingly;
For, I proteſt, I wiſh ſo well to all,
That I will never dip my Pen in Gall.

The *SONG.*

To the Tune of *The Old Bride.*

WHEN the World was made, as I underſtood,
All that was made, God ſaw it was good;
Then God made Adam, *and gave him Life,*
And, of his Rib, he made him a Wife:
So mild, ſo wond'rous mild,
Was Adam's *ſweet Wife,*
That it was ne'er known
Her Tongue raiſed Strife.

But, when the World received a Curſe,
Then Women, like Men, grew worſe and worſe.
Among theſe Weeds, to ſupply Men's Wants,
There grow ſome medicinary Plants,
So good, ſo wond'rous good,
That Man may procure
A Wife, as a Medicine
To heal the Impure.

But do not to that Woman ſue,
That hath a Tongue as long as two;
For, if thou love her wond'rous well,
Her poiſon'd Words will make thee ſwell:
Such Grief, ſuch wond'rous Grief,
Thy Heart will poſſeſs,
That all thy Life-time
Thou wilt live in Diſtreſs.

Nor come not to that Woman's Houſe,
That takes Delight to drink and carouſe;
For, when ſhe is drunk, ſhe'll prove thy Foe,
And thy Reputation overthrow:
So falſe, ſo wond'rous falſe,
Her Tongue it will be,
And, in the End, prove
A Serpent to thee.

If thou hear a Woman curſe and ſwear,
To love ſuch a Woman I wiſh thee forbear;
For all the Town doth know full well,
Her Tongue is ſet on the Fire of Hell:
Such Flames, ſuch wond'rous Flames,
From her Tongue will come,
'Twere better that ſuch
A Woman were dumb.

If thou ſee a Woman loud and high,
As loud as Thunder from the Sky,
Then ſtop thine Ears, and go thy Way;
It is no Boot for thee to ſtay:
So loud, ſo wond'rous loud,
Her Tongue it will be,
As thou ſhalt find
Like Thunder to thee.

There is a Way to tame a Shrew,
And this is it, if thou wilt know;
Thy Love muſt teach her, by Degrees,
How ſhe the Serpent's Head may ſqueeſe:
So ſubtle, ſo wond'rous ſubtle,
This Serpent appears,
That Man and Wife
He ſets by the Ears.

Now, if theſe Lines ſhe underſtand,
And bring herſelf under Command;
If ſhe her Duty ſo well know,
Then, take my Word, ſhe'll be no Shrew:
So good, ſo wond'rous good,
This Woman will be,
In After-times,
A Comfort to thee.

Epigram

Epigram I.

THere was a Fellow, that would undergo
To tame the fierceſt and the cruell'ſt Shrew,
That lived on the Earth; and ſo 'twas try'd;
For, after that, he had one to his Bride,
With whom he liv'd in Diſcontent and Strife,
That made him almoſt weary of his Life:
She brought him to his Night-cap, and, with Grief,
He took his Bed, refuſing all Relief.
It chanced on a Time, a Bull broke looſe
Out of a Butcher's Yard, or Slaughter-houſe,
Stark-mad, and with his Horns the Ground up-tears,
With twenty Maſtiff-dogs about his Ears.
The woman-conquer'd Man, that lay in Bed,
Hearing a Noiſe, ſteps up, like one half-dead,
And, opening the Caſement in great Haſte,
Looking upon the Bull, did take Diſtaſte
To ſee him hal'd with Ropes, and tore with Dogs,
With hooting Boys ſkipping about like Frogs;
Begins to call to them, Ho, hold your Hands,
And underſtand now how the Matter ſtands;
Why hale you ſo the Bull? Let him alone;
'Tis too much Odds, ſo many unto one:
But, if you'll have him tam'd, be rul'd by me,
Give him a Wife, and he'll ſoon tamed be.

Epigram II.

THere was an ancient Batchelor of late,
Could not endure to hear a Woman prate;
And, to prevent the Miſchief of the Tongue,
The Man did live a Batchelor ſo long:
An old, decayed Maid to him did come,
That lack'd a Service, feeble, lame, and dumb;
Made Signs to him, that he would her prefer,
That ſhe might ſerve this ancient Batchelor.
To whom he ſaid, Now welcome, honeſt *Mab*;
For, ſince I cannot brook a prattling Drab,
I'll marry thee, though thou be dumb and old,
Becauſe I know thou wilt not prove a Scold:
What ſhall I ſay? My Mind I'll freely break:
The Dumb had better Luck, than ſome can ſpeak.

Epigram III.

JOAN, I do hear, that thou art turned Scold,
And I am ſorry thou art grown ſo bold,
Since I do know, when thou waſt counted civil;
Can Man's ill Manners make a Woman evil?
Then I to wed perſuaded will by no Man,
Becauſe I will not overthrow a Woman.

Epigram IV.

Qu. PEG, What's the Reaſon you ſo crabbed are?
Anſ. Becauſe, to live, you have no better Care.
Why do you to the Ale-houſe follow me?
Becauſe I you at Home had rather ſee.
Why do you ſcold, when I at Home do come?
Would you be drunk, and have me to be dumb?
And why ſpeak you not of it on the Morrow?
Becauſe my Heart is then too full of Sorrow.
Alas, poor Heart, 'tis Time for me to mend;
Pity to break the Heart of ſuch a Friend.

Epigram V.

I Had a Bird, which, with great Care and Pains,
I taught to ſing; my Pleaſure was my Gains:
But, O! I had a Parrot at the laſt,
That, without Teaching, learn'd to ſpeak too faſt.

Epigram VI.

A Scolding Woman vex'd her Husband ſo,
That out of Doors he diſcontent did go;
And, as he ſadly went along the Street,
A diſcontented Man this Man did meet,
Weeping and wailing, wringing of his Hands:
Of whom the other Man of him demands,
What was the Cauſe, that he lamented ſo.
O Friend, quoth he, the Cauſe of this my Woe
Is this: My Wife is dead, and I am left
Comfortleſs, and of Comfort quite bereft;
As good a Creature as e'er liv'd on Earth,
This Morning did ſhe loſe her vital Breath.
Was ſhe ſo good? quoth he; ſo is not mine:
I would my Wife had then excuſed thine.

Epigram VII.

TWO Men did walk together in the Street;
Neighbours they were, and both of them diſcreet:
Friend, quoth the one, the Death of my good Wife
Doth grieve me ſo, I think 'twill end my Life.

And

And truly, quoth the other, Neighbour *John*,
I may rejoice, that mine is dead and gone;
For, while she liv'd, I ne'er liv'd merry Day,
And now she's dead, I may both sport and play,
Follow my Work, and never be controul'd:
No Grief like his, that's troubled with a Scold.
No sooner had he spoke, but two stout Dames
Were scolding, and forgot each other's Names;
Whore, *Slut*, and *Drab*, between these two, were common;
The ordinary Language of bad Women.
He, that was troubled with the scolding Wife,
Did run, as he had run ev'n for his Life;
And would not be persuaded otherwise,
But that his Wife then from her Grave did rise,
And that she follow'd him, and kept a Stir,
Because she heard him talk so much of her:
Art come again, quoth he, for to torment me?
Now I do wonder who the Devil sent thee.
O, if the Remembrance of a Scold do so,
What will the living Presence of them do?

Epigram VIII.

THere was a Woman known to be so bold,
That she was noted for a common Scold;
And on a Time, it seems, she wrong'd her Betters,
Who sent her unto Prison, bound in Fetters:
The Day of her Arraignment being come,
Before grave Elders, this then was her Doom:
She should be ducked over Head and Ears,
In a deep Pond, before her Overseers.
Thrice was she under Water, yet not fainted,
Nor yet, for aught that I could see, was daunted;
For, when with Water she was covered,
She clapp'd her Hands together o'er her Head,
To signify, that then she could not talk,
But yet she would be sure her Hands should walk:
She had no Power, but yet she had a Will,
That, if she could, she would have scolded still:
For, after that, when they did her up-hale,
Fiercely against them all then did she rail.
This proves some Women void of reasonable Wit;
Which if they had, then would they soon submit.

Epigram IX.

A Countryman, being troubled with a Shrew,
Sold all his Living, and to *Spain* would go:
His Wife went with him; though she were unkind,
None could persuade her for to stay behind.
They Shipping took; and, as they sail'd along,
The Billows rose, the Wind grew wond'rous strong,
So that there was a mighty Tempest then,
Which caus'd the Captain to command the Men
To cast their greatest Burdens over-board;
The which was done according to his Word.
The Countryman, observing what they did,
Took up his Wife upon his Back, unbid,
And went to cast her o'er into the Sea,
Crying aloud, This is a happy Day,
This is the greatest Burden that I have,
'Tis best for me to make the Sea her Grave:
But she intreated him to spare her Life,
And she would prove a kind and loving Wife.
And some report, this Fear with her so wrought,
That she became good, that before was naught.

Epigram X.

TWO young Men for a Maid of late did strive,
'Ere either of them knew the May to thrive:
One challenged the other for to fight;
But this same Challenge did him so affright,
That he, on even Terms, gave o'er the Sute,
Without an Arbitrator to dispute;
And, 'cause that Fighting he did so abhor,
He said, she was not worth the Fighting for:
Nevertheless, because he lov'd her, though,
At Cross and Pile he was content to throw.
Now, Reader, do not think the Wench mistook him,
The Wench was cross enough, for she forsook him;
Upon the other Fellow did she smile,
So Cross to one, and to the other Pile.

Epigram XI.

HArry was marry'd to a *Guildhall* Wife,
And he that Parchment Wench did often curse:
Though she, poor Wench, was still, and void of Strife,
Yet he burn'd her, and took on ten times worse.
Well, *Harry*, if this die, shake off thy Fetter;
Marry no more, for seldom comes the better.

Epigram

Epigram XII.

AN honeſt Man, being troubled with a Scold,
Told her, if ſhe continued ſo bold,
That he would have a Caſe made out of hand,
To keep her Tongue in, under his Command.
Well, ſhe had Need to have a ſpecial Care,
Leſt ſhe, with Scolding, wear her Tongue threadbare;
Which if ſhe do, 'twill be ſo poor and baſe,
That, ſure, her Tongue will not be worth a Caſe.

Epigram XIII.

AN honeſt Waterman, that kept a Ferry,
Did take Delight to ſee his Children merry;
And on the Tongs ſometimes he'd play a Fit,
And the poor Children would dance after it;
And always, when his Wife did ſcold, they ſay,
The good Man he upon the Tongs would play;
Methought it was a ſtrange Sight to behold
Man play, Children dance, and Woman ſcold.

Epigram XIV.

A Wretched Woman ſtrove to wear the Breeches,
And, to her Huſband, us'd uncivil Speeches:
Nay, ſhe was not content ill Words to ſend him,
But ſhe a Box o'th'Ear at laſt did lend him:
The Man did for her Valour praiſe her much,
Becauſe ſhe gave him ſuch a gentle Touch.
Come, Faith, quoth he, the firſt three Hits for Six-pence,
Here, take this Cudgel, try how thou canſt fence;
I hope I am not ſuch a ſilly Elf,
But I am able to defend myſelf.
Together by the Ears, at laſt, they fell,
And cudgel'd one another very well.
A Porter, loaden with Neat's Tongues, and Sowce,
Enquired for the Maſter of the Houſe.
Faith, Friend, quoth he, I'll tell you preſently,
For we are ſtriving for the Maſtery:
At length the Woman did begin to yield,
The Man, with much ado, did win the Field.
Porter (quoth he) now ſpeak your Mind to me,
For I am Maſter of the Houſe you ſee.
Sir, quoth the Porter, your Wife's Friends have ſent
Neat's Tongues and Sowce, to feed upon this *Lent*.
How, Tongues, quoth he? Take them away again,
For an ill Tongue hath almoſt been my Bain;
Go tell my Wife's Friends, of all Meats that be,
The Tongue agreeth worſt of all with me.
And, as for Sowce, I Sowcing have enough:
She cannot only ſcold, but ſhe can cuff.

Epigram XV.

A Woman, that did love a Cup of Ale,
Would oft be drunk, and would often rail,
And ſcold at every one ſhe met withal,
And being drunk upon a Time did fall
Scolding at every one that paſſed by,
And being drunk the People let her lie;
At length a certain Parrot heard her talk,
And talk'd as faſt as ſhe, and cried, *Walk, walk*.
Ay, quoth the Woman, ſend me now your Hand,
And I'll walk Home, and yet ſhe could not ſtand.
Betwixt theſe two there is a Difference,
I fain would know who ſpoke the better Senſe.

Epigram XVI.

John Barret had a Parrot for to ſell,
And went about where Gentlemen did dwell,
To ſell his Parrot; at the length he met
A Friend of his, that inwardly did fret,
For he, it ſeems, had marry'd with a Shrew,
That vex'd his Mind wherever he did go.
Quoth *Barret*, Friend, will you my Parrot buy,
Which can both talk and prate moſt daintily?
No, quoth the Man, I thank you, good *John Barret*:
Faith, I am too much troubled with a Parrot;
Yet, in Regard you are a Friend of mine,
I am content to change my Bird for thine.
O quoth, *John Barret*, are you grown ſo wiſe?
Your Bird I fear will claw out both mine Eyes.

Epigram

Epigram XVII.

A Fellow, that was troubled with a Wife,
With whom, he liv'd a diſcontented Life,
Set up a Bill, and colour'd it with Green:
Within this Place, quoth he, is to be ſeen
A Monſter like a Woman, more uncivil,
In Form a Woman, but in Speech a Devil.

Epigram XVIII.

A Woman did demand of me of late,
Why I condemn'd her for her idle Prate:
Since that her Tongue, although a Member bad,
Was all the 'fenſive Weapon that ſhe had,
I cannot tell, how it did her defend,
But I am ſure, that it did me offend:
For a ſharp-weapon'd Woman I will praiſe her,
For why her Tongue is ſharper than a Razor.

Epigram XIX.

TWO Men complained ſorely of their Wives,
And ſaid they lived very unnat'ral Lives,
My Wife, quoth one, my very Heart will break,
For ſhe is ſullen, and ſhe will not ſpeak.
O, quoth the other, it is a ſweet Diſtreſs,
For of two Evils always chuſe the leſs.
Thy Wife wants Tongue, and mine ſhe hath too much.
Unhappy are thoſe Men, whoſe Wives are ſuch.

Epigram XX.

THere was a Woman a notorious Scold,
That uſed to be ſo audacious bold,
That, when her Huſband to the Ale-houſe went,
Would follow him, although ſmall Coin he ſpent;
And ſhe would ſcold ſo wond'rous loud and fierce,
It is paſt my Skill the ſame for to rehearſe:
But, when ſhe was rebuk'd, ſhe would reply,
It was her Nature to talk haſtily.
If it be ſo, pray tell me, good *John Golding*,
What Difference is 'twixt haſty Talk and Scolding.

Epigram XXI.

THere was a certain Man a Wife did wed,
That was but meanly taught, but better fed,
For always, when he was diſpos'd to play,
This Woman would be ſullen all the Day;
Which vexed him, who thought he had great Wrong,
Complaining that his Wife had ne'er a Tongue:
But I think no, for I have heard it told,
That he was bleſs'd, becauſe ſhe would not ſcold.
But he did vex her ſo, that, at the laſt,
She that had loſt her Tongue did prate too faſt.

An Epitaph.

HEre lies my Wife in earthly Mould,
Who, when ſhe liv'd, did nought but ſcold.
Peace, wake her not; for now ſhe's ſtill:
She had, but now I have my Will.

A Dream.

I Wander'd forth a while agone,
And went I knew not whither,
But there were Beauties many a one
Appeared all together.

In a pleaſant Field of Mirth,
I walked all about;
In the Garden of the Earth
A Spirit found me out.

Jealouſy her Heart did wound,
She was made the People's Wonder;
Like a Tempeſt was her Sound,
And her Speech like Claps of Thunder.

Homewards then I went with Speed,
Reaſon good, and why? Becauſe
I perceiv'd that *Jove* decreed,
Sweet Meat ſhould have ſowre Sauce.
Vinegar was mix'd with Cream,
But all this was but a Dream.

The

The faithful Shepherd's dying Song.

To the Tune of

Madam, be covered, why ſtand you bare?

COme, Shepherds, caſt your Pipes away,
No Time for Mirth when Grief is near:
If that you pleaſe a While to ſtay,
My Sorrow to you I'll declare.
Unhappy I that plac'd my Love,
On her that did inconſtant prove.

As I ſat by my Flocks of Sheep,
Upon a merry Holiday,
Although my Flocks I ſafe did keep,
Yet Beauty ſtole my Heart away.

A heavenly Beauty came to me,
And did ſalute me with a Smile.
From *Cupid*'s Snares I lived free,
Until her Looks did me beguile.

I wedded her, made her my own,
She was as Neighbour to my Heart;
My Fortunes I have overthrown,
For ſhe from me did quickly ſtart.

Her Company I could not have,
Neither by Night, nor yet by Day.
I was no better than her Slave,
For I did work, when ſhe did play.

Then was I forc'd the Sea to croſs,
And leave my wedded Wife behind;
But I was happy in my Loſs,
Becauſe to me ſhe prov'd unkind.

In three Years after I was gone,
She choſe herſelf another Mate;
I found her with another Man,
And then ſhe ſaid I came too late.

Then I was ſhipp'd away again,
I was betray'd I know not how,
And landed on the Coaſt of *Spain*,
And now again return'd to you.

You Woods, you Hills, you Dales, you Groves,
You Brooks, and every pleaſant Spring,
You Creatures, come, whom nothing moves,
And hear a woful Shepherd ſing.

For, to my fellow Sheperd Swains,
I oftentimes have made my Mone,
But what my mournful Words contains
Is rightly underſtood of none.

O ſacred Heavens, why do I ſpend
My juſt Endeavours thus in vain,
Since what the Fates do fore-intend,
They never after change again?

Nor Faith, nor Love, nor true Deſert,
Nor all that woful Man can do,
Can win him Place within her Heart,
That finds he was not born thereto.

And ſo farewel, kind Shepherds all,
Adieu, adieu, falſe Shepherdeſs,
Thou art the Cauſe of this my Call,
For thou haſt brought me to Diſtreſs.

He ſent his Groans up to the Skies,
And yielded up his vital Breath;
The Shepherds cloſed up his Eyes,
And laid him in his Bed of Death.

They ſung a mournful Elegy,
Over his Grave, where, as he lay,
All Fleſh, quoth they, is born to die,
And this ſhall be his Epitaph:
Lo, here lies he that plac'd his Love,
On her that did inconſtant prove.

A Poſtſcript.

SInce firſt my Book was printed, I do hear,
Some Women no Good-will to me do bear:
But I muſt needs confeſs, that they were ſuch,
Even of the vulgar Sort that I did touch.
And ſuch, whoſe Carriage with their Breeding ſhown,
Unto the World their Weakneſs have made known;
Prov'd themſelves guilty of the Things I writ,
Shewing but little Manners, and leſs Wit.
But, ſince I find my Book hath done ſome Good,
I will go forward, though by them withſtood:
It hath converted two, and made them civil,
That were almoſt as bad as is the Devil;
They did confeſs, they did diſgrace their Marriage,
And wrong their Huſbands by their evil Carriage;
They did confeſs, that I was in no Fault,
By ſhewing them how poorly they did halt;

They do confeſs, how they indebted are
For my good Will to them and honeſt Care,
Had to their Credit and their Reputation,
And glad was I of this their Recantation;
And glad was I when this I underſtood,
That I was born to do a Woman Good.
Henceforth I promiſe, and I do not flatter,
To reſt their Servant in a greater Matter.

A brief Relation of a wonderful Accident, a Diſſolution of the Earth, in the Foreſt of *Charnwood*, about two Miles from *Loughborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*; lately done, and diſcovered, and reſorted to, by many People, both old, and young. Publiſhed by two Lovers of Art, *I. C.* and *I. W.* *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages, MDCLXXIX.

To the Reader.

To your ingenuous Acceptation, we communicate theſe our Obſervations; not for filthy Lucre's Sake, but for publick Satisfaction, and Truth-ſake, being provoked thereto by ſome Perſons of Quality: Conſidering the evil Cuſtom of erroneous Reports, and the fearful Rumours of ignorant People.

Read, and judge charitably, without critical, or incredulous Cenſure; here is no wandering Prolixity, nor ſuperfluous Embelliſhment of Eloquence, but a Scrutiny into the proper Antitheſis, *apparelled with neceſſary Language. Be candid, not cunning.*

Vale.

THE Figure is almoſt circular, poſited in a declining Condition to the Horizon, it being the End or Fragment of a hilly Body, and contains about two Acres of Ground. In its upper Diviſion, or primary Breach, the lower, or fallen Part of it, lies a Yard (in ſome Places) beneath the unmoved Body: About three Parts of this circular Wonder ſhews Symptoms of the efficient Cauſe; and the reſt ſhews little, or no Defect.

About three Paces from the upper Breach, or prime Diviſion, is a ſecond Trench all down one Curve of the Circle, aforeſaid, and ſome ſecond Fractures be on the other Side theſe; over the prime Trench, or Breach lieth, a narrow Path-way; the fallen Part, whoſe Hypotenuſal ſhould fall upon the true angular Point (if it had a perpendicular Fall) is ſubverted, and turned aſide one Foot and more.

Between the prime Breach, and ſecond Curvery Fracture, the Earth ſhews a perpendicular Deſcent, or down-right Falling, becauſe it doth thruſt itſelf within its former Bounds; on the other Side of the Curve, which is higher Ground, the Parts of the Earth fallen, and unfallen, ſhew the Diſtance of a Foot; which, if it ſhould be raiſed to a Parallel, with its former Bounds, would differ half a Yard. The Sine for theſe Curves is the Radius, or total Sine.

The lower Part of the Periphery (or Arch oppoſite to the primary Breach) is rolled in, with an Overſhooting of its Bounds; as if it were driven, being light in Subſtance, and Stones

Stones (in ſome Places thereof) thruſt forth themſelves. This lower Curve contains about half the Radius for its verſed Sine.

The unbreached Part of the Periphery lies on the lower Side of the Hill, in Reſpect to the Hill's Ridge.

Some Perſons judge Water to be the Cauſe of the Breach; others ſay Wind.

The latter we account proper, and conſider, both in Method and Manner following:

1. *That it was not Water.*
2. *That it was occaſioned by Wind.*

Reaſons negative, and affirmative,

That it was not Water.

1. Water doth naturally run in a Channel haſting forward, yea, and that where the Ground is level: But, where the Ground deſcendeth through which it is to paſs, there it forceth with a more direct Courſe, and ſpeedy Stream; not dilating itſelf, but rather drawing its Body more cloſe into narrow Bounds.

2. If Water had been the Cauſe, then it ſhould not have run in a round Figure, where the Hill is ſo much deſcending; unleſs ſome artificial Pipes had been laid, which by the attractive Power of the Air ſhould draw the Water up again; which if Fancy, or any Perſon's Suppoſition, ſhould incline to, yet nevertheleſs it would have more powerful Force in its Deſcent, than Aſcent.

3. Had Water (by its violent Billows) cauſed this Accident, it would either have done it by an Eruption outward, or a Diſſolution of the Earth within, whereby the upper Superficies ſhould have fallen in, or ſunk within its countermin'd Sides. Indeed, ſome Part of the Ground we allow to be depreſſed, but another Part is not, but rather heightened, by Rolling up. And, how any Thing ſhould produce contrary Effects to its Nature, is marvellous!

4. Had Water been the Cauſe by demoliſhing the Intrails of the Earth, then (running in a Channel) the Breach ſhould be oppoſite to its Current; and ſhould, from hence, the Current of Water be gueſſed to fall where the Ground is fallen in all down one Curve of the Circle, then ſhould not another Breach conſiderable appear from its Production, and the Earth would have been overſhot or carried that Way as the Current of Water paſt; but the Earth is carried that Way where no ſuch Falling in appears.

That it was Wind.

1. Becauſe it is ſo improbable to be Water; but we judge Wind might be the Cauſe, foraſmuch as it is its Property to produce ſuch Effects:

2. For Wind being gathered, and ſtreightened within the Bowels of the Earth, in Order to an Earthquake, doth at laſt (by a volatile Motion) break or burſt forth in ſome Place or other, with great Violence, rending, twiſting in, and burying the Earth within its own Bowels; and in its Motion, arching, flying, and ſearching about, might (very naturally) cauſe this Breach.

3. Becauſe the lower Part of the Periphery, which is overſhot, lies rolled in, huſt, or blown, darting, from its ſwoln (or enlarged) Pores, Stones of a conſiderable Weight; as alſo the Root of a Tree, which is turned up in the primary Breach.

4. This being at the Front of a hilly Range, the Earthquake might come running along, and there diſburden itſelf; and that moreover as it is free from Rocks, the Ground ſolvible, and conſequently the Pores more eaſily extended.

Arguments correſponding with the former Reaſons.

1. If Water had been the Cauſe, then from a ſlant Deſcent, or Aſcent, the Breach would have ſhewed itſelf in a right-lined, or ſerpentine Figure, and more eſpecially in a right-lined Figure, its Surface having Declination.

But this Breach is circular, and declining, contrary to a right-lined, or ſerpentine Figure.

Therefore the Cauſe could not be Water.

2. Water was not the Cauſe, but rather Wind; for Wind is volatile, light, and forcible, and known to be of circular Motion; where it is ſtreightened, and wants Liberty

to disburden, or diſperſe, itſelf into its own Element, it ſearches a Paſſage, and, by Operation, is (by Philoſophers) accounted the Cauſe of Earthquakes; it vents, and turns up the Earth in its Delivery thence.

But, in this Breach, the Figure is circular, diverſly fractured, blown, or huſt up, and writhed, which are the Symptoms of an Earthquake.

Ergo Wind was the proper and true Cauſe.

Now it remains, that we anſwer three Objections, and conclude.

1. May ſome ſay, had there been an Earthquake, why was it not diſcerned, felt, or diſcovered by one or other?

2. Though Towns be not very high, yet there be ſome Inhabitants on the Foreſt nigh reſident, and would not they have been ſenſible of ſome Motion or Noiſe which accompany Earthquakes?

3. There be many Trees, not far off, would not ſome of them have received Prejudice by Overturning, or Rocks where you ſuppoſe the windy Commotion ran along?

Anſwers to the Objections.

1. Had there been any Inhabitants dwelling on the ſaid Hill, they might then have felt it.

2. As for them that dwell nigh, they might very well be inſenſible of Noiſe, or Motion, which might happen in the Night; and becauſe Earthquakes (more general ones) have been experienced to operate in one Part of the Town, and not in another Part of the ſame; or in a various Manner, in a little Diſtance; no Wonder then, if ſuch Inhabitants perceive it not.

3. As for Trees, how ſhould they be prejudiced, where the Earthquake came not? But, had Trees ſtood where the Breach was made, they would probably then have been overthrown, as the Root of a Tree aforeſaid; and, as for Rocks being not removed over the windy Paſſage, they might be ſpared for the ſame Reaſon that the Ground in thoſe Places was; and both ſpared, becauſe the Diſturbance haſtens along to the Front, as a Stone to its Center.

The Geography and Hiſtory of *Mons*. Firſt written in *French* for the Service of an *Imperial* Officer, in the Army about *Mons*; and now done, a ſecond Time, in *Engliſh*, for the Satisfaction of our *Britiſh* Officers. By *John Mack Gregory*, L L. L. Profeſſor of *Geography* and *Hiſtory*. Printed at *Edinburgh*, in the Year MDCCIX, *Quarto*, containing Forty-four Pages.

MONS is a great Town, the Capital City of all *Hainault*, and the principal Place of Reſidence of the Governor, and the other Officers, who compoſe both the particular Courts, and the General Councils, of that whole Province.

It is ſituated on the Banks of the River *Trouille*, in the Middle of a large Plain, that reigns all around it, for ſeveral Leagues, on both Sides the River *Haine*: But, juſt where the Town ſtands, there is a ſmall Eminence, included within it; the Bank of the *Trouille*, on the one Side there, being a little riſing Ground, or Hill; that on the other Side, a great Level, or Plain: And, immediately without the Town, the Ground is a great Marſh, cauſed principally by an Abundance of Waters proceeding

proceeding from the Confluence of thoſe two Rivers, of a great many Rivulets, of ſome Brooks, and of ſeveral Canals, all Rendezvouſing thereabouts, and partly by the Continuance of the Plain, which favours that of the Marſh, making it to run out for half a League from the Walls, for three Quarters, and for a whole League in ſome Places; ſo that it reigns about the Town, for a great Way off, and with ſuch a great Deal of Water, that it cannot be well drained, except on the *Eaſt-ſide* towards *Namur*, where the Ground riſes too high for it, and on the *Weſt* towards *Valenciennes*, where there is likewiſe a little Riſing.

The chief of thoſe Waters, that render the Country about *Mons* ſo marſhy, are theſe two Rivers, the *Trouille* and the *Haine*.

The *Trouille* is but a ſmall River, taking its Riſe near the Village of *Merieux*, in the ſame Province of *Hainault*, three Leagues and a Half from the Town of *Mons*, on the *South-ſide*. It has at firſt its Courſe from *South* to *North*, then makes a Turn within *Mons*, runs afterwards from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and, at length, falls into the River *Haine*, a League above the Fortreſs of St. *Guiſlain*, likewiſe in the ſame Province, three Quarters of a League from *Mons*, on the *Weſt-ſide*.

Upon both the Sides of this River, juſt where it makes the Turn from the *North* to the *Weſt*, or rather from the *North-Eaſt* to the *North-Weſt*, ſtands *Mons*, ſeated upon the two Banks, the Bank there, on the *Eaſt-ſide*, being an Eminence, or Hill; that on the *Weſt-ſide*, a flat Ground, or Plain; and the River running through the Town, *North-Eaſt* when it goes in, and *North-Weſt* when it goes out, divides it into two very unequal Parts, the Part on the *Eaſt-ſide*, upon the Hill, being by far the greater; that on the *Weſt-ſide*, in the Plain, much the leſſer; juſt three Leagues and a Half below where it riſes, near *Merieux*, and about three Quarters of a League, above where it falls into the *Haine*, not far from St. *Guiſlain*: That Part of the River, which is above *Mons*, is called the upper *Trouille*; and below, it is named the Lower.

The *Haine* is alſo but a ſmall River, though ſomewhat greater than the *Trouille*, having its Source near the Town of *Fontaine l'Eveque*, in the ſame Province of *Hainault*, four Leagues and a Half from the Town of *Mons*, on the *Eaſt-ſide*. At firſt it runs *North*, then turns *Weſt*, afterwards *North weſt*, then *South-weſt*, and again *Weſt*; ſo, making a great many Turnings and Windings, as it goes through the Country, but having the Main of its Courſe from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, eſpecially it is ſo as it paſſes by *Mons*; it at length falls into the River *Scheld*, a little above the Fortreſs of *Condé*, likewiſe in the ſame Province, four Leagues and a Quarter from *Mons*, on the *Weſt-ſide*.

Upon the *South-ſide* of this River, at a Place where it runs from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, or rather from *North-Eaſt* to *South-weſt*, ſtands *Mons*, ſeated on an Eminence, upon the Banks of the *Trouille*, in the Middle of the Plain on that Side the *Haine*, and at the Diſtance of betwixt a Quarter and Half a League from the River, where it paſſes by the Town; juſt four Leagues and a Half below where it riſes, near *Fontaine l'Eveque*, and about four Leagues and a Quarter above where it falls into the *Scheld*, hard by *Condé*: That Part of the River, which is above *Mons*, is called, the upper *Haine*; and below, it is named, the Lower.

Beſides thoſe two Rivers, there are Abundance of other Waters, that contribute to render the Ground thereabouts a Marſh, a great many Rivulets, of leſſer Note, ſome Brooks, and ſeveral Canals, detached from thoſe Rivers both above and below *Mons*, that are all made to run, turning and winding through the Country, about the Town, into the Lakes and Ponds, to ſupply them with Water; thro' the Town, into the Ditches and Kennels, for the Conveniency of the People; and out of the Town, away into the Channels of the lower *Trouille* and *Haine*, with Deſign to render them navigable.

In this Manner, it happens, that the Country about *Mons* is ſo marſhy: The Town is ſo ſurrounded, and the Territory adjoining ſo planted, with ſuch an Abundance and Plenty of Waters, proceeding from a Confluence and Complication of ſo many Rivers, Rivulets, Brooks, and Canals, all rendezvouſing there on Purpoſe, as it were, to make a Marſh, and the Ground thereabouts is ſo continued a Level and Plain, that it cannot well be otherwiſe; and, for the Conveniency and Advantages of Water, one may ſay, there is not, perhaps, ſuch another inland Situation of a Town, as that of *Mons* is, in *Europe*, if it be not that of *Ghent*. As for what Inconveniencies may

ariſe there, from the Superabundance of theſe Waters, they are wiſely provided againſt, as much as may be, by the Induſtry and Care of the Inhabitants, who, by the Multiplying of Canals and Ditches, by the Keeping clean and neat their Channels, by the Variety of Ponds, and little Lakes, but eſpecially by the Number and good Government of Sluices, have them ſo under Command, that they can let them out, or keep them in, or make of them what they pleaſe: And conſequently, by ſuch Means in the Caſe of a Siege, the People within *Mons* can egregiouſly incommode an Enemy without, by Inunding the whole Country that is immediately about the Town; which they do effectually, to the Diſtance of a Quarter of a League from the Walls, of Half a League, and of three Quarters in ſome Places; ſo as to make the Inundation reign around, for a good Way off, and with ſuch a Deepneſs of Water, as to render the Town inacceſſible, except on the *Eaſt-ſide* towards *Namur*, where the Ground riſes too high for it, and where an Enemy might incamp, and intrench, and from thence approach, and batter the Place, in Spite of the Inundation; the ſame might be done on the *Weſt-ſide* towards *Valenciennes*, where there is likewiſe a little Riſing; but not ſo well, becauſe the Ground there does not riſe to ſuch a Height.

This Town was at firſt founded by *Alberon*, a Prince of *France*, Son to *Clodion* the Hairy, King of *France*, and Grandſon to *Pharamond the Great*, firſt King thereof; who, in the Year of our Lord 449, being left, by his Father's Death, to the Guardianſhip of his Kinſman *Merovee*, and his Guardian having deprived him of his Inheritance, and uſurped his Crown to himſelf, went thereupon into *Germany*, to ſollicit Aſſiſtance to recover his Right, and was aſſiſted by the *Germans* ſo powerfully, as that, in Progreſs of Time, he recovered all the lower *Auſtraſia*, and a good Part of *Belgium*, as far as *Tournay* and *Cambray*; and, in the Year 481, he came hither into that Country, where now *Mons* is, which was then all covered with Wood as well as with Water, being a Part of the *Saltus Carbonarius*, which was a Skirt of the Foreſt of *Ardenna*, and built a high Tower there, on the Top of a ſmall Eminence, upon the Bank of the River *Trouille*, towards the *Eaſt*, hard by the Water-ſide, juſt where it, running from the *South*, makes a Turn from the *North* to the *Weſt*, in the Middle of a large Plain, covered then with a great Deal both of Wood and Water, though now with the laſt more than with the firſt, on the Bank of the River *Haine* towards the *South*, not far from the Water-ſide, juſt where it runs from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, towards the *North*: Which Tower ſerved him, as a Houſe, or Palace, where he lodged; as an Obſervatory, or Watching-Place, from whence he diſcovered the Country about; and as a Fortreſs, or Place of Security, by the Means of which he maintained himſelf there, notwithſtanding the Efforts of his Enemies, the *Merovignians*, to turn him out. He likewiſe cut down all the Trees, which covered the Eminence where the Tower ſtood, and by ſuch Means diſcovered it all around, ſo as to make an Explanade, or empty Space, immediately about the Tower, in the Middle of the Wood that reigned, from the Top, where the Tower was, to the Bottom, where it was bordered with Trees, all about the Eminence: And this Explanade ſerved him, as a Camp-Poſt, or Place of Arms, where he was wont to rendezvous his Soldiers, and to draw them up in Order of Battle.

The ſame Prince *Alberon* continuing, ſo long as he lived, to have ſharp War with the *Merovignians*, upon the Account of the Uſurpation of his Dominions, and conſequently, having frequent Occaſion to have his Troops lodged nigh to him, firſt pitched Tents for them in the Explanade about his Tower; then built Huts and Houſes, which, by Degrees and thro' Time, grew out into a conſiderable Village all around the Tower, under the Defence of which it was ſecure; and afterwards, to ſecure it further from the ſudden Attempts of his Enemies, he incloſed it with a Hedge, of Buſhes and Branches joined and interlaced, which, from a Village, made it become a Town. This was done, in the Year of our Lord 490, and it is the firſt Incloſure of *Mons*: The Town was called *Alberon*'s Camp-Poſt, which Name it retained for a long Time after; and the Tower, *Alberon*'s Tower, which Name it retains to this Day.

What Sort of Town this Camp-Poſt of Prince *Alberon*'s has been, we cannot well tell, for now there are no Veſtiges of it to be found: But I have ſeen a Plan of it, in Miniature, in an old *Latin* Manuſcript, preſerved by the Ladies

Ladies * of St. *Waltrud*'s at *Mons*, and to be read in their Library; by which it appears, that it has been of a round Figure, lying on the *Eaſt ſide* the *Trouille*, hard by the River-Side, where it, running from the *South* to the *North*, makes a Turnaway to the *Weſt*, and on the *South-ſide* the *Haine*, not far from the River-ſide, where it runs from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, towards the *North*, including juſt the Eminence, where the Tower ſtood, and occupying juſt the Explanade, that reigned about, between the Top, where the Tower was, and the Bottom, where it was incloſed with a Hedge, and no more. As for *Alberon*'s Tower, we can give ſome Account of it, it being ſtill on Foot and intire, though, by this Time, beginning to look pretty ancient, and engaged with another Edifice that was afterwards adjoined to it, ſtanding juſt on the Top of that Eminence, which was once occupied by *Alberon*'s Camp-Poſt, and is now in a Place within *Mons*, that makes exactly the Middle of the Town, at the Diſtance of near Five-hundred Paces from the Side of the *Trouille*, towards the *Eaſt*, and about Two-thouſand and Five-hundred Paces from the *Haine*-Side, towards the *South*: It is a Tower round, having in Diameter ſixty Feet, built of hewn Stone, to the Height of a Hundred and twenty Feet, the Wall being five Feet thick, conſiſting of ſix Stories, adorned at the Bottom with a Baſe, and a Gate arched, towards the *South*, accompanied with its Pilaſters, with Borders at the Diviſion of Stories, and Windows round, towards all Points, accompanied with their Chanbranles, and at the Top with a Corniſh; above, which there is an Attick, terminated in a Platform, guarded with a Baluſtrade, and ſurmounted with a Globe, of Timber covered with Lead, bearing up a Flag-ſtaff and Flag, having blazoned the Arms of the Sovereign: The Whole a Piece of *Gothick* Work, engaged with another Edifice, adjoined afterwards to it, that becauſe of its Age, and its being ſeated upon a Height, where it is expoſed a great Deal to the Injuries of Weather, as well as of Time, has now, at this Day, very much the Face and Air of an Antiquity.

This was the Condition of *Mons*, as Prince *Alberon*, of *France*, founded it: And, it continued in the ſame State, till the Year of our Lord 520, when, *Walbert*, Son and Succeſſor to Prince *Alberon*, and the firſt Earl of *Hainault*, having continued the War his Father had begun againſt the *Merovignians*, upon the Account of the Uſurpation of their Inheritance, and being married to the Lady *Lucilla*, Siſter to *Zeno*, Emperor of the *Eaſt*, the Emperor thereupon took Part with his Brother-in-Law, in his Quarrel againſt *Clovis the Great*, King of *France*, whom he forced to enter into a Treaty with him, and to reſtore to him the County of *Hainault*; which was accordingly done at *Cambray*, that Year, when King *Clovis* reſigned ſo much Territory to Prince *Walbert*, and the Emperor *Zeno* erected it into an Earldom in his Favour, giving him this for a Coat of Arms: *Or*, a Lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules*: For a Creſt, an Earl's Coronet *Or*, adorned with eight Flowers of the ſame. From that Time, Earl *Walbert*, and his Succeſſors, being at Peace with the *Merovignians*, and having no War with any other of their Neighbours, had but little Occaſion to fear any Thing, and be obliged to be much upon their Guard, to live in the Midſt of a Wood, and have their Troops lodged always nigh to them, as their Predeceſſor, Prince *Alberon*, had done; but they choſe rather to dwell elſewhere, in more convenient Places, and neglected the Dwelling-place of Prince *Alberon*; ſo that *Alberon*'s Tower thereupon became a Waſte, and *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt returned to be a Deſart, as it had been formerly.

It continued ſo, till the Days of the Lady *Waltrud*, otherwiſe, St. *Waltrud*, Counteſs and Heireſs of *Hainault*, Daughter to Earl *Walbert the Fourth*, and Wife to *Maldegair*, otherwiſe, St. *Vincent*, a Prince of *Ireland*, who, by Vertue of his Marriage, was likewiſe Earl of *Hainault*. This religious Princeſs, being inclined to renounce the World, and looking out for a convenient Retiring-place, was perſuaded by St. *Guiſlain*, and others, her ſpiritual Directors, to make Choice of the Dwelling-place of Prince *Alberon*, in the Wood, which, by that Time was become waſte, turned quite a Deſart, and covered with Trees as much as ever; where firſt ſhe built a Cell and a Chapel, for herſelf, in *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt, hard by *Alberon*'s Tower; and afterwards founded a Church, and a Cloiſter, for others, in the ſame Place, in which

* See theſe Ladies deſcribed below.

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ſhe begun and inſtituted that famous College, or Congregation, of religious Ladies, or noble Women, Canoneſſes Secular, without any Rule, which continues there, and flouriſhes to this Day. Saint *Waltrud* went thither to live, about the Year of our Lord 603, and ſhe made that Inſtitution of Ladies in the Year 609; which gave Occaſion to a great many other People, Gentlemen as well as Ladies, Poor as well as Rich, and Laicks as well as Religious, to reſort to the ſame Place, and build Houſes for themſelves there, in *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt, under the Shadow of *Alberon*'s Tower, and in the Neighbourhood of S. *Waltrud*'s Church; ſo that *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt, by Degrees, came again to be very well inhabited; and, through Time, grew out into a conſiderable Town, being incloſed with a new Hedge of Buſhes and Branches rebuilt, including the Eminence, and occupying the Explanade all around, between the Tower, which defended it at Top, and the Hedge which incloſed it at the Bottom, as it was before. And they changed the Name of *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt, and called it by that of *Bergen*, ſignifying, in *Teutonick*, or old *High Dutch*, the ancient Language of that Country, as much, as if one would ſay, by Way of Diſtinction, *The Hill:* Which Name they deſignedly gave it, both becauſe it was built upon a little Hill, the only Hill in the Country thereabouts, and becauſe of the Reſpect and Veneration they had for the Dwelling-place of ſo many Religious Perſons, as lived there a pious and devout Life; which Reſpect they thought they expreſſed a little, by calling it with a Diſtinction, *The Hill.* At the ſame Rate of Speaking, and, for the ſame Reaſons, in *Latin*, it was called *Mons:* And both theſe Names it retains to this Day; the one, *Mons*, is uſed commonly by Foreigners; the other, *Bergen*, is only known among the Natives.

What Sort of Town this Hill of St. *Waltrud*'s has been, we cannot at all tell; becauſe now there are no Veſtiges of it to be found; and as for Plans of it I have never ſeen any. However, we may preſume, that, being built upon the ſame Ground with Prince *Alberon*'s Camp-poſt, it has been much of the ſame Figure, and ſituate the ſame Way; has included the ſame Eminence, and occupied the ſame Explanade, that reigned about, between the Top, where *Alberon*'s Tower was, and the Bottom, where it was incloſed with a new Hedge, as before.

This was the Condition of *Mons*, as St. *Waltrud*, and her Ladies, and their Followers, refounded it. It continued in the ſame State, till the Year of our Lord 680, in the Days of *Alberick*, Earl of *Hainault*, Son to Earl *Brunulph*, a Prince of a publick Spirit, and a great Lover of Building, who did a great Deal of that Kind for *Mons*, and made it, indeed, look like a Town.

Firſt, becauſe it was the Place, where his Predeceſſor St. *Waltrud*, and ſeveral other Saints, had lived, out of the Reſpect and Veneration he had to their Name and Memory, he loved mightily to dwell in it; and, becauſe he found that the Lodgings in Prince *Alberon*'s Tower were both too little for him, and become ruinous, he not only repaired them, but alſo built a Caſtle of his own, a great and noble Edifice, upon the Top of the ſame Eminence, where *Alberon*'s Tower ſtood, and adjoining to it on the South-ſide, the Tower being engaged with it on the North; which Caſtle and Tower, together, made ſuch a large and capacious Dwelling-place for him, that it ſerved him conveniently as a Houſe where he lodged; as an Obſervatory, from whence he diſcovered the Country about; and as a Fortreſs, by the Means of which, he not only maintained himſelf, but likewiſe defended the Town, and, upon an Occaſion, could command the ſame. He alſo cut down all the Wood, which covered the Ground, both within and without the Town, eſpecially without, and by ſuch Means diſcovered it all around, ſo as to make a grand Explanade, immediately without the Incloſure, that reigned for a great Way of, all about the Town; and this Explanade ſerved him as a large Camp-poſt, where he rendezvouſed his Troops when he had Occaſion, and drew them up in Order of Battle.

Then, for the further Defence of the Town, which, till his Time, never had any better Incloſure than Hedges, he was the firſt who conceived the Deſign of Incloſing it with a Wall, and took Care to have his Deſign put in Execution; in order to which, he cut down the Hedge-incloſure, that had been begun by Prince *Alberon*, and continued by his Succeſſors till then; extended the *Pomœrium*, or Explanade, on it, a good Way beyond it, further into the Country, and there built another of his own, being

being a Wall of Stone, making it go quite round the Town with a larger Compaſs; ſo as to take in not only the Eminence, upon which the Town ſtood, with the Caſtle and Tower at the Top, but likewiſe a good deal of more Ground at the Bottom of it, which he deſigned ſhould ſerve as an empty Space, for the Inhabitants to build Houſes farther upon. This was done in the Year of our Lord 687, and it is the ſecond Incloſure of *Mons*, which made it, indeed, look like a Town; whereas, till that Time, having never any Thing but a Hedge about it, it looked no better than like a Village; of which and of all the other publick Works of Earl *Alberick*'s about *Mons*, an Account may be gathered from the Inſcriptions, that are to be ſeen in and about his Caſtle; it being ſtill on Foot and intire, whereas of his Wall there is not the leaſt Veſtige to be found, it having been ſo compleatly overthrown and ruined, that one cannot know now where it has been; but the ancient Hiſtory of *Mons* is to be read more at large, in a Book intituled, *The Annals of* Hainault, a *Walloon* Manuſcript, written in the Year 1360, by *Jacques de Guyſe*, a Native of *Mons*, and a Licentiate in Divinity, of the Order of St. *Francis*, preſerved by the Ladies of St. *Waltrud* there, and to be ſeen in their Library, by any one that calls for it.

What Kind of Incloſure this Wall of Earl *Alberick*'s has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no Veſtiges of it to be found; but I have ſeen a Profile on it, in Oil, in a Proſpect of old *Mons*, hanging in the Cloſet of the Lady *Margaret* of *Croy*, a Princeſs of the Family of *Rœulx*, and one of the Ladies of St. *Waltrud*'s there, by which it appears, that it has been built of hewn Stone, in the *Roman* Faſhion, and fortified with ſquare Towers, at equal Diſtances, and a third Part higher, having three Gates, but no Ditch, and that it has run about the Town in an oblong Figure, ſtretching itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt, ſo as to approach nearer to the *Trouille* Side, the River running from South to North, and to take in the Eminence, upon which the Town ſtood, with a good Deal more. As for Earl *Alberick*'s Caſtle, we can give ſome Account of it, it being on Foot and intire to this Day, though beginning now to look pretty ancient, ſtanding on the ſame Eminence with Prince *Alberon*'s Tower, where they together occupy all the Top of it, the Tower being engaged with the Caſtle on the North-ſide, and the Caſtle adjoined to the Tower on the South, the Eminence ſtretching itſelf Eaſt and Weſt; it is four Pavilions round, joined together with four Sides oblong, making up a Court ſquare, the Root of the interior Square being eighty Feet, that of the exterior an hundred and ſixty, built of hewn Stone, the Sides to the Breadth of forty Feet, the Pavillions to the Solidity of ſixty, and both to a Height equal to their reſpective Breadth and Solidity, the Walls to the Thickneſs of five Feet, and to a Height different as the Parts of the Edifice require, the Sides conſiſting of two Stories, the Pavilions of three, adorned without and within, with a Baſe continued at the Bottom, and a Gate arched, on the South-ſide, accompanied with its Pilaſters, with Borders likewiſe continued at the Diviſion of Stories, and Windows cornered on all Sides, accompanied with their Chanbranles, and with a Corniſh at the Top diſcontinued, the Parts of the Edifice differing in Height; above which there is an Attick, terminated in a Platform, guarded with a Baluſtrade, all diſcontinued and ſurmounted, the Sides with a Roof Pavilion-wiſe, of Timber, covered with Lead, the Pavilion with a Dome and Cupola, bearing up a Fane-ſtaff and Fane; and, as *Alberon*'s round Tower is on the North-ſide engaged in the Body of the Edifice, ſo correſponding to it on the South-ſide, juſt over the Gate, there is another Tower ſquare, the Root of the Square being ſixty Feet, built as the reſt of the Edifice, to the Height of an hundred and twenty Feet, conſiſting of ſix Stories, adorned at the Bottom with a Baſe and a Portal arched, accompanied with its Pilaſters, with Borders at the Diviſion of Stories, and Windows cornered, accompanied with their Chanbranles, and with a Corniſh at the Top, having above it an Attick, terminated in a Platform, guarded with a Baluſtrade, and ſurmounted with a Spire of Timber, covered with Lead, bearing up a Flag-ſtaff and Flag, having blazoned the Arms of the Sovereign; the whole a Maſs of *Gothick* Work, adjoined to *Alberon*'s Tower, that, becauſe of its Situation as well as of its Age, upon the Top of a riſing Ground, or Height, where, conſequently, it is expoſed very much to the Injuries both of Time and Weather, begins now, at this Day, to look like an Antiquity; and as, by Reaſon of its being ſeated upon an Eminence,

the only Eminence in the Country thereabouts, it is ſeen a great Way off all around, by thoſe who come towards the Town, ſo the beſt Proſpect that one can have of *Mons*, and of the Ground about it, is from the Platforms of the Caſtle within it, eſpecially from thoſe of the two Towers, and particularly that of *Alberon*'s, which ſtands juſt upon the Top of the Eminence, on the very higheſt Spot of it all, and where the curious Traveller ſhould not neglect to go up to the Platform of it, becauſe from thence he can diſcover and view all at once, the Town, its Situation, and Fortification, the Ground, its Riſing, and Falling, the Waters, their Courſe, and Quantity, the Rivers, Canals, Lakes, the Marſhes, and all that is of it.

This was the Condition of *Mons*, as it was built by Earl *Alberick*: And it continued ſo, in the ſame State, without any further Alteration or Change, either for its Increaſe, or for its better Defence, till a long Time after.

In the Year of our Lord 812, in the Days of the Lady *Renny*, Counteſs and Heireſs of *Hainault*, Daughter to Earl *Walter the Third*, and Wife to *Albo*, a Prince of *Lorrain*, who, by his Marriage, was likewiſe Earl of *Hainault*, *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, and Emperor of the *Weſt*, had ſo much good Will for *Mons*, partly for the Sake of Earl *Walter the Third*, who was killed in his Service againſt the *Saxons*, in the Year 800, but principally upon the Account it had been the Dwelling-place of St. *Waltrud*, and ſeveral other great Saints, that, as a Mark of the Reſpect and Veneration he had for the Name and Memory of thoſe Worthies, he not only declared it a noble Town, and gave it all the Privileges of a free City, but, beſides, made it the Capital of all *Hainault*; and, what was more, erected it, and the Territory about it, into a particular Earldom by itſelf, diſtinct from the Earldom of *Hainault*, in Favour of the Counteſs *Renny*, and of Earl *Albo*, to whom he had beforehand married her, giving it this for a Coat of Arms: *Argent*, a Caſtle triple-towered *Gules*; for a Creſt, an Earl's Coronet *Or*, adorned with eight Flowers of the ſame. From that Time, the Earls of *Hainault* were likewiſe Earls of *Mons*, and uſed both Titles together, quartering the armorial Enſigns of both Earldoms, ſo as to make up an Eſcutcheon in this Manner: Quarterly, in the firſt and fourth, *Or*, a Lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules*, for *Hainault*; in the ſecond and third *Argent*, a Caſtle triple-towered *Gules*, for *Mons*; for a Creſt, an Earl's Coronet *Or*, adorned with eight Flowers of the ſame. And it continued to be ſo till the Days of Earl *John*.

Rainier the Firſt, Earl of *Hainault* and *Mons*, Couſin to Earl *Manaſſy*, having ſharp War in his Time with *Otho the Great*, Emperor of *Germany*, and *Bruno*, Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, two Brothers, in the Year of our Lord 959, went out to meet the Archbiſhop, who, in the Emperor's Name, was come againſt him with a great Army into *Hainault*, and met him near *Valenciennes*, where they fought; but the Archbiſhop, being much ſuperior to him, in Quality, as well as in Number of Troops, not only defeated his Army, but likewiſe took himſelf Priſoner, and carried him in Chains to *Cologn*, where he kept him till he died: He, alſo, the ſame Year, took Poſſeſſion of both the Earldoms of *Hainault* and *Mons*, for the Emperor, and diſpoſed of them by his Authority, by giving them to Governors, who held them in his Name, excluding both Earl *Rainier*, whom he kept Priſoner, and his Children, whom he baniſhed the Country. In this Manner, the Town of *Mons*, and the Territory about it, came into the Hands of the Emperor *Otho*, and his Governors; and it continued to be ſo for the Space of nineteen Years; that is, till the Year 978, when *Rainier the Second*, Son and Succeſſor to the other, after having made many Efforts, during the Time of his Baniſhment, to revenge his Father's Quarrel, and recover his own Inheritance, and all to no Purpoſe, being then a Refugee at the Court of *France*, and married there to a *French* Princeſs, the Lady *Havidea*, Daughter to *Hugh Capet*, Earl of *Paris*, and a Peace being that Year, concluded between *Otho the Second*, Emperor of *Germany*, and *Lothair*, King of *France*, by an Article of that Treaty, it was provided for his Reſtoration; ſo, by Means of his foreign Alliance, he, at length, recovered his own Country, after having been baniſhed it nineteen Years.

In the Year of our Lord 1113, in the Days of *Baldwin the Second*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Mons*, Earl *Baldwin the Firſt*'s Son, a terrible Fire broke out in *Mons*, which reduced almoſt the whole Town to Aſhes. It lay in Ruins till the Year 1145, that *Bald-*

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win the Third, Son and Succeſſor to the former, begun to rebuild it, and continued to do ſo as long as he lived, that is, till the Year 1171; but, having ſharp and violent War in his Time, with *Thierry* of *Alſace*, Earl of *Flanders*, upon the Account of the Succeſſion to that Earldom, by Reaſon of his Affairs Abroad, his Buildings at Home did not advance, and were not perfected in his Life-time; except the Wall about *Mons*, which, for the Security of his Houſe and Family, as well as for the Defence of the Town and Burghers, he took Care to have advanced, and perfected very quickly; ſo that, in a ſhort Time, it came to be in as good a Caſe as before.

What Kind of Incloſure this Wall of Earl *Baldwin the Third*'s has been, we cannot at all tell, there being now no Veſtiges of it to be found; and, as for Plans or Profiles of it, I have never ſeen any: However, we may preſume, that, being built upon the ſame Bounds, and on the ſame Foundation, with the former, it has likewiſe been in the ſame Faſhion, of the ſame Figure, and the ſame every other Way.

This was the Condition of *Mons*, as it was rebuilt by Earl *Baldwin the Third*: And it continued in that State, only till the Year of our Lord 1186; for then, *Baldwin the Fourth*, ſirnamed the Builder, becauſe of the great Inclination he had that Way, Son and Succeſſor to the other, a publick-ſpirited Prince, who, alone, did more for *Mons*, than all thoſe who were before him, having perfected the Buildings his Father had begun, and added a great many other Edifices of his own, ſo as to take up all the Ground that was included within the Town, and be obliged to go without, if he had a Mind to build any more, fell thereupon into a Diſlike of the Incloſure, as being of too narrow Bounds, conceived the Deſign of another, larger, and immediately put his Deſign in Execution, throwing down the Wall that had been built by Earl *Alberick*, and lately rebuilt by his Father, extending the *Pomœrium* on it a good Way beyond it, further into the Country, and there building another of his own, likewiſe of Stone, together with a Ditch, making both go quite round, with a greater Circumference, ſo as to take in, not only the Town, but a good Deal of Ground more, which he deſigned ſhould ſerve as an empty Space, for himſelf, and his Succeſſors, as well as for the Inhabitants, to build further upon: This was done, that ſame Year; and it is the third Incloſure of *Mons*, which did, indeed, render it a great Deal larger than what it was formerly, as it was in this Prince's Time, that the Town arrived at a Pitch of Splendor and Magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before. Of which, and of all the other publick Works of Earl *Baldwin*, *the Builder*, about *Mons*, an Account may be gathered from the Inſcriptions, that are to be ſeen in and about the Town-houſe, and the other Edifices which he built there, being moſt of them ſtill on Foot, and intire; though of his Wall and Ditch there is not the leaſt Veſtige to be found, they having been ſo compleatly deſtroyed, the one filled up, the other pulled down, and both levelled to the Ground, ſo that one cannot know now where they have been; but the Hiſtory of Earl *Baldwin*, *the Builder*, and of his Works, is to be read more at large, in a Book, intituled, *The Annals of Mons*, a *Walloon* Manuſcript, written in different Times, by the Town-Clerks there, preſerved in the Town-Houſe, among the Archives, and to be ſeen by thoſe who have Acquaintance enough among the Magiſtrates.

What Kind of Incloſure this Wall of Earl *Baldwin the Builder* has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no Veſtiges of it to be found: But I have ſeen a Profile of it, in Deſtrampature, in a Proſpect of Old *Mons*, upon the Wall of the Council-Chamber, in the Town-Houſe there, by which it appears; that it has been built of hewn Stone, in the *Roman* Faſhion, and fortified with round Towers, at equal Diſtances, and a third Part higher, having five Gates, with a large Ditch, and that it has run about the Town in an oblong Figure, ſtretching itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt, ſo as to touch upon the *Trouille*-ſide, the River running from South to North, and to take in the Town, with a good Deal more.

This was the Condition of *Mons*, as it was rebuilt by Earl *Baldwin*, *the Builder*: And it continued ſo, in the ſame State, without any further Addition or Change, either in its Buildings or Government, for a long Time after.

In the Year of our Lord 1252, in the Days of the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs and Heireſs of *Hainault* and *Mons*, Daughter to Earl *Baldwin* of *Conſtantinople*, and Widow to *Burchard* ſirnamed of *Aveſnes*, a Nobleman of the ſame Country, who, by Virtue of his Marriage,

had been likewiſe Adminiſtrator of *Hainault* and *Mons*, an unnatural War broke out in *Hainault*, between the Counteſs *Margaret*, and her own Son, Prince *John* of *Aveſnnes*, who, immediately upon his Father the Adminiſtrator's Death, would not wait the Succeſſion, till his Mother the Heireſs died alſo, but conceived the Deſign of turning her out, and by the Aſſiſtance of *William the Second*, Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, whoſe Siſter, the Lady *Alice*, he had married, and who, for that Reaſon, was a ſtout Friend to the Son, and a bitter Enemy to the Mother, did almoſt put his Deſign in Execution; for partly by King *William*'s Aſſiſtance, and partly by the Means of a ſtrong Party, which he made among the Nobility of *Hainault*, he very ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of *Mons*, and of moſt of the other Towns in that Province, meaning no leſs than to take the Whole, and drive his Mother quite out of it, as in effect he did at length, and obliged her to retire into *France*: But, in the Year 1254, the Counteſs *Margaret*, being aſſiſted with Troops by *Lewis the Ninth*, otherwiſe, St. *Lewis*, King of *France*, returned into *Hainault*, where ſhe recovered *Mons*, and the other Towns, and reduced the whole Province to her Obedience; upon which, her Son, not having the Patience to wait the Succeſſion till her Death, broke his Heart, and died in the Year 1255, after having ſhewn himſelf to be a Son unworthy to have lived ſo long, by his having ſo unworthily treated a Lady, who was both his own Mother, and his Father's Widow, and whoſe Dominions he was to have all, without Diſpute, immediately upon her Demiſe, which happened in the Year 1280.

John, ſirnamed, of *Aveſnnes*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Mons*, Prince *John* of *Aveſnnes*'s Son, in the Year of our Lord 1299, by the Right of his Mother, the Lady *Alice* of *Holland*, Earl *William the Second*, otherwiſe King *William*'s Siſter, ſucceeded likewiſe in the Earldoms of *Holland* and *Zealand*; by which Means, four Earldoms came then to be joined in the Perſon of this Earl, who thereupon changed the Eſcutcheon of the Earls of *Hainault*, by putting out the Arms of *Mons*, and putting in thoſe of *Holland* in their Room, quartering the original Eſcutcheons of *Hainault* and *Holland*, ſo as to make up a Coat of Arms in this Manner: Quarterly; in the firſt and fourth, *Or*, a Lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules*, for *Hainault*; in the ſecond and third, *Or*, a Lion rampant *Gules*, for *Holland*; for a Creſt, an Earl's Coronet, *Or*, adorned with eight Flowers of the ſame. And it continues to be ſo to this Day. He alſo neglected, among his Titles, to uſe that of Earl of *Mons*; ſo from that Time it went into Deſuetude.

In the Year of our Lord 1339, in the Days of *William the Second*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*, Son to Earl *William the Good*, *Edward the Third*, King of *England*, being conſtituted by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Emperor of *Germany*, great Vicar of the Holy Empire, and having Occaſion to go from *England* into *Germany*, about the Affairs that belonged to his Charge, paſſed the Way of *Mons*, and ſtaid two Days in the Town, where he was ſplendidly and magnificently received and entertained, by Earl *William*, and his Nobility.

In the Year of our Lord 1424, in the Days of the Lady *Jaquelin*, Counteſs and Heireſs of *Hainault* and *Holland*, Daughter to Earl *William* of *Bavaria*, and Wife to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, who, by his Marriage, was likewiſe Adminiſtrator of *Hainault* and *Holland*, a terrible War broke out in *Hainault*, upon the following Occaſion: The Counteſs *Jaquelin* was lawfully married to Duke *John* of *Brabant*, as we have ſaid, but afterwards diſliked him, and, he being ſtill alive, married again Adulterouſly to *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, King *Henry the Fifth* of *England*'s Brother; upon which Duke *John* the Adminiſtrator, being aſſiſted by *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, came into *Hainault*, in the Year 1424, and, either by Force of Arms, or a voluntary Submiſſion, reduced into his Power all the Towns in the Province, except *Mons*, in a very ſhort Time. The next Year 1425, the two Dukes, *John* and *Philip*, came together before *Mons*, beſieged it, and took it upon Terms. It continued in the Hands of the *Brabancons*, ſo long as Duke *John* the Adminiſtrator lived, that is, till the Year 1426, when Duke *Philip*, as next Heir to the Counteſs *Jaquelin*, who was baniſhed the Country, ſucceeded in the Adminiſtratorſhip of *Hainault*, and the *Burgundians* took Poſſeſſion of *Mons* and kept it, till at length, in the Year 1436, the Counteſs *Jaquelin* died, and Duke *Philip* then ſucceeded to her as Heir General.

About this Prince's Time, that is, after the Year of our Lord 1436, a great many Foreigners,

reigners, eſpecially *Dutch* and *Burgundians*, came thronging thither to *Mons*, and made the Town increaſe ſo much in the Number, both of its Inhabitants and Houſes, that there was not Room enough for them within Earl *Baldwin* the Builder's Wall; for all the Ground, included with it, was intirely taken up: So that, afterwards, they were obliged to begin to build without the Ditch, along the Sides of the High-Ways, that run out from the Gates; which Buildings, at length, grew out into Suburbs, having each of them the ſame Name, with the Gate they run out from.

Duke *Philip*, having firſt had *Mons* as Adminiſtrator for another, and afterwards got it in Sovereignty to himſelf, being at ſharp and violent War, in his Time, with *Charles the Seventh*, King of *France*, upon the Account of the Death of his Father, who was killed upon the Bridge at *Montreau*, in *Champagne*, by the *French* King's Order, and conſidering the Importance of the Town of *Mons*, being a Frontier to him on the Side towards *France*, how weakly it was fortified, having nothing but Earl *Baldwin* the Builder's Wall and Ditch to defend it, and that then, after the Invention of Powder and Guns, Towns wanted to be fortified at a better Rate, than ever they had been before, was thereupon the firſt who conceived the Deſign of throwing up a Rampart about it; and, becauſe the Town, by Reaſon of its Excreſcence into Suburbs, that was likewiſe grown conſiderable, required a new Incloſure, he deſigned alſo, that the Rampart ſhould incloſe, and go quite round it, with ſuch a large Compaſs, by the outer Ends of all the Suburbs, as to take in Town, Suburbs, River, and all that was on it: Which Deſign he begun to put in Execution, in the Year of our Lord 1460, when, in Order to it, he firſt deſtroyed Earl *Baldwin*'s Incloſure, by throwing down the Wall, filling up the Ditch, and levelling both to the Ground; then extended the *Pomerium* of the Town, into the Country, beyond the Far-Ends of all the Suburbs, and the River, and there built an Incloſure of his own, by cutting out a Ditch, throwing up a Rampart, and making both go clear round, with ſuch a large Circumference, as to ſurround and ſhut up all: It was compleated in the Year 1467, the laſt Year of Duke *Philip*'s Life; and it is the fourth and laſt Incloſure of *Mons*, which, among all thoſe that the Town has had, is the only one that continues on Foot, and intire to this Day; and, though it be now above two-hundred Years old, yet it is all that *Mons* has about it.

What Kind of Incloſure this Rampart of Duke *Philip the Good*'s is, we can very well tell; for it is ſtill on Foot and intire, and I have ſeen and obſerved it very exactly. It is not a ſimple Wall of Stone, as the other Incloſures were, but a thick Rampart of Earth; built in the ancient Faſhion, not after the modern; altogether irregular, not according to Art; and fortified with Towers and Bulwarks intermixed, not Baſtions, being a confuſed Maſs of *Roman* and *Gothick* Work together, that diſcovers, by its Mixture, the Age it was done in, as well as the Hands who did it. It is hard to tell its Dimenſions, becauſe of its Irregularity; for we could not take them, otherwiſe than meaſuring them by common Paces; which we did, walking it on Foot, both within and without the Town: So, according to what we found, I ſhall endeavour to give a Deſcription of it as full and exact as is poſſible. And, to begin with its Plan:

It is built in Form of a Polygon, or Figure having many Sides, of an oblong, round, or parabolick Kind; conſiſting of two unequal Parts upon the two Sides of the *Trouille*; of ſeveral irregular Sides on both Sides the River, and having ſeven Gates in it, two Sluices, and a great many Towers and Bulwarks intermixed, at unequal and irregular Diſtances.

The great Semidiameter of the interior Polygon is juſt a Thouſand common Paces, Five-hundred Geometrical Paces, or a third Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Length of the Ground, within this Polygon, Two-thouſand common Paces, or a thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two Thirds of a *Britiſh* Mile. The great Semidiameter of the exterior Polygon is a Thouſand and forty-two common Paces, that is, Five-hundred and twenty-one Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than a Third of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Length of the Ground within this Polygon, or the greateſt Length of the Place. Take it which Way you will, Two-thouſand and eighty-four common Paces, or a Thouſand and forty-two Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than two Thirds of a *Britiſh* Mile. The little Semidiameter of the interior Polygon is juſt Seven-hundred and fifty common Paces, that is, Three-hundred and

ſeventy-five

ſeventy-five Geometrical Paces, or a Quarter of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Breadth of the Ground, within this Polygon, Fifteen-hundred common Paces, or Seven-hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or Half a *Britiſh* Mile. The little Semidiameter of the exterior Polygon is Seven-hundred and ninety-two common Paces, that is, Three-hundred and ninety-ſix Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than a Quarter of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Breadth of the Ground within this Polygon, or the greateſt Breadth of the Place, take it which Way you will, Fifteen-hundred and eighty-four common Paces, or Seven-hundred and ninety-two Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than Half a *Britiſh* Mile.

The Sides of both the Polygons being of an unequal Length, and the Towers and Bulwarks of an irregular Situation, at unequal and irregular Diſtances, we could not well take the Dimenſions of them all ſeparately, but, jointly all together, we found the Circumference of the interior Polygon to be juſt Six-thouſand common Paces, that is, Three-thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles; and the Circumference of the exterior Polygon, Six-thouſand two-hundred and fifty-two common Paces, or Three-thouſand a hundred and twenty-ſix Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than two *Britiſh* Miles. But the Circumference, meaſuring it upon the Top of the Rampart, going along the Corridor, or Gallery, and around the Platforms, or Terraſſes of the Towers and Bulwarks by the Foot in the Battlement, or Breaſt-work, and reckoning all the Sides and Angles, or Turnings in and out of the Ramparts, Towers, and Bulwarks, or the greateſt Circumference of the Place, take it which Way you will, is exactly Seven-thouſand two-hundred and forty common Paces, that is, Three-thouſand ſix-hundred and twenty Geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles, and ſomewhat more than a Third of a Mile.

There are ſeven Gates in this Rampart; five in that Part of it which ſurrounds the greater Part of the Town, on the Eaſt-ſide the River, commonly called *the Great Town*, being by far the greater Part of it; and two in that Part which ſurrounds the leſſer Part of the Town, on the Weſt-ſide the River, named *the Little Town*, being much the leſſer Part. The Gates on the Eaſt-ſide, in the Rampart about the Great Town, beginning at the River, at the lower End towards the North, from thence going Eaſtwards, and ſo round, are reckoned in this Order, and thus named: The *Water*-Gate, the *Caſtle*-Gate, the *Park*-Gate, the *Nimy*-Gate, and the *Havre*-Gate. Thoſe on the Weſt-ſide, in the Rampart about the Little Town, beginning at the River, at the upper End towards the South, from thence going Weſtwards, round, are reckoned and named ſo: The *Hayon*-Gate, and the *Bartemont*-Gate. And upon the River, at each End of the Town, whereas, originally, there was nothing but a Pannel or Piece of Wall, with a little Gate in it, for the Water to paſs through, built by the *Burgundians*, to join the Rampart on the one Side, and that on the other Side together, and ſo to compleat the Incloſure; inſtead of thoſe Pannels of Wall, there are now two Sluices, lately made by the *Spaniards*, which ſerve the Turn of Joining the two Ramparts, and Compleating the Incloſure to better Purpoſe; for, beſides the Joining of the Ramparts, by theſe Sluices, the People of the Town have the Command of the River-water, ſo as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it what they pleaſe; whereas, by thoſe Pannels of Wall, they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round Towers, and Bulwarks, likewiſe round, intermixed, at unequal and irregular Diſtances; and every one of thoſe Gates and Sluices is ſo placed in the Middle between two Towers, one on each Side of it, and ſo nigh to one another, that it ſtands equally defended and hid between them.

As to its Profile; the Rampart, the Gates, the Towers, the Bulwarks, and all that is on it, is built of Earth thrown up, reveſted on the Outſide, and incruſted on the Inſide, with Facades of hewn Stone; the Rampart and Gates being to the Thickneſs of ſeventy Feet, that is, reckoning the Maſs of Earth, with the Reveſture and Incruſture of Stone, and to the Height of eight and twenty; the Towers to the Solidity of five and thirty Feet, and to the Height of two and forty, that is, a third Part higher than the Rampart, after the Manner practiſed in the Towers of the *Aurelian* Wall about *Rome*; and the Bulwarks to both a Solidity and a Height equal to thoſe of the Rampart, according to the common Practice. The Ramparts and Gates are terminated with a grand Corridor, or Gallery, being a Kind of Terra-plain, running along the

the Top of it; the Towers and Bulwarks with grand Platforms, or Terraſſes, ſome of which are covered, and ſome diſcovered; and both Terra-plain and Platforms are guarded on the Outſide with a grand Battlement, or Breaſt-work, being a Kind of Parapet, likewiſe of Earth caſt up, reveſted, and incruſted with hewn Stone, to the Thickneſs of one and twenty Feet, and to the Height of ſeven; founded upon the Top of the Rampart and Gates, the Towers and Bulwarks, and reigning along the Terra-plain, and around the Platforms, all about the Town: By which Means, though the Rampart and Gates be ſeventy Feet thick, yet the Terra-plain, in the Top of them, comes to be only forty-nine Feet broad, by Reaſon that one and twenty Feet, the Thickneſs of the Parapet, are taken from it; and, the Parapet going round the Towers and Bulwarks, as well as along the Rampart and Gates, the Breadth of their Platforms comes alſo to be diminiſhed in Proportion.

Without the Rampart is the Ditch, being a Moat, or wet Ditch, a Hundred and forty Feet broad, and twelve Feet deep: It is cut out of the Earth, has its Scarp and Counterſcarp incruſted with hewn Stone, and is always full of Water from the River, and the other neighbouring Waters that are made to run into it. Over it, before the Gates, are ſeven Bridges, that is, one before each Gate, giving Paſſage into, and out from the Town; and having, at the outer Ends of them, as many High-ways, that, from thence, run out into the adjacent Country, and have each the ſame Name with the Gate it runs out from: They were originally fixed Bridges of Stone, built by the *Burgundians*, but now they are Draw ones of Timber, lately made by the *Spaniards*; that is, before each Gate there is now a Draw-bridge, or rather a Concatenation of ſuch Bridges, one beyond another, placed upon Mounts or Pillars, founded in the Ditch to ſuch a Length, as to croſs it over, and to the ordinary Breadth of Bridges.

The River *Trouille*, whether within or without the Town, is but very ſmall and inconſiderable; however, it is navigable for Boats, as much as is of it below *Mons*, and bordered all along with a Quay, or Landing-place, reveſted with Stone, its Channel being incruſted with the ſame. As for the Bridges, that are over it, joining the two Parts of the Town together, the one Part on the Eaſt-ſide, being by far the greater, the other on the Weſt-ſide much the leſſer, there are a great many of them, one in every Street that touches upon it, but none of them conſiderable, the River being but ſmall. They are all fixed Bridges of Stone, as they have always been, built originally by the *Burgundians*, and rebuilt lately by the *Spaniards*, terminated in the Top with a Cauſe-way, or Street, guarded on both Sides with a Baluſtrade, or Rail; the Whole of hewn Stone.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as Duke *Philip the Good* fortified it, and this is all the Length its Fortifications came, in his Life-time; for, according to the Knowledge the *Burgundians* had of the Art of Military Architecture, in thoſe Days, being ſurrounded with a Rampart and a Ditch, they reckoned it a Town compleatly fortified.

Charles the Warrior, Duke *Philip*'s Son and Succeſſor, having likewiſe ſharp and violent War, in his Time, againſt *Lewis the Eleventh*, King of *France*, upon the Account of his Grand-father's Death, and the Knowledge of the Art of Military Architecture being come a greater Length in his Days, than it was in his Father's, conſidered further of fortifying *Mons*, being a principal Frontier-town to him on the Side towards *France*, by the Addition of Outworks to its Strength; and, in order to it, he firſt cut down all the Wood, which covered the Country about the Town, and, by ſuch Means, diſcovered it all around, ſo as to make a grand Explanade, immediately without the Ditch, that reigned, for a great Way off, all about the Place; then he cut out another Ditch, likewiſe a Moat, making it go quite round, a little without the Former, and diſpoſed of the other Waters about the Town, ſo as, by the Means of Canals, to make them run into the Ditches, to fill them: And laſt of all, for the better Defence of the Rampart, on the South and Weſt Sides of the Town, being the Sides towards *France* and *Flanders*, he erected two Forts, being a Kind of Ravelin, upon the Ground included between the two Ditches, the one before the *Hayon*-Gate, towards the South, the other before the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the Weſt: This was done in the Year of our Lord 1470; and he would, perhaps, have done more towards the Fortifying of *Mons*, if his Death, which happened,

pened at the Battle of *Nancy*, in the Year 1477, had not prevented him.

What Kind of Works theſe Outworks of Duke *Charles the Warrior*'s were then, we cannot preciſely tell; for now they are either taken in, and embodied with the *Spaniſh* and *French* Works that have been ſince made, or levelled. However, I have ſeen a Draught of them in the Hall of the Caſtle at *Mons*, by which it appears, that the Forts have been good large Works, built of Earth, reveſted and incruſted with Stone, to a Solidity double of the Thickneſs of the Rampart, and to a Height equal to the Depth of the Ditches, between which they were erected, terminated in the Top with Platforms, guarded on the Outſide with Battlements, fortified with round Turrets, and having Bridges of Stone over the two Ditches, both before and behind them, the whole being ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification; that the Ditch has been a Moat, half as broad as the other, and whole as deep, going round, ſometimes at a greater, and ſometimes at a leſſer Diſtance; and that the Wood has been diſcovered, for a great Way off, all about the Town.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as Duke *Charles the Warrior* further fortified it, and this is the Length its Fortifications came in his Life-time; when, according to the Rate of reckoning the Strength of Towns in thoſe Days, it was indeed become pretty ſtrong; being incloſed with a Rampart, fortified with Towers and Bulwarks, further fortified with ſome Outworks, and ſurrounded with a double Ditch; all which did indeed make it ſtrong at that Time, though now it would ſignify nothing.

However, it continued ſo in the ſame State, without any further Alteration or Change befalling it, either in its Edifices or Government, till the Days of *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Hainault*, Son to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*. This Prince had no War in his Time with the *French*, but cruel and bloody War with the *Dutch*, the States-General of the United Provinces, who naturally were his Subjects, but had made a general Defection from him, becauſe of his Tyranny and Oppreſſion towards them, upon the Account of their differing in Religion from him, they being Proteſtants, and he a Papiſt, and eſtabliſhed a Republick of their own, which was headed by *William the Firſt*, Prince of *Orange*, and *Lewis*, Earl of *Naſſau*, his Brother, who, in the Year of our Lord 1572, being aſſiſted with the Proteſtants of *France*, came into *Hainault*, drew near to *Mons* in the Night-time, and took it by a Stratagem. But it was retaken, by Force, the ſame Year, by Don *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Alva*, Governor for King *Philip* in the *Low Countries*, and Don *Frederick* of *Toledo*, his Son, who beſieged it cloſely for two Months, and then forced it to ſurrender upon Terms.

King *Philip* having recovered it into his Hands, and the bloody War, betwixt him and the States-General, becoming more violent, conſidering the Weakneſs of the Rampart about it, by Reaſon of the Slenderneſs of its Fortification, and the *Spaniards* being come a greater Length, in the Knowledge of the Art of Military Architecture, than the *Burgundians* ever were, reſolved to provide for the further Security of the Town, by amending the Defects in its Strength. So accordingly, in the Year of our Lord 1576, for the better Defence of the Rampart, he fell a fortifying it with Baſtions, ſuch as the *Spaniards* in his Time could conſtruct; and begun on the Eaſt-ſide at the Gate of *Nimy*, where, the Ground being a riſing Ground, or Hill, he thought it was moſt attackable, from thence going Southwards, round; but he only perfected two of them during all the reſt of his Life-time; the one at the ſaillant Angle, on the Right of the Gate of *Nimy*, towards the Eaſt; the other at the ſaillant Angle in the Middle of the Diſtance between that and the Gate of *Havre*, towards the South-Eaſt.

What Kind of Works theſe Baſtions of *Philip the Second*'s were, we can very well tell, they being ſtill on Foot and intire, and free from any other Edifice; they are Baſtions flat, not royal; built of Earth, reveſted with Stone to a Solidity triple of the Thickneſs of the Rampart, and to a Height equal to that of the ſame; terminated in the Top with Platforms, or Terraſſes, guarded on the Outſide with Parapets, or Battlements and Banquets, or Footſteps, ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as King *Philip the Second* amended it, and this is all the Length its Fortifications came in his Time; he would perhaps have done more towards the Strengthen-

Strengthening of the Town, if the cruel and bloody religious War, which happened in his Reign, had not hindered him.

Albert, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, King *Philip the Second*'s Son-in-Law, by marrying his Daughter Donna *Iſabella*, and Succeſſor in the Dominion of the *Low-Countries*, though he had little or no War during his Government, with the *Dutch*, or any other of his Neighbours, yet continued the Deſign his Father had begun, of amending the Defects in the Strength of *Mons*, and fortifying the Rampart with Baſtions; and accordingly, in the Year of our Lord 1603, added one on the South-weſt Side, near the Gate of *Bartemont*, where there being likewiſe a little riſing Ground, he thought it was ſomewhat attackable; it is at the ſaillant Angle on the Left of the Gate of *Bartemont* towards the South-weſt.

What Kind of Work this Baſtion of Arch-duke *Albert* was, we can likewiſe very well tell; it being ſtill on Foot and intire. It is of the ſame Figure, has the ſame Dimenſions, and is every Way the ſame with the other two, that are already deſcribed.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as Arch-duke *Albert* further amended it, and this is the Length its Fortifications came in his Government. It continued ſo in the ſame State, without any further Addition to its Strength, till the Days of *Philip the Fourth*, King of *Spain*, and Earl of *Hainault*, King *Philip the Third*'s Son; who having ſharp War in his Time with the *French*, during the Minority of *Lewis the Fourteenth*, the preſent King of *France*, and the *Spaniards* being come a greater Length, in the Knowledge of the Art of military Architecture than formerly, conſidered further of ſtrengthening the Defence of *Mons*, by compleating its Fortification with Outworks; in order to which, in the Year of our Lord 1660, he firſt enlarged Duke *Philip the Good*'s Ditch, in ſuch and ſuch Places, ſo as to render it capable of the Works he deſigned in it; and then, beginning on the Eaſt-ſide, at the Gate of *Nimy*, where, the Ground being high, he thought the Town was moſt attackable, from thence going Southwards round, he planted and raiſed the following Outworks: A large Ravelin, juſt before the *Nimy* Gate, towards the Eaſt; a Half-moon in the Middle of the Diſtance, between King *Philip the Second*'s two Baſtions, likewiſe towards the Eaſt; another Half-moon before the *Hayon* Gate, towards the South; a third Half-moon in the Middle of the Diſtance, between that and Arch-duke *Albert*'s Baſtion, likewiſe towards the South; a fourth and large Half-moon, juſt before the *Bartemont* Gate, towards the Weſt; and a Horn-work before the Water-gate, towards the North-weſt.

What Kind of Works theſe Outworks of King *Philip the Fourth*'s were, we can well enough tell; they being ſtill on Foot and intire, and free from other Edifices. They are built of Earth reveſted and incruſted with Stone, to a Solidity and Height in Proportion to the Rampart; terminated with Platforms, guarded with Parapets and Banquets, ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification; planted in the Ditch, at the Diſtance of its ordinary Breadth from the Rampart, that is, beyond the general Ditch, which accompanies the Rampart all along; ſurrounded with Water, that is, their particular Ditches, which only accompany them, and are commonly half the Breadth of the other, both being but one Ditch enlarged, originally cut out by Duke *Philip the Good*; and joined to the Scarp or Slope, on the Inſide, and to the Counter-ſcarp, or contrary Slope, on the Outſide, with Draw-Bridges.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as King *Philip the Fourth* compleated it, and this is all the Length its Fortification came in his Reign. Perhaps, he would have done more, but his Death, which happened in the Year of our Lord 1665, prevented him.

Charles the Second, late King of *Spain*, King *Philip the Fourth*'s Son, and Succeſſor to the Earldom of *Hainault*, having likewiſe ſharp and violent War in his Time, with the preſent King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*, continued the Deſign his Father had begun, of ſtrengthening the Defence of *Mons*, by compleating its Fortification with Outworks, and partly by the Means of the Knowledge that the *Spaniards* were then come to in Military Architecture, partly by the Help of the Skill of ſome ſtraggling *French* Pretenders to that Art, who, either by Chance, or out of Deſign, were got into his Service, did more of this Kind for that Town than all thoſe who were before him, though to no great Purpoſe.

Firſt, In the Year of our Lord 1670, in Duke *Philip the Good*'s Ditch, beginning on the Eaſt-ſide, where the Town, becauſe of the ri-

ſing Ground, is moſt attackable, at the Gate of the *Park*, from thence going Southwards, round, he added theſe following Outworks to thoſe that were in it before: A Half-moon, juſt before the *Park*-Gate, towards the North-eaſt; another Half-moon, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between that and King *Philip the Fourth*'s Ravelin, before the *Nimy*-Gate, likewiſe towards the North-eaſt; an irregular Horn-work, with a ſmall Ravelin before it, covering King *Philip the Second*'s Baſtion, on the Right of the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the Eaſt; and a third Half-moon in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Havre*-Gate and the *Hayon*-Gate, towards the South. Then he converted the Ground, included between Duke *Philip the Good*'s Ditch, and Duke *Charles the Warrior*'s, into a grand covered Way, with a Glacis, or Parapet, on the Outſide; reigning quite round the Town, and being tenailed or angled all along; divided in ſome Places, becauſe of its too great Breadth, and Intercut in others, for the Sake of a Communication of Water between the Ditches. Afterwards, without Duke *Charles the Warrior*'s Ditch, for the further Fortification of the Place, he added theſe Outworks: A ſmall Swallow-tail, with a Moat, or wet Ditch, ſeparated at ſome Diſtance from the other, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Caſtle*-Gate and the *Park*-Gate, towards the North-eaſt; a ſmall Half-moon, with a Moat, at a good Diſtance from the other, before the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the Eaſt; two Ravelins, and a Half-moon, conſecutively, in a Lake, conſiderably both broad and deep (that reigns, inſtead of Duke *Charles*'s Ditch, immediately without the Glacis, and Duke *Philip*'s Ditch, all along, from the *Nimy*-Gate, on the Eaſt Side the Town, to the *Hayon*-Gate, on the South, ſo as to ſurround it on theſe two Sides; the Part of it on the Eaſt being called the *Apoſtles* Lake, that on the Weſt, *Prieſts* Lake) at ſome Diſtance from the Glacis, without the Horn-work and Ravelin, that covers Duke *Philip the Second*'s Baſtion, on the Right of the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the Eaſt; a triple Fortification, of a Horn-work, a ſingle Tenaille, and a double Tenaille, one without another, with Moats accompanying them, at the Diſtance of the Breadth of the Lake from the Glacis, and Duke *Philip*'s Ditch, they being all on the other Side of it, before the *Havre*-Gate, towards the South; three Ravelins, conſecutively, in the Lake, at ſome Diſtance from the Glacis, on the Right of the *Hayon*-Gate, likewiſe towards the South; an odd unaccountable Fortification, of an irregular Horn-work, with a counter Swallow-tail, at ſome Diſtance from it, towards the Left, and two ſmall Ravelins and a Quarter-moon lying ſcattered between them, all in Duke *Charles*'s Ditch enlarged, without the Glacis, before the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the Weſt; and a grand ſingle Tenaille, with a Ravelin before the Angle of the Right, in Duke *Charles*'s Ditch, covering King *Philip the Fourth*'s Horn-work, before the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt. Laſt of all, for the further Security of his Outworks, he cut out a third Ditch, likewiſe a Moat, making it go round the Town on two Sides, that is, the Weſt and North, a little without Duke *Charles*'s Ditch; whereas, on the other two, the Eaſt and South Sides, it was before-hand ſurrounded, and abundantly ſecured, with the Lake, that is, the *Apoſtles* Lake on the Eaſt, and *Prieſts* Lake on the South; both being but one Lake, though, by the Works before the *Havre*-Gate, divided into two, and of a ſufficient both Breadth and Deepneſs to ſecure the Town on thoſe Sides. He alſo diſpoſed of the other Waters about the Town, ſo as, by the Means of Canals, to make them run into the Ditches, into the Lakes, or into the Marſhes, as he had a Mind; and, by the Means of Sluices, to make them run, or not run, as he had a Mind, whatever Way he would.

What Kind of Works theſe Outworks of King *Charles the Second*'s were, we cannot preciſely tell, as to them all; ſome of them being ſtill on Foot, and intire, and free from other Edifices; others, either taken in, and embodied with the *French* Works that have been ſince made, or levelled; but, by an Account of thoſe that are on Foot, and free, one may gueſs at what the others have been: They are built of Earth, reveſted and incruſted with Stone, having their Dimenſions ſomewhat, but not altogether, in Proportion to the Rampart; terminated with Platforms, guarded with Parapets and Banquets ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification; planted in the Ditches, at the Diſtance of their ordinary Breadth from the interior Works towards the Town; ſurrounded with Water, or their particular Ditches, and joined to the Scarps and Counter-ſcarps,

ter-ſcarps, as well as to one another, with Draw-bridges.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as King *Charles the Second* further compleated it; and this is the Length its Fortifications came, in the Time that he had it; for, after he had brought them ſo far, his Engineers, both *Spaniards* and *French*, told him it was a Town both compleatly and right fortified; but it afterwards appeared, how much they were wrong.

In the Year of our Lord 1678, the War continuing, between King *Charles the Second* of *Spain* and King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*, King *Lewis* marched an Army into *Hainault*, under the Command of *Julius*, late Duke of *Luxemburg*, who came before *Mons*, and beſieged it, but afterwards found it convenient, becauſe of the watery Situation of the Place, to convert the Siege into a Blockade; which he continued ſo long, that thoſe within the Town were reduced to very grear Straits; when the Army of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and of the other Powers in Alliance with King *Charles*, under the Command of *William the Third*, late Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards King of *Great-Britain*, came ſeaſonably to their Relief, attacked the Duke of *Luxemburg* with the *French* Army, fought them, and gained a compleat Victory over them, at the memorable Battle of St. *Dennis*, where the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Troops did Wonders; and where the Prince of *Orange*, engaging too far among the Enemy, would certainly have been either taken, or killed, by a *French* Officer, if Mynheer *Overkirk* had not come Time enough, and ſhot that Officer through the Head: So, by the Means of the good Succeſs of that Day, on the Side of King *Charles* and his Allies, the Town of *Mons*, for that Time, narrowly eſcaped Falling into the Hands of the *French*, and continued ſtill to be under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*. This Action was immediately followed by a ſeparate Peace, betwixt *France* and *Holland*, which, afterwards, drew on a general one.

In the Year of our Lord 1691, the War being again broke out, between King *Charles* of *Spain* and King *Lewis* of *France*, King *Lewis* came, himſelf in Perſon, with a great Army, into *Hainault*, ſat down before *Mons*, and, by the Means of that odd, unaccountable Fortification, of an irregular Horn-work, a Counter Swallow-tail, with two little Ravelins and a Quarter-moon lying between, before the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the Weſt, which the *French* took, Sword in Hand, forced the Town to ſurrender upon Terms, after a Siege of three and twenty Days. The Prince of *Orange*, then King of *Great-Britain*, had gathered an Army to endeavour its Relief, but could not come up to it in Time: So the *Spaniards* loſt the Town of *Mons*, with all its fine Fortifications, to the *French*, who kept it during all the reſt of that War, and have had it ever ſince, except for a very little While.

No ſooner King *Lewis* had got *Mons* into his Hands, but, knowing the Importance of the Place, he reſolved well to keep it, if he could; and, conſidering the Faults of its Fortification, immediately begun, that ſame Year, to amend them: And, the *French* being one of the Nations of *Europe* that underſtand the Art of Military Architecture beſt, they never gave over the Fortifying of *Mons*, till, by making Alterations and Additions, ſuitable to its Weakneſs and Wants, they rendered it a Town compleatly and rightly fortified, with all the Art and Skill they were Maſters of; the principal Direction of the Work being committed to the particular Care of the famous Monſieur *De Vauban*, Lieutenant-General and Chief Engineer of *France*, who has indeed given it the finiſhing Stroke, and acquitted himſelf very handſomely in it, both as to Deſign and Execution.

Firſt, he repaired the Breaches that had been made, during the Siege, in the Rampart, and thoſe in the Outworks, which he had a Mind to preſerve as they were; then, beginning at the River, where it goes out of the Town, at the North-weſt Corner, on the Left of the *Water*-Gate, from thence, going Eaſtwards round, he made the following Alterations and Additions. In the Rampart: A ſmall Baſtion, flat, at the ſaillant Angle, where the *Park*-Gate is, towards the North-eaſt; another, irregular, of the ſame Kind, in the Middle of the Diſtance between King *Philip the Second*'s Baſtions, towards the Eaſt; and a Demi-baſtion, likewiſe flat, at the ſaillant Angle, on the Left of the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt. In Duke *Philip the Good*'s Ditch: A ſmall Ravelin, before King *Philip the Fourth*'s Horn-work, covering the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-eaſt; the Tenaille

of King *Charles the Second*, there, being converted into a Part of his covered Way and Glacis: A ſecond Rampart, taken off from the too great Breadth of King *Charles*'s grand covered Way, beginning near the *Water*-Gate, having two Baſtions flat in it, and ending upon a large Half-moon before the *Caſtle*-Gate; which, with King *Charles*'s two Half-moons without the *Park*-Gate, and King *Philip*'s Ravelin before the *Nimy*-Gate, are joined together, conſecutively, with Traverſes, or Galleries; the Whole being at the Diſtance of the ordinary Breadth of the Ditch from the firſt Rampart, towards the North and North-eaſt; a ſmall Tenaille before the Courtine, and behind the Ravelin, of King *Charles*'s irregular Horn-Work, covering King *Philip the Second's* Baſtion, on the Right of the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the Eaſt; a Half-moon, covering the Point of King *Philip*'s other Baſtion (King *Philip the Fourth's* Half-moon being between the two) towards the South-eaſt; two ſmall Traverſes, one without another, a Half-Moon, and another Traverſe, conſecutively, or one after another, in the Way from thence to the *Havre*-Gate, likewiſe towards the South-eaſt; after King *Charles*'s next Half-moon, there, the River, where it enters the Town, on the South Side, on the Left of the *Hayon*-Gate, King *Philip the Fourth*'s two Half-moons, Arch-duke *Albert*'s Baſtion, and King *Philip*'s other Half-moon, before the *Bartemont*-Gate, a Cut-work, on the Right of the Half-moon, with a double Counter-guard, before the two, all three without the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the Weſt; a Half-moon, a Traverſe, another Half-moon, and another Traverſe, conſecutively, joined together, and ending upon the River, where it goes out of the Town, on the Left of the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt, from whence he began his Courſe. In King *Charles the Second*'s covered Way and Glacis: The covered Way reformed to an ordinary Breadth; the Glacis double-tenailled, or double-angled all around; both cut in ſome Places, on the Left of the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt, at the Point of King *Philip the Second*'s ſecond Baſtion, towards the South-eaſt, on the Left of the *Hayon*-Gate, towards the South, on the Right of Arch-duke *Albert*'s Baſtion, towards the South-weſt, and intirely deſtroyed in one Place, on the Right and Left of the *Havre*-Gate, towards the South and South-eaſt, for the Sake of the Paſſage of the River, into and out of the Town, and of a Communication of Water, between the Ditches and Lakes about the Town. In Duke *Charles* the Warrior's Ditch: Three Half-moons, conſecutively, in the Diſtance between the *Water*-Gate, and the *Caſtle*-Gate, towards the North; a large voluminous Horn-work, with a Tenaille, and a Ravelin, before it, in the Room of King *Charles*'s Swallow-tail, in the Middle of the Diſtance between the *Caſtle*-Gate and the *Park*-Gate, towards the North-Eaſt, where a Canal from the North enters the Ditch, and where the Grounds begins to riſe, and, conſequently, the Town to be more attackable; a grand complex Fortification, of three large Horn-works, with their Accompaniments, one without another, the firſt having a Tenaille before it, the ſecond a Tenaille, a Ravelin, a Cut-work, and a Quarter-moon, the third a Tenaille, and a Ravelin, the Whole running out, from between the *Park*-Gate and the *Nimy*-Gate, a good Way into the Country, towards the Eaſt, where a Canal from the Eaſt enters the Ditch, and where the Ground riſes moſt, and, conſequently, the Town is moſt attackable; Duke *Charles*'s Ditch ending, and the Lake beginning, immediately after the three Horn-Works, in the *Apoſtles* Lake, a Cut-work, and a Quarter-moon, conſecutively, in the Room of King *Charles*'s two Ravelins and Half-moon, before the *Nimy*-Gate, likewiſe towards the Eaſt, where the Ground falls low again, and, conſequently, is leſs attackable; a Half-moon, on the Left of the *Havre*-Gate, towards the South-eaſt; Duke *Charles*'s Fort, as well as King *Charles*'s Horn-work, remaining before the *Havre*-Gate, the firſt ſerving as a Work of Communication thorough the Lake to the laſt, and conſequently, dividing the Lake into two; a ſmall Ravelin, before the Horn-work, on the other Side the Lake, before the *Havre*-Gate, towards the South, the ſingle Tenaille and double Tenaille of King *Charles*, there, being converted into a covered Way and Glacis, tenailled, and ſurrounded with a Moat; in *Prieſts*-Lake a Ravelin in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Havre*-Gate and the *Hayon*-Gate, likewiſe towards the South; the Lake ending on the one Side, the River from the South entering the Town, and Duke *Charles*'s Ditch beginning again, on the other Side, another grand Fortification, of a large Horn-work, a Ra-

a Ravelin, a double Tenaille, and another Horn-work, one without another, running out, from the Right of the *Hayon*-Gate, into the Country, towards the South-weſt, where the Ground riſes a little along the River-ſide, and, conſequently, is ſomewhat attackable; a Ravelin on the Right of the *Hayon*-Gate, likewiſe towards the South-weſt; a Half-moon on the Right of Arch-duke *Albert*'s Baſtion, likewiſe towards the South-weſt; a Horn-work, with a ſmall Ravelin before it, in the Room of that odd unaccountable Fortification of King *Charles*'s, an irregular Horn-work, a Counter-ſwallow-tail, with two little Ravelins, and a Quarter-moon lying between, by Means of which, the *French* eaſily took the Town, before the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the Weſt, where, likewiſe, the Ground riſing a little, the Town is ſomewhat attackable; two Ravelins, and a Half-moon, conſecutively, in the Diſtance between the Right of the *Bartemont*-Gate, and the *Water*-Gate, where the River goes out of the Town, towards the North-weſt, where he began his Courſe. In the Ground, between Duke *Charles*'s Ditch, and King *Charles*'s third one, a new covered Way and Glacis, regular, and tenailled; reigning round the Town on all Sides, except where the Lake is, there being nō Need for it on thoſe Sides, by Reaſon of the Lake's being ſufficiently broad to guard the Works there; cut in ſome Places, on the Left of the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt, before the large Horn-work, in the Middle, between the *Caſtle*-Gate, and the *Park*-Gate, towards the North-eaſt, on the Right of the three Horn-works, between the *Park*-Gate and the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the Eaſt, on the Left of the outermoſt Horn-work, on the Right of the *Hayon*-Gate, towards the South-weſt; and intirely wanting in one Place, on the Right and Left of the *Havre*-Gate, towards the South and South-eaſt, for the Sake of the Paſſage of the River, into, and out of the Town, of the Enterance of two Canals, from the North, and from the Eaſt, into the Ditches, and of a Communication of Water between the Ditches and the two Lakes, about the Town. As for King *Charles*'s Ditch, he deſtroyed it, and, inſtead of it, converted the Ground immediately, without the outer Glacis, into a grand Explanade, reigning for a great Way off, all about the Town, which he fortified with Redoubts, upon the Avenues to the Place, as follows: Without the *Water*-Gate, towards the North-weſt, on the Right of the River, a Ravelin, in a Moat, joined to Duke *Charles*'s Ditch with a Traverſe of Water; and, beyond it, a Lozenge, likewiſe moated, on the River-ſide, further into the Country; in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Water*-Gate and the *Caſtle*-Gate, towards the North, a Ravelin, moated, and joined to Duke *Charles*'s Ditch, with a Traverſe, as before; without the *Caſtle*-Gate, likewiſe, towards the North, on the Left of the Canal that comes from thence, a Lozenge moated, as before; beyond it, further into the Country, another of the ſame, and the Village of *Eſpinlien*, on the other Side the Canal, incloſed with a Horn-work; in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Park*-Gate and the *Nimy*-Gate, towards the North-eaſt, a Ravelin, moated, and joined with a Traverſe, as before; without the *Hayon*-Gate, towards the South, on the Right of the River, upon the Water-ſide, the Mill of St. *Peter*'s, incloſed with an irregular Fort, being a Polygon, on both Sides the River, with a ſmall Ravelin before it, on the Right; in the Diſtance between the *Hayon*-Gate and the *Bartemont*-Gate, towards the South and South-weſt, two Ravelins, moated, and joined, as before, conſecutively, one after another; in the Diſtance between the *Bartemont*-Gate, and the *Water*-Gate, towards the Weſt and North-weſt, three Ravelins, conſecutively, moated, and joined, each of them, as before. He alſo diſpoſed of the Waters about the Town ſo, as, by the Means of Canals, to make them run into the Ditches; and, by the Means of Sluices, to make them run or not run, as he had a Mind, and run which Way he would: Eſpecially, he made two Complications of Canals, the one near the Village of *Eſpinlien*, towards the North; the other, over-againſt St. *Peter*'s Mill, towards the South, which equally contribute to drain the Ground, and to defend the Town on thoſe Sides. Laſt of all, he built a Citadel within the Town, being a Demi-Hexagon, adjoining to the Rampart, on the Inſide, at the ſaillant Angles, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Bartemont*-Gate and the *Water* Gate, towards the Weſt; which, becauſe it is inconſiderable, and of no Conſequence, upon the double Account of its low Situation, and weak Defence, both lying

lying in a Plain, and having nothing but an Explanade about it, with a ſmall Ravelin before the Mid-Courtine, towards the Town, I ſhall ſuperſede any further Deſcription of it.

What Kind of Works theſe Outworks of King *Lewis*'s were, we can very tell; for they are ſtill on Foot and intire; and I have ſeen and obſerved them both very exactly, and very lately. They are built all of Earth, reveſted and incruſted with Stone and Brick, intermixed; having their Dimenſions in Proportion to the Rampart, as well as to one another; terminated with Platforms, guarded with Parapets and Banquets, ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification; planted in the Ditches, at regular Diſtances; ſurrounded with an Abundance of Water, and joined to the Scarps and Counter-ſcarps, as well as to one another, with timber Bridges, ſome of which are Draw-ones, and ſome fixed.

That was the Condition of *Mons*, as King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France* finiſhed it; and this is the compleat and right Length its Fortifications came, in the Time that he firſt had it; by the Means of which, and of its Situation, it was certainly then become, both naturally and artificially, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt impregnable Towns in the World: And it continues to be ſo to this Day.

King *Lewis* kept it, that firſt Time, till the Year of our Lord 1697, when a general Peace being concluded at *Ryſwick*, between himſelf and the Princes in Confederacy againſt him, by the ſeventh Article of that Treaty, he was obliged to reſtore it to King *Charles*.

It continued again in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, till the Year of our Lord 1701, when, King *Charles the Second* being dead, and having conſtituted, by a Teſtament *, *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*, King *Lewis*'s Grand-Son, and his own Grand-Nephew, his Heir and Succeſſor, by Vertue of that Claim to the Monarchy of *Spain*, King *Lewis* ſeized upon the Town of *Mons*, among others, for Duke *Philip*, and keeps it now a ſecond Time, for him, to this Day. But, the War breaking immediately out again, upon that Ground of the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, and being juſt now on Foot, between *Charles the Third*, preſent King of *Spain*, Couſin and Succeſſor to the Former, and King *Lewis* of *France*, with Duke *Philip* of *Anjou*, who pretends likewiſe to be King of *Spain*, and King *Charles* being powerfully aſſiſted by his Allies, the Emperor, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General of the *United Provinces*, in the Purſuit and Recovery of his Right, they are like to drive his Enemies, King *Lewis*, and Duke *Philip*, out of his Territories, by a ſharp and victorious War, and oblige them to quit their Pretenſions, by a ſure and laſting Peace. Laſt Year, they luckily got *Liſle* from them; this Year, they eaſily took *Tournay*; very lately, they bravely fought them at the Battle of *Arquennes*; and juſt now, they are cloſely beſieging *Mons*: But, whether or not they will have it, at this Time, is doubtful.

In Fine, this is the Condition of *Mons*, as King *Lewis* of *France* now has it, and that the compleat and right Length its Buildings and Fortifications are come, at this Time, as it was founded by Prince *Alberon* of *France*, refounded by St. *Waltrud*, Counteſs of *Hainault*, built by Earl *Alberick* of *Hainault*, rebuilt by Earl *Balwin the Third*, further rebuilt by Earl *Baldwin the Builder*, and has been fortified by Duke *Philip the Good* of *Burgundy*, further fortified by Duke *Charles the Warrior*, amended by King *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, further amended by Arch-Duke *Albert* of *Auſtria*, compleated by King *Philip the Fourth* of *Spain*, further compleated by King *Charles the Second*, and finiſhed by King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*.

It is of an oblong, round, or parabolick Figure, lying croſs the River, on both Sides, and ſtretching itſelf from Eaſt to Weſt, the River running from South to North. It has in Length, taking it, from the *Nimy*-Gate on the Eaſt Side, to the *Bartemont*-Gate on the Weſt, juſt two Thouſand common Paces, that is, a Thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two third Parts of a *Britiſh* Mile; in Breadth, reckoning from the *Caſtle*-Gate on the North Side, to the *Hayon*-Gate on the South, it fifteen Hundred common Paces, or Seven-hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or Half a *Britiſh* Mile; and in Circumference, going round within, on the Inſide the Rampart, there are exactly Six-thouſand common Paces, that is, Three-thouſand geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles; but meaſuring it without, on the Outſide the outer Ditch and Lake, we found it to be as good as Fifteen-thouſand common Paces, or Seven-thouſand and Five-hundred Geometrical Paces, or five *Britiſh* Miles.

* forged. See the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Crown* of *Spain*, in p. 198, Vol I.

St. *Hilary*'s

St. *Hilary*'s Tears. Shed upon all Profeſſions, from the Judge to the Pettifogger. From the ſpruce Dames of the *Exchange*, to the dirty walking Fiſhmongers. From the *Covent*-Garden Lady of Iniquity, to the *Turnbal*-ſtreet Trull, and indeed, from the *Tower*-ſtairs, to *Weſtminſter*-ferry. For Want of a ſtirring *Midſummer* Term, this Year of Diſaſters, 1642. Written by one of his Secretaries that had nothing elſe to do. *London*, printed *Anno Dom.* 1642. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

WHAT? *Midſummer!* How comes it then, the Sun and Moon, of Gold and Silver, which had wont to diſperſe their radiant Luſtre with greater Brightneſs and Conſolation than thoſe that ſhine in the Zodiack, have now withdrawn their Splendor, and left us in this *Cimmerian* Night of ſmall Takings? A Term ſo like a Vacation? You would take them to be the *Gemini*, which Conſtellation never appears but out of Darkneſs; there is no Plague to fright away the Termers, unleſs it be that Plague of Plagues, Want of Trading, which their Money would eaſily cure.

At *Weſtminſter*-hall, where in priſtine Ages you might without Offence ſhoulder a Lord to get through the Preſs, now you may walk in the ſame Poſture a Juſtice of Peace doth in his own great Hall at the Examination of a Delinquent, play with your Band-ſtrings, and twiſt your Beard with the ſame Gravity, and not an Elbow-rub to diſturb you; the Benches are better half empty, and thoſe few Judges left have Time enough to get a Nap, and no Noiſe to awake them; the Bars, that had wont to ſwell with a five-fold Row of liſted Gowns, where the Favourites in the Front imburſed more Fees than would ſupply an Army, and the reſt (by Lady) had good Doings, a Motion or a ſhort Cauſe to open, are now ſo empty that Boys may peep over them; the ſurly Tipſtaff and Meſſenger, whom your beſt Oratory, and Money to boot, would hardly perſuade to admit you within the Bench-room, ſtands looking over the Door as it were through a Pillory, to aſk you, Sir ſhall I open; and for the Teaſter you give him kiſſes his Hand and ſcrapes you a Leg, as fawningly, as a hungry Spaniel takes a Bone from his Maſter, the Lawyers, inſtead of peruſing the Breviates, and reducing the Matter in Queſtion to Caſes, now buying up all the Pamphlets, and diſperſing themſelves into Corners to read them, thereby to keep their Tongues in Uſe, leſt the Faculties of Brawling ſhould be dried up with unwilling Silence.

The prime Court, the *Chancery* (wherein the Clerks had wont to daſh their Clients out of Countenance with long Daſhes; the Examiners to take the Depoſitions in Hyperboles, and round about *Robinhood* Circumſtances, with Saids and Aforeſaids, to inlarge the Number of Sheets; the Regiſters, to whom you uſed to come, in the ſame Equipage as if you had a Suit to the Council-board, and had this ready Anſwer, Well you muſt wait till the latter End of the Term) now as ſilent as a *Puritan* Conventicle when the Lights are out; no Waiting, no Hyperboles, no Daſhes, nor any Employment, towards Maintenance of Taffata, Sack, Wenches, and other the uſual Prodigalities, and Luxuries, whereunto the Gentlemen that practiſe there are addicted. That Court, that hath been known to decree *Pro*, review, and decree *Con*, hath the Bar now empty of *Pro*'s, and *Con*'s, no Wrangling, no Noiſe, but the Lamentation of my Lord's Eſcape.

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The Court of *Requeſts*, to whom ſo many Thouſands of loyal, faithful, and obedient Subjects have come humbly complaining, and ſhewing, can ſhew you at this preſent no Subject, but its own humble Complaint; you that knew it, when the Neceſſity of over great Employment cauſed it to double the Number of its Clerks, and they to treble theirs, when it was ſollicited by Petitions as numberleſs as Hops, or Ants, which all her *Welch* Kindred had brought two-hundred and twelve and twenty Miles, to get admitted in *Forma pauperis*, and thereby enabled to do more Miſchief than the beſt purſed Clients in *England*, would wonder how it ſhould tumble from ſuch a Throng, to ſuch a Vacation of Employment; that that Court, that hath made two-hundred Orders in one Cauſe, ſhould be in Danger not to have one Cauſe to order; it is methinks a lamentable Change.

The Miniſters of the Court of *Wards* do all wear mourning Liveries in their Faces, as if Fate had granted out Writs in the Nature of a *Diem clauſit extremum*, after the Death of *Feoda multa*, to find their Offices for *Vacua plurima*; and of all Courts elſe the *Chequers* muſt needs come within the Limitation of this Calamity, becauſe they ſtand ſo much for the King, and in that Predicament is the *King's-Bench*; marry, if any thrive, it muſt needs be the *Common-Pleas*, for, as the Times go, nothing ſtands ſtiff, but what pertains to the Commons, and yet they meet with Revolts too as well as the reſt.

On both Sides of the Hall they complain: At Heaven they ſay there is not a Lawyer nor a Clerk comes near them. And at Hell, where they were wont to flock like Swallows to a Reed-buſh, they come dropping in but now and then one, as Opportunity of Buſineſs makes them able; the Coaches, which had wont to rumble up and down as they would challenge Heaven to thunder for a Wager, and did uſe to lie in the Palace-yard, and before the Inns of Court Gates, like ſo many Baſſes, or Fleets of Fiſher-boats in Harbour, pearing over the Haven-Keys, now ſeem like Weſtern Barges on the *Thames* at a high Tide, here and there one.

And you are no ſooner out of the Hall-yard but, entering into *King-ſtreet*, you find the Cooks leaning againſt Door-poſts, ruminating upon thoſe Halcyon Terms, when whole Herds of Clerks, Sollicitors, and their Clients, had wont to come with their ſharp-fet Noſes and Stomachs from the Hall, and devour the Puddings and minced Pyes by Dozens, as ſwiftly as a Kennel of Hounds would worry up a dead Horſe, and now the Courts are riſen before they are hungry; the Taverns, where an Iron Mill would hardly have drowned the Noiſe of the yawling Boys, the Bar-bell, the Fiddling and Roaring above Stairs, are now ſo ſilent you may rock a Child aſleep; The ſpruce Miſtreſs, that had wont to ſit in the Bar, domineering over the Drawers, and not to be ſpoken withal, if you would kiſs her Arſe to ſpeak with her, now ſo familiar, bids you ſo heartily welcome, and will come and join her half Pint with you, and let you ſalute her, and thank you, and think it very well, if all that Courteſy will invite you to mount the Reckoning to a Pottle; the Alehouſes and Tobacco-ſhops are grown ſweet for Want of Takings, you may walk by them without Danger of being choaked.

All along the *Strand* (Lodgings being empty) you ſhall find the Houſe-keepers generally projecting where to borrow, and what to pawn towards Payment of their Quarter's Rents, thereby to preſerve their Leaſes from Forfeiture, and themſelves from the Tyranny of their ſtern Landlords, who are very Infidels in truſting, and will not forbear a Minute; nay, the Miſchief yon it is, there are no Courtiers nor bad Paymaſters to curſe and rail at for Want of Money, and that is the heavieſt Torment of all.

If you ſtep aſide into *Covent-Garden*, *Long-Acre*, and *Drury-Lane*, where thoſe Doves of *Venus*, thoſe Birds of Youth and Beauty (the wanton Ladies) do build their Neſts, you ſhall find them in ſuch a Dump of Amazement, to ſee the Hopes of their Trading fruſtrate, their Beauties decayed for Want of Means to procure *Pomatum* and *Fucus*: Their Eyes, which like gliſtering Comets had wont to dazzle their Idolaters, now ſhadowed with Clouds of Grief; their golden Treſſes, which had wont to flag about their Shoulders, like ſo many Enſigns in *Cupid*'s Regiment, and every Hair thereof had a Servant or Viſitant, which did ſuperſtitiouſly dote on it, now for Want of curling and ordering, grown to the Faſhion of an *Iriſh* Rug; and what a Miſery it is to ſee the Velvets, Sattins, and Taffaties, nay the curious Smocks ſent to the Brokers, and the whole Wardrobe, that was purchaſed with ſo large a Proportion of free Favours and Communities, now reduced to one poor tufted *Holland* Suit? Is it not Pity to ſee them, poor Souls, who had wont to ſhine like

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ſo many Conſtellations in the Firmament of the Suburbs, and be hurried in Coaches to the Taverns, and Aſparagus-Gardens, where ten or twenty Pounds Suppers were but Trifles with them, ſhould now go to the Chandlers and Herb-wives in Slip-ſhoes, for Cheeſe and Onions to Dinner? Well, content yourſelves (you attractive Loadſtones, of delicious and ſmooth Damnation) and doubtleſs the Arch-Angel, my Succeſſor, will bring your Angels to redeem all; and your Champions and Cavaliers will return with Pockets doubly furniſhed, for you are as ſure of them, as they are of your Diſeaſes; they are now but only purchaſing, and laying up for you againſt their coming Home; this Dearth of Traffick is but a Preparation to a large Mart to follow, and this devouring Winter of Penury doth but preſage a lively Spring in the hot Blood of the young Gallantry, which when it comes, you ſhall again enjoy thoſe Bleſſings of Wine, Muſk, good Cloaths, Money and dainty Fare; be enabled to pay your railing Landladies, and defy the Beadle with as much Impudence, as ever you did.

Well, from you, I muſt follow the Steps of many an old leacherous Citizen, and walk into *London*, where, at the *Exchange*, the only Queſtion that is aſked is, What News? Not from *Aleppo*, *Conſtantinople*, the *Streights*, or *Indies*, but from *York*, *Ireland*, and the *Parliament*; the Anſwer is, Why the King is ſtill obſtinate, we ſhall have all our Throats cut, thoſe Epicurean Throats of ours are doomed to be cut, for ſwallowing ſo many luxurious Cates; we had need to prick up our Ears, and elevate our broad overgrown Horns for the Safety of ourſelves, Eſtates, and Children; marry; as for our Wives, they know well enough already the Dangers of Courtiers and Cavaliers, and therefore dare meet the rougheſt Gameſter of them all in any Poſture whatſoever.

From hence I travel to *Guildhall*, where I find the Lawyers complaining of infinite Numbers of Bankrupts, Men ſo far decayed in Eſtate, that they will compound to pay more than Half, confeſs Judgments, render their Bodies to Priſon, proſtitute their Wives, or any Thing rather than ſtand out the Proſecution of a Suit at Law.

Then at the Halls of every ſeveral Company, where, in former Ages, all the Elements would ſcarce afford Variety, to pleaſe the ingenious Gluttony of one ſingle Feaſt, now you ſhall hear the meaner Sort of Tradeſmen curſing thoſe devouring Foxes, the Maſters and Wardens, for the infinite Charge their inſatiate Stomachs do put them to; from hence go to their particular Shops, where there is nothing amongſt the Tradeſmen, but Condoling the Want of the Courtiers Money, and their Wives and Daughters almoſt diſtracted for Want of their Company; there are no upſtart Gallants to draw into their Books, no young Heirs to exchange Shop-ware for Lordſhips withal, nor any Trading one with another, in which they are ſo familiarly acquainted with each others Knaveries, that, alas! their Gaines are as good as nothing: And amongſt them all that Quinteſſence of unqueſtionable Simplicity, the very Spirit of Villany, extracted out of all compounded Villanies; that Maſter-piece or Idea of Diſſimulation, which Nature made her Example to portraicture a Rogue by, the *Roundhead*, who had wont to eat and pray, for the Propagation of the Brethren and Siſters of the ſeditious Faction, now is invoking of Curſes upon the malignant Party (the *Abitophels*, as he calls them, of the King's Council) he ſneaks into the Corners of the City, and, after a Licking of his Lips, a Spitting, and a Caſting up his ugly Eyes towards the Place he is not worthy to look at, he whiſpers a Tale through his rotten Noſe, of a great Danger that is fallen upon the Kingdom; and ſtrange Diſcoveries of imminent Miſchiefs, which had happened, if by ſome Providence towards the Brethren of the ſelected Sedition, and for their Sakes only, it had not been prevented; and then at length he tells you, that, if the Prince were but at St. *James*'s, there would be ſomething done that St. *Hilary* dares not repeat after him: This thin-jawed, ill-looking, hungry Raſcal; this beetle-browed, hollow-eyed, long-noſed, wide-mouthed Cur: This Carrion that ſtinks worſe than the corrupted River of *Egypt*; this Cockatrice that hath hatched more Serpentine Diſtempers, than all the grave Wiſdom of a pregnant Kingdom can pacify, hath been the ſole Cauſe of poor St. *Hilary*'s *Tears*; who would think this Ideot, this fathomleſs-bellied, thin-gutted Snake ſhould begin to hiſs, and ſhew his Sting, before the glorious Splendor of thoſe excellent Worthies of our hopeful *Parliament* could have Leiſure to diſperſe itſelf upon this ſtarved Kingdom; that this Owl, this Buzzard, ſhould be the Inſtrument to bring Clouds upon all their Proceedings, and yet,

without Doubt, will be the firſt that will oppoſe, and curſe them, when they ſhall pleaſe to declare, that, in the Title of *Puritan*, they never intended blue-apron Preachers, *Browniſt* or *Anabaptiſt*: And yet this ſecure, confident, impudent, malignant, twenty Times damned Heretick dares attribute all their Favour to himſelf; well may St. *Hilary*'s Curſe purſue him: Nay the unquenchable Zeal of his next Prayer prolong the Nonſenſe and Foolery thereof to ſo large a Meaſure of Time, that all the Roaſt-meat be burnt off the Spit, before he has done; the White-broth boiled dry, and the ſtewed and baked Meat ſcorched to Cinders (which in his Opinion is one of the greateſt earthly Curſes that can befall him. May his Wife be catched in the ſpiritual Act of her next carnal Copulation, that all the World may diſcover what yet they carry ſo cloſely; may the Fervency of his hot Zeal to the younger Siſters burn his Reins and Kidnies to Aſhes; and, inſtead of an Hoſpital, let him be caſt into the Saw-pit he ſo often defiled under Pretence of Edification; let him be buried amongſt the Dunghills, as not worthy to come near the Church he ſo abuſed, where none may find his Grave but Dogs to piſs againſt it; may the Aſhes of his loathed Carcaſe be collected from the peſtiferous Urn, by Murderers and Mountebanks, to mix with their killing Potions; and may no Poiſon ever hereafter be operative, but what is compounded with that infernal Duſt, that, as he lived to the Confuſion of all Goodneſs, and Virtue, ſo he may after Death be known or mentioned by no other Notion, than ſome Fate boading Character, that brings with it the dreadful Summons of a woeful Horrour to enſue, till which End be fallen upon him we ſhall never ſee Day of good Trading again; but, when it is accompliſhed, St. *Hilary* will make Holiday, and, inſtead of his Tears, will ſend you Hymns and Madrigals for Joy of the *Roundheads* Confuſion, and your more full Employment.

Inſtrvctions for the Increaſing and Planting of *Mulberrie Trees*, and the Breeding of *Silke-wormes*, for the making of *Silke* in this Kingdome. Whereunto is annexed his Maieſties Letters to the Lords Lieftenants of the ſeuerall Shiers of *England* tending to that Purpoſe. Newly printed, MDCIX. *Quarto*, containing two Sheets.

It is more than probable, that the fine Mulberry Trees, which abound in ſome Parts of England, *and grow as high and extenſive as any in* France *or* Italy, *are the Monuments of this laudable Scheme, and Royal Encouragement to promote the Growth and Making of* Silk, *within ourſelves: But how ſo advantageous and profitable an Undertaking ſhould be now dwindled to Nothing, in a Nation, of all others, the moſt induſtrious, and able to improve every Branch of Trade, is a Matter of the greateſt Speculation and Amazement; for by Experience both the Animal and its Food propagate and thrive in our Soil and Climate, and both the Rich and Poor muſt have found their Advantage in conducting ſo large a Manufacture: Beſides the National Intereſt, which muſt have not only ſaved immenſe Sums of Money ſent Abroad to purchaſe* Silks, *but have been able to draw the Riches of more* Northern *Nations into its own Bank, by this new Mart of* ſilken *Goods. This certainly was the Intention of thoſe Times,*

in

in which thoſe Inſtructions were written, and was ſo explained in his Majeſty's Letters-Patents hereunto annexed.

To the Reader.

As one deſirous of Nothing more then the publike Good, I here moſt willingly impart vnto thee (gentle Reader) that which by my owne Experience I finde, in Regard of the Benefit it affoards, worthy thy Paines and Obſeruation. It hath pleaſed his Maieſtie, out of his deepe diſcerning Iudgement, to giue my Purpoſe a ſpeciall Approbation, and withall to expreſſe a Willingneſſe in himſelfe to further ſo good a Buſineſſe, as by his gratious Letters hereunto annexed moſt manifeſtly appeares. Accept therefore of theſe my briefe Directions, and approoue of them as they prooue: I could haue extended them to a farther Length, but Oratorie needes not where the Thing itſelfe perſwades: Yet ſome peraduenture, that haue laboured in the like before, will take Occaſion to countenance themſelues, and make my Breuitie an Argument of Vnſufficiencie, although I hope, they will conſider that a King's Picture may be as perfect in a Pennie, as in the largeſt Coine.

And whatſoeuer hath beene by them publiſhed, interpreting other Mens Workes, according to the Practiſe thereof in forraigne Parts, where the ſame as yet is generally better vnderſtood, I doubt not but future Triall will verifie this my Booke to be euery Way here more correſpondent to the Creature whereof it treates: And for ſuch I commend it to each vnpartial Vnderſtanding. Remaining alwaies

Thine for the publike Weale.

JAMES *Rex.*

Right truſtie and Welbeloued, we greete you well.

IT is a principall Part of that Chriſtian Care which appertaineth to Souereigntie, to endeauour, by all Meanes poſſible, as well to beget as to increaſe, among their People, the Knowledge and Practiſe of all Artes and Trades, whereby they may be both wained from Idleneſſe and the Enormities thereof, which are infinite, and exerciſed in ſuch Induſtries and Labours, as are accompanied with euident Hopes, not only of preſeruing People from the Shame and Griefe of Penury, but alſo of rayſing and encreaſing them in Wealth and Abundance, the Scope which euery free-borne Spirit aimeth at, not in Regard of himſelfe onely and the Eaſe which a plentifull Eſtate bringeth to euery one in his Particular, but alſo in Regard of the Honour of their natiue Countrey, whoſe Commendation is no way more ſet forth then in the Peoples Actiuenes and Induſtry. The Conſideration whereof hauing of late occupied our Minde, who always eſteeme our Peoples Good our neceſſary Contemplations, we haue conceiued as well by the Diſcourſe of our owne Reaſon, as by Information gathered from others, that the Making of Silke *might as well be effected* here, *as it is in the Kingdome of* France, *where the ſame hath of late Years been put in Practiſe: For neither is the Clymate of this Iſle ſo far diſtinct or different in Condition from that Countrey, eſpecially from the hither Parts therof, but that it is to be hoped that thoſe Things, which by Induſtrie proſper there, may, by like Induſtrie uſed here, haue like Succeſſe; and many private Perſons, who, for their Pleaſure, haue bred of thoſe Worms, haue found no Experience to the Contrarie, but that they may be nouriſhed and maintained here, if Prouiſion were made for planting Mulberrie*

Trees, whoſe Leaues are the Food of the Wormes. And, therefore, we haue thought good hereby to let you vnderſtand, that although, in ſuffering this Inuention to take Place, we doe ſhew our ſelues ſomewhat an Aduerſarie to our Profit, which, in the Matter of our Cuſtomes for Silke brought from beyond the Seas, will receiue Deminution: Neuertheleſſe, when there is Queſtion of ſo great and publique Vtilitie to come to our Kingdome and Subiectes in generall, *and whereby (beſides Multitudes of People of both Sexes and all Ages) ſuch, as in Regard of Impotencie are vnfit for other Labour, may be ſet on Worke, comforted, and releeued, we are content that our* priuate Benefit ſhall giue Way to our publique; *and therefore beeing perſwaded that no well-affected Subiect will refuſe to put his helping Hand to ſuch a Worke, as can haue no other priuate Ende in vs, but the Deſire of the Wel-fare of our People, we haue thought good in this Forme onely to require you* * *(as a Perſon of greateſt Authoritie within that Countie) and from whome the Generalitie may receiue Notice of our Pleaſure (with more Conueniencie then otherwiſe) to take Occaſion either at the Quarter-ſeſſions, or at ſome other publique Place of Meeting, to perſwade and require ſuch as are of Abilitie (without deſcending to trouble the Poore, for whom we ſeeke to prouide) to buie and diſtribute, in that Countie, the Number of* ten thouſand Mulberrie Plants, *which ſhall be deliuered vnto them at our Citie of,* &c. *at the Rate of three Farthings the Plant, or at ſix Shillings the Hundred, containing five Score Plants. And becauſe the Buying of the ſaid Plants, at this Rate, may at firſt ſeem chargeable to our ſaid Subiectes (whom we would be loath to burthen) we haue taken Order, that, in* March *or* April *next, there ſhall be deliuered at the ſaid Place a good Quantitie of Mulberrie Seedes, thereto be ſold to ſuch as will buie them, by Meanes whereof the ſaid Plants will be deliuered at a ſmaller Rate then they can be afforded, beeing carried from hence; hauing reſolued alſo in the meane Time, that there ſhall be publiſhed, in Print, a plaine Inſtruction and Direction, both for the Increaſing of the ſaid Mulberrie Trees, the Breeding of the Silk-wormes, and all other Thinges needfull to be vnderſtood, for the Perfecting of a Worke euery Way ſo commendable and profitable, as well to the Planter as to thoſe that ſhall vſe the Trade. Hauing now made knowne vnto you the Motiues as they ſtand, with the publique Good, wherein euery Man is intereſſed, becauſe, we know, how much the Example of our owne Deputie-Lieftenants and Iuſtices will further this Cauſe, if you, and other your Neighbours, will be content to take ſome good Quantities hereof, to diſtribute vpon your own Lands; we are content to acknowledge thus much more in this Direction of ours, that all Things of this Nature tending to Plantations, Increaſe of Science, and Workes of Induſtrie, are Things ſo naturally pleaſing to our owne Diſpoſition, as we ſhall take it for an Argument of extraordinarie Affection towards our Perſon; beſides, the Iudgment we ſhall make of the good Diſpoſitions in all thoſe that ſhall expreſſe in any Kinde their readie Minds, to further the ſame, and ſhall eſteeme that, in furthering the ſame, they ſeeke to further our Honour and Contentment, who hauing ſeene in few Yeares Space paſt, that our Brother, the* French *King, hath, ſince his Coming to that Crowne, both begunne and brought to Perfection the Making of Silkes in his Country, whereby he hath wonne to himſelf* Honour, *and to his Subiectes a meruailous Increaſe of* Wealth, *would account it no little Happineſſe to vs, if the ſame Worke, which we begun among our People with no leſſe Zeale to their Good (than any Prince can haue to the Good of theirs) might, in our Time, produce the Fruits which there it hath done; whereof we nothing doubt, if ours will be found as tractable and apt to further their own Good, now the Way is ſhewed them by vs their Souereigne, as theſe of* France *haue beene to conforme themſelues to the Directions of their King.*

Giuen vnder our Signet at our Pallace of Weſtminſter, *the Nineteenth of* Ianuary, *in the ſixth Yeare of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and of* Scotland *the two and fortieth.*

* The Lord Lieutenant of the County.

What Ground is fit for the Mulberrie Seedes, *how the ſame is to be ordered, and in what Sort the Seedes are to be ſowed therein.*

THE Ground which ought to be appointed for this Purpoſe, beſides the naturall Goodneſſe of it, muſt be reaſonably well dunged, and withall ſo ſcituated, as that the Heate of the Sunne may cheriſh it, and the nipping Blaſts of either the *North* Winde, or the *Eaſt*, may not annoy it: The Choiſe thereof thus made, that the Seedes may the better proſper, and come vp after they be ſowne, you ſhall digge it two Feete deepe, breaking the Clods as ſmall as may be, and afterward you ſhall deuide the ſame into ſeuerall Beds of not aboue fiue Feete in Breadth; ſo that you ſhall not neede to indanger the Plants by treading vpon them, when either you water or weede them.

The Mulberrie Seedes you ſhall lay in Water for the Space of twentytwo Hours, and after that you ſhall drie them againe halfe drie, or ſomewhat more, that when you ſowe them they may not cleaue together: Thus done, you muſt caſt them vpon the foreſaid Beds, not altogether ſo thicke as you vſe to doe other Garden Seedes, and then couer them with ſome fine Earth (paſt through a Sieue) about halfe an Inch thicke: In dry Weather you ſhall water them euery two Dayes at the fartheſt, as likewiſe the Plants that ſhall come of them; and keepe them as cleane from Weedes as poſſibly you can.

The Time, in which you ought to ſowe them for your beſt Aduantage, is either in *March*, *Aprill*, or *May*, when Froſtes are either altogether paſt, or at the leaſt not ſo ſharpe, or of ſo long Continuance, as to indanger their Vpſpring.

There is yet another Way to ſowe them, and that is as followeth: You ſhall (beeing directed by a ſtraite Line) make certaine Furrowes in the Beds aboue mentioned of ſome foure Fingers deepe, and about a Foote in Diſtance the one from the other: After this, you ſhall open the Earth with your Hands, on either Side of the aforeſaid Furrowes, ſome two Fingers from the Bottome, and, where you haue ſo opened it, ſhall you ſowe your Seedes; and then couer them halfe a Finger thicke with the Earth which before you opened.

When the Plants, that are ſprung vp of the Seedes, are to be remooued, and how they are to be planted the firſt Time.

IN the Moneths of *September*, *October*, *Nouember*, *December*, *March*, or *Aprill*, the next Yeare after the Seedes are ſowne, you may remooue their Plants (or in the Moneth of *Januarie*, if it be not in froſtie Weather) and ſet them in the like Beds as before, but firſt you muſt cut off their Rootes, leauing them about eight Inches in Length, and their Tops about halfe a Foote aboue their Rootes, more or leſſe, according to the Strength of the ſaid Plants, for, the weaker they be, the leſſe Tops you ſhall leaue them. In this Sort you may ſuffer them to remaine (weeding and watering them as Neede ſhall require) till they be grown ſixe Feete in Length aboue their Rootes, whereunto when once they haue attained, you may cut their Tops, and ſuffer them to ſpread, alwaies hauing a Care to take away the many Branches or Succours, that may any Way hinder their Growth, vntill they be come to their full Length of ſixe Feete, as aforeſaid.

When, and how the Plants are to be remooued the ſecond Time, and in what Manner they are to be planted where they ſhall remaine.

IN the Moneths aforeſaide (according as your Plants are waxen ſtrong) you may remooue them either into the Hedges of your Fields, or into any other Grounds. If in Hedges, you muſt ſet them ſixteene Feete the one from the other; if in other Ground, intending to make a Wood of them, eighteene Feete at the leaſt. But, a Moneth before you doe remooue them, you muſt make the Holes (wherein you purpoſe to ſet them) about foure Feete, in Breadth, and ſo deepe as that their Rootes may be well couered, and ſome halfe a Foote of looſe Earth left vnder them, hauing alwaies a ſpeciall Care ſo to place them, that they may receiue the Benefit of the Sunne, and not to be ſhadowed or ouerſpread by any neighbouring Trees.

When, and how the Egges of the Silke-wormes are to be hatched, and how to order the Wormes that ſhall come of them.

WHen the Leaues of Mulberrie Trees begin a little to bud forth, take the Egges of your Silke-wormes, and lay them in a Peece of Say, or ſuch like Stuffe, and in the Day-time carrie them in ſome warme Place about you, in a little ſafe Boxe, but, in the Night, either lay them in your Bed, or betweene two warme Pillowes, vntill ſuch Time as the Wormes begin to come forth: Then, take a Peece of Paper of the Wideneſſe of the ſaid Boxe, and hauing cut it full of ſmall Holes lay it within the ſame vpon the Egges, and vpon that againe ſome fewe Mulberrie Leaves, to which the Wormes, as they are hatched, will continually come. Theſe Leaues, with the Wormes vpon them, you muſt ſtill remooue into other Boxes, laying freſh Leaues as well on thoſe that are remooued, as on the Paper where the Egges are; and this is the Courſe, which muſt be duly kept and obſerued, vntill ſuch Times as all the Wormes be come forth of their Shells, ſtill keeping their Boxes warme as aforeſaid, but no longer about you, but vntill the Wormes begin to come forth; out of which Boxes, you may ſafely take them, when once they haue paſt their ſecond Sickneſſe, and feede them vpon Shelues of two Feete in Breadth, and eighteene Inches one aboue the other.

The ſaid Shelues are not to be placed in any Ground Roome, nor yet next vnto the Tyles, but in ſome middle Roome of your Houſe, which openeth vpon the *North* and *South*, that you may the more conueniently giue them either Heate or Aire, according as the Time and Seaſon ſhall require. Beſides you muſt not make them cloſe vnto the Walles, but ſo as you may paſſe about them, the better to looke vnto the Wormes, and keep them from Rats and Mice, which otherwiſe might deuoure them. You muſt obſerue the Times of their comming foorth, and keepe euerye one or two Daies hatching by themſelues, that you may the better vnderſtand their ſeuerall Sickneſſes or Sleepings, which are foure in the Time of their Feeding. The firſt commonly ſome twelue Daies after they are hatched, and from that Time at the End of euery eight Daies, according to the Weather, and their good or ill Vſage: During which Time of euery Sickeneſſe, which laſteth two or three Daies, you muſt feede them but verie little, as onely to releeue ſuch of them, as ſhall haue paſt their Sickneſſe before the reſt, and thoſe that ſhall not fall into their Sickneſſe ſo ſoone.

The whole Time, that the Wormes doe feede, is about nine Weekes, whereof, vntill they come vnto their firſt Sickenes, giue them young Mulberrie Leaues twice euery Day, but fewe at a Time; from thence vntill their ſecond Sickneſſe, twice euery Day in greater Quantitie; and ſo from their ſecond to their third Sickeneſſe, increaſing the Quantitie of the Leaues, according as you perceiue the Wormes to growe in Strength, and cleare of Sickeneſſe: From the third vntill their fourth Sickeneſſe, you may giue them Leaues thrice euery Day, and, the fourth beeing paſt, you may let them haue ſo many as they will eate, alwaies hauing a Care

a Care that you giue them none, but ſuch as are drie, and well ayred vpon a Table or Cloath before they be laid vpon them, and withall gathered ſo neere as may be, at ſuch Times as either the Sunne or Wind hath cleared them of the Deawe that falleth vpon them.

For the Feeding of Wormes you neede obſerve no other Order than this, Lay the Mulberrie Leaves vpon them, and euery two or three Dayes remooue them, and make clean their Boxes, or Shelues, unleſſe in Times of their Sickneſſe, for then they are not to be touched: The Leaves which you take from them, when you giue them freſh to feede vpon, you muſt lay in ſome conuenient Place, and vpon them, a fewe newe Leaues, to which the Wormes, that lay hidden in the olde, will come, and then you may paſſe them with the ſaid new Leaues to the reſt of the Wormes: And now, leaſt any Thing ſhould be omitted, which ſerues to perfect the Diſcouerie of ſo excellent a Benefit, I will aduiſe you to be very diligent in keeping cleane their Boxes, or Shelues, as beeing a ſpeciall Meanes whereby to preſerue them; wherefore, when you intend to doe it, you ſhall remooue them together with the vppermoſte Leaues whereon they lie, vnto other Boxes or Shelues, for with your Hands you may not touch them, till they haue thoroughly vndergone their third Sickneſſe, and then you may paſſe them gently with cleane Hands, without doing them any Harme: Prouided that the Partie that commeth neere them ſmell not of Garlick, Onyons, or the like. The firſt fiue Weekes of their Age, you muſt be very carefull to keepe them warme, and, in Time of Raine or cold Weather, to ſet, in the Roome where they remaine, a Pan with Coales, burning in it now and then ſome Iuniper, *Benjamin*, and ſuch like, that yeeldeth ſweete Smells. But afterwards, vnleſſe in Time of extraordinarie Cold, giue them Ayre, and take Heede of keeping them too hot, being alwaies mindefull to ſtore the Roome with Hearbes and Flowers which are delightfull and pleaſing to the Smell. As the Wormes increaſe in Bigneſſe, you ſhall diſperſe them Abroad vpon more Boards, or Shelves, and not ſuffer them to lie too thicke together; and if you finde any of them broken, or of a yellowe gliſtering Colour inclining to Sickneſſe, caſt them away, leaſt they infect the reſt, and ſort ſuch as are not ſicke, the greateſt and ſtrongeſt by themſelues, for ſo the leſſer will proſper the better.

When, and how to make fit Roomes for the Wormes to worke their Bottomes of Silke in, and in what Sort the ſaid Bottomes are to be vſed.

AS ſoone as, by the cleare amber-coloured Bodies of your Wormes, you ſhall perceiue them ready to giue their Silk, you muſt (with Heath made very cleane, or with the Branches of Roſemarie, the Stalkes of Lauender, or ſuch like) make Arches betweene the foreſaid Shelues.

Vpon the Branches and Sprigs whereof, the Wormes will faſten themſelues, and make their Bottomes, which, in foureteene Daies after the Worme beginneth to worke them, you may take away; and thoſe, which you are minded to vſe for the beſt Silke, you muſt either preſently winde, or kill the Wormes which are within them, by laying the ſaid Bottomes two or three Dayes in the Sunne, or in ſome Ouen after the Bread baked therein is taken out, and the Fierceneſſe of the Heat is alaide. The other Bottomes, which you intend to keep for Seede, you muſt lay in ſome conuenient warme Place, vntill the Wormes come forth, which is commonly ſome ſixteene or twenty Daies, from the Beginning of their Worke: And, as they doe come forth, you muſt put them together vpon ſome Peece of old Sey, Grogeran, the Backſide of old Veluet, or the like, made faſt againſt ſome Wall or Hangings in your Houſe.

There they will ingender, and the Male, hauing ſpent himſelfe, falleth downe, and in ſhort Time after dieth, as alſo doth the Female, when ſhe hath laide her Egges; which Egges, when you perceiue them vpon the Sey, or Grogeran, *&c.* to be of a graiſh Colour, you may take them off gently, with a Knife, and hauing put them in a Peece of Sey, or ſuch-like, keepe them in a couered Box amongſt your woollen Cloathes, or the like, till the Yeare following: But not in any moiſt Roome, for it is hurtfull for them, neither where there is too much Heate, leaſt the Wormes ſhould be hatched before you can haue any Foode for them.

Examples

Examples for Kings; or, Rules for Princes to govern by. Wherein is contained theſe enſuing Particulars; 1. A Diſcourſe touching Regal and Politick Government. 2. A Prince muſt be juſt in his Sentence. 3. What Man is fit to be a Governor, and to bear Rule. 4. That a Prince ought to be true to his Word. 5. That a Prince ought to be religious. 6. That a Prince ought not to ſhed innocent Blood. 7. That a Prince ought to be circumſpect in giving Credit to evil Reports. 8. That a Prince ought to beware of Paraſites. 9. What Kind of Men ought to be of the King's Council. 10. That it is dangerous for a Prince to take Aid of a Stranger. 11. How a Prince may get and keep the Love of his Subjects. 12. That a Prince ought to be well adviſed how he begin a War. *London*, printed for *Henry Hutton*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing one Sheet.

AS in natural Things, the Head being cut off, the reſt cannot be called a Body; no more can in politick Things a Multitude, or Commonalty, without a Head, be incorporate: Therefore a People deſiring to live in Society, and willing to erect either a politick Body or a Kingdom, muſt, of Neceſſity, chuſe one to govern that Body, who, in a Kingdom, of *Regendo*, is called *Rex*; and ſo by the People is eſtabliſhed a Kingdom, which Government is abſolutely the beſt. And as the Head of the phyſical Body cannot change the Reins and Sinews thereof, nor deny the Members their proper Strength and neceſſary Nutriture; no more can a King, who is Head of the politick Body, alter or change the Laws of that Body, or take from the People their Goods or Subſtance againſt their Wills; for a King is choſen (and bound) to maintain the Laws of his Subjects, and to defend their Bodies and Goods. So *Brute*, arriving in this Iſland with his *Trojans*, erected here a regal and politick Government which hath for the moſt Part continued ever ſince: For, though we have had many Changes, as firſt the *Romans*, then the *Saxons*, then the *Danes*, and laſtly the *Normans*, yet, in the Time of all theſe Nations, and during their Reigns, the Kingdom was for the moſt Part governed in the ſame Manner as it is now. *Plutarch* ſaith, that all at firſt that governed were called Tyrants, but afterwards the good Governors called Kings. For, tho' a Man by Force do ſubdue Cities and Countries, yet he ought to rule according to Reaſon, and, if he knew God, according to the Law of God: But when he is admitted King by the People, and hath his Power from them, he may not ſubject the People to any other Power; yet he hath a great and large Prerogative, which he may uſe at his Pleaſure.

And here I think it not amiſs to ſet down ſome few Laws and Cuſtoms of other Common-wealths, whereby their good Government may appear, they not being Chriſtians. *Ptolemæus*, King of *Egypt*, feaſted one Day ſeven Ambaſſadors, which, at his Requeſt, ſhewed unto him three of their principal Laws and

and Cuſtoms. And firſt the Ambaſſador of *Rome* ſaid, We have the Temples in great Reverence, we are very obedient to our Governors, and we do puniſh wicked Men ſeverely. The *Carthaginian* Ambaſſador ſaid, Our Noblemen never left Fighting, the Artificers never left Labouring, nor the Philoſophers never left Teaching. The *Sicilian* ſaid, In our Common-wealth Juſtice is exactly kept, Merchandiſe is exerciſed with Truth, and all Men account themſelves equal. The *Rhodians* ſaid, That, at *Rhodes*, old Men are honeſt, young Men ſhamefaced, and Women uſe very few Words. The *Athenians* ſaid, In our Common-wealth rich Men are not ſuffered to be divided into Factions, nor poor Men to be idle, nor the Governors to be ignorant. The *Lacedemonians* ſaid, In *Sparta* Envy reigneth not, for all Men are equal; nor Covetouſneſs, for all Goods are common; nor Sloth, for all Men labour. In our Common-wealth, ſaid the Ambaſſador of the *Sicyonians*, Voyages are not permitted, becauſe they ſhould not bring home new Factions; Phyſicians are not ſuffered, leſt they ſhould kill the Sound; nor Lawyers to take upon them the Defence of Cauſes and Suits. And to theſe may be added *Anacharſis*'s Letter to the *Athenians*, wherein he counſelleth them to chuſe a King that is juſt in his Sentence, true to his Word, conſtant in his Act, ſecret and liberal, for theſe be the principal Moral Virtues moſt neceſſary in a Prince.

A Prince ought to be juſt in his Sentence, according to the Words of *Solomon Wiſd.* 1. ſaying, *Love Juſtice, you that judge the Earth*; for a juſt King doth advance his Country; and the King, that judgeth the Poor rightly, his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.

Now, to ſhew what Manner of Man is fitteſt to govern, I read in *Livy*, that Men born in Arms, great in Deeds, and rude in Eloquence, ought to be choſen Counſellors; and that Men of quick Spirits, ſharp Wits, and learned in the Law, and Eloquence, ſhould be for the City; for the Prince ought to be a martial Man, ſtout and courageous, to defend his Subjects, and offend his Enemies; not to be curious to ſpeak eloquently, but to deliver his Mind plainly and wiſely, it being more neceſſary for a Prince to do well, than ſpeak well. *Paucinus* ſaith, thoſe are to be hated, who in their Acts are Fools, and in their Words Philoſophers; for wiſe Words are not commendable, if the Deeds be not anſwerable: They therefore, ſaith *Plato*, that will have Glory in this Life, and attain to Glory after Death, and be beloved of many, and feared of all, let them be virtuous in good Works, and deceive no Man with vain Words. All good and worthy Princes have laboured to attain to this Wiſdom, and to exact Juſtice moſt exactly, inſomuch that ſome have not ſpared their own Children, ſo ſacred a Thing they ever held Juſtice to be: As for Example, *Brutus*, underſtanding that his two Sons were of the Conſpiracy for *Tarquinius Superbus*. *Alexander Magnus* was ſo far from being tranſported from Juſtice, as, when any Man made Complaint to him of another, he ſtopped always one Ear, ſaying, he muſt keep that for the Party accuſed. King *Edgar* of *England* had likewiſe that Care to do Juſtice, as in Winter Time he would ride up and down the Country, and make Enquiry of the Miſdemeanors of his Officers and Governors, and puniſhed them ſeverely that offended the Law. And as the Followers of Juſtice ſhall not only be glorious on Earth, but live in eternal Glory; ſo the Princes that miniſter Injuſtice, and do not judge rightly, ſhall reap Infamy on Earth, and undergo the high Diſpleaſure of God; for the Royal Prophet ſaith, that *God is terrible to the Kings of the Earth*, *Pſal.* lxxv. which doth very well appear, by the ſtrange Puniſhments which he oftentimes inflicts upon them, as upon *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Uzziah*, *Joram*, *Antiochus*, *Herod*; *Mempriſius*, King of *Britain*, who was devoured by Wolves; *Seldred*, a *Saxon*, King of *England*, who was killed by the Devil, as he was banqueting with his Nobility. And many more for their Injuſtice have been very ſtrangely puniſhed, and oftentimes loſt their Kingdoms, as appeareth from *Eccleſ.* Chap. xi. being transferred from Nation to Nation for Injuſtice and Injuries; therefore it behoveth a Prince to take ſpecial Care hereunto.

Next, it is requiſite that a Prince be true to his Word, both towards God and Man; for *Solomon* ſaith, that a *lying Lip doth not become a Prince*, *Prov.* xvii. Many Examples might be given touching ſeveral Princes, who have been ſeverely puniſhed for Breach of Faith: As, for Example, *Charles* the 70th King of *France*, when he was *Dauphin*, made *John* Duke of *Burgundy* believe that he would make Peace with him, whereupon they met at a

Place appointed, where *Charles* cauſed the Duke to be preſently killed; but *Charles* after this was forced to aſk *Philip* Forgiveneſs openly by his Ambaſſadors. *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy* having given ſafe Conduct to the Earl of St. *Paul*, Conſtable of *France*, took him Priſoner, and delivered him to the *French* King, who put him to Death for his Treachery, and ſet the ſaid Earl free. Thus you may ſee how honourable it is to keep their Word, and what they deſerve that falſify their Faith; for, a faithleſs Prince is beloved of none, but hated of all; ſuſpected of his Friends, not truſted of his Enemies, and forſaken of all Men in his greateſt Neceſſity.

Alſo a Prince ought to be religious, for *Solomon* ſaith, *God preſerveth the State of the Righteous, and is a Father to them that walk uprightly, Prov. Chap.* ii. and in *Deut.* xvii. a King is commanded, after he be placed in his Kingdom, to read the Book of *Deuteronomy*, that he may learn to fear God, and keep his Words, for ſo doing a Prince ſhall proſper.

It is alſo expedient that a Prince have ſpecial Care that he put not his Hand in innocent Blood, neither by Tyranny, Malice, Ambition, Policy, or falſe Reports or Informations; for to be a Tyrant is odious to God and Man, and to bring himſelf to an evil End. As for Example, King *John* of *England* murdered his Nephew, and in the End was murdered himſelf. *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* murdered his two Nephews, Sons to *Edward the Fourth*, to make himſelf King, and after was ſlain in *Boſworth* by *Henry the Seventh*; *for Blood requires Blood*, and let a bloody Prince never look for a better End.

But many Princes have been mightily abuſed by falſe Reports, and wrong Informations; *David* therefore prayed God to deliver him *from wicked Lips, and a lying Tongue, Pſal.* cxix. and in *Eccleſ.* vi. it is ſaid, *Separate thyſelf from thy Enemies, and beware even of thy Friends*; for where a Man doth truſt the moſt there a Man may be ſooneſt deceived, as was *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, who put his Brother *Giles* to Death upon the falſe Report of thoſe who went Meſſengers between them, and after put them to Death alſo; therefore a Prince ſhould duly examine every Report whether it be true, or not, before he give Credit thereunto, and eſpecially if it concern Life, for innocent Blood doth cry to God for Revenge, as appeareth in the *Apoc.* vi. ſaying, *How long, Lord, holy and juſt, judgeſt thou not, and revengeſt not our Blood upon them that dwell upon the Earth?*

I have read that *Appelles* drew the Picture of a King (which he ſent to *Ptolemæus*) ſet in a Chair of State, with great Hands, great Ears, and beſides him Ignorance, Suſpicion, a Tale-teller, and Flattery: Theſe will labour to be about a Prince, therefore a Prince muſt labour to avoid them. It is therefore a happy Thing for Princes to have thoſe about them that will not flatter, but tell the Truth. Therefore the Emperor *Gordian* ſaid, that Prince was very unfortunate, who hath not about him thoſe that may plainly tell him the Truth; for a King knoweth not what paſſeth, but by Relation of thoſe who converſe with him. *Theopompus* being aſked, How a Prince might preſerve his Kingdom? ſaid, By giving his Friends Liberty to ſpeak the Truth, and keeping his Subjects from Oppreſſion.

A Prince ſhould be very careful in making Choice of his Counſellors; for *Plato* ſaith, that many Princes are undone, for Want of faithful Friends and Servants to counſel them; therefore *Alfred*, King of *England*, ſought out the wiſeſt and moſt learned Men to be of his Council. The Emperor *Conſtantius*, to make Proof of his Friends, made Shew to abandon Chriſtian Religion, and to turn to Idolatry; he was inſtantly applauded by a great Number, whom preſently he baniſhed the Country, for a Prince ſhall never want Followers. I wiſh that our gracious Sovereign would make this his Precedent: But, to my former Diſcourſe. Counſellors, ſaith *Julius Cæſar*, in one of his Orations to the Senate, ſhould not be led by Malice, Friendſhip, Anger, nor Mercy; and, if they concur in one lawful Opinion, though the Prince be oppoſite, yet it is fitting he ſhould yield to them, for ſo did the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, ſaying: It muſt be as you will, for it is greater Reaſon that I, being one, ſhould follow your Opinion, than you, being many, wiſe, and learned, ſhould yield to mine.

If a Prince take Aid of a Stranger ſtronger than himſelf, he may thereby endanger his State; as, for Example, the *Heruls*, *Goths*, and *Lombards*, who came into *Italy* for Succour, became Lords thereof; ſo did they of *Franconia*, with their King *Pl.* by *Pharamond*; the *Galls*, now *France*, and the *Saxons* did the like to *England*.

How

How to get and keep the Love of his Subjects.

A Prince, to the End he may be ſtrong at Home, and need no foreign Forces, ſhould always expect his own Subjects, (eſpecially Men of Worth and Service) as well in Peace as War, that he may win the Love and Hearts of his Subjects, the meaneſt whereof may do him Service, in ſome Kind, at one Time or other: For *Seneca* ſaith, The only inexpugnable Force of a Prince is the Love of his Subjects. *Antoninus Pius* would ſay, that he had rather preſerve One of his Subjects, than kill a Thouſand of his Enemies. And *Pythagoras* affirmeth, that Subjects are to the Prince, as the Wind to the Fire; for the ſtronger the Wind, the greater the Fire; ſo the richer the Subjects be, the ſtronger the Prince; but, where *Machiavel*'s Principles take Effect, there the Subjects muſt be made poor, by continual Subſidies, Exactions and Impoſitions, that the People may always be kept under as Slaves, and fear their Prince; which Courſe extinguiſheth the Love of the People towards the Prince, and ingendereth Hatred (the Actions of the Clergy, evil Counſellors of the State, Monopolies, and other *Machiavilian* Practices of ſome great Ones in Authority, have almoſt procured the ſame Effect in *England.*) *Philip Commines* greatly blameth ſuch Princes, as ſeek not to compound and end Diſcords and Quarrels amongſt their greateſt Subjects, but rather nouriſh the one Part; wherein they do but ſet their own Houſe on Fire, as did the Wife of *Henry the Sixth*, taking Part with the Duke of *Somerſet*, againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, which cauſed the War betwixt *York* and *Lancaſter*. *Auguſtus* the Emperor made a Law concerning Exactions, which he called *Auguſta*, that no Payment ſhould be exacted of the People, but for the Profit of the Commonwealth. And, when *Marcus Antoninus* laid a double Tax upon the People, they anſwered, That, if he would have two Taxes in one Year, he muſt give them two Summers, two Harveſts, and two Vintages, for the People cannot endure to be overcharged; if they be, great Inconveniency may grow thereby, (our later Times give apparent Teſtimonies of the Truth of this Particular.) A Prince therefore ſhould love and cheriſh his Subjects, but not oppreſs them; for *Tiberius Nero*, when ſome perſuaded him to take great Tributes of the Provinces, ſaid, That a good Shepherd ſhould ſhear his Sheep, but not devour them; and That State (ſaith *Thales*) is beſt ordered, which hath in it neither too wealthy, nor too poor Citizens.

It is not for a Prince to make War upon every ſmall Occaſion, but to be ſure the Cauſe be good and juſt; which then will bring Honour to his Perſon, Safety to his Soul, and Encouragement to all his Soldiers: Yet, according to the Saying of *Octavius Cæſar*, neither Battle, nor War, is to be undertaken, unleſs there be evidently ſeen more Hope of Gain, than Fear of Damage; but, above all, a religious Peace is to be embraced by a Prince, and ſo to be offered to his Enemy; for *bleſſed is the Peace-maker, for he ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God:* Which, that we may all do, let us endeavour to purchaſe a Peace by our timely Repentance, and hearty Prayers. When the *Iſraelites* had ſinned, and God had reſolved to deſtroy them, *Moſes* roſe up, and by his Prayers became a Mediator betwixt God and them, ſo that God's Juſtice was converted to Mercy. Is there not in all this ſpacious Kingdom one religious *Moſes* to ſtand betwixt God's Juſtice and our Sins, by his Prayers to purchaſe a Pardon, and remove this threatening Miſchief which hangs over our Heads? O that God would put it into the Hearts both of Prince and People, to join with one Heart and one Voice, and cry unto the Lord, for who knows what an Effect ſuch an Union may produce? Who knows whether the Lord will repent him of his Wrath, and turn this Deſtruction from us?

The true and genuine Explanation of one K. *James*'s Declaration. Printed in the Year 1693. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

J. R.

WHereas by Miſrepreſentation
(Of which ourſelf was the Occaſion)
We loſt our Royal Reputation;
And much againſt our Expectation,
Laid the moſt tragical Foundation
Of Vacant Throne and Abdication:
After mature Deliberation,
We now reſolve to ſham the Nation
Into another Reſtoration:
Promiſing in our wonted Faſhion,
Without the leaſt Equivocation,
To make an ample Reparation.
And, for our Re-inauguration,
We chuſe to owe the Obligation
To our kind Subjects Inclination,
For whom we always ſhew'd a Paſſion.
And when again they take Occaſion
To want a King of our Perſuaſion,
We'll ſoon appear to take our Station
With the enſuing Declaration.

ALL ſhall be ſafe from Rope and Fire,
Or never more believe in *J. R.*

J. R.

WHen we reflect what Deſolation
Our Abſence cauſes to the Nation
We could not hold ourſelf exempted
From any Thing to be attempted;
Whereby our Subjects, well beguil'd,
May to our Yoke be reconcil'd.
Be all aſſur'd both Whig and Tory,
If for paſt Faults you can be ſorry,
You ne'er ſhall know what we'll do for you.
For 'tis our noble Reſolution
To do more for your Conſtitution,
Than e'er we'll put in Execution.
Though ſome before us made a Pother,
England had never ſuch another,
No, not our own renown'd dear Brother.
We have it ſet before our Eyes,
That our main Intereſt wholly lies
In managing with ſuch Diſguiſe,
As leaves no Room for Jealouſies.
And, to encourage Foes and Friends,
With Hearts and Hands, to ſerve our Ends,
We hereby publiſh and declare,
(And this we do, becauſe we dare)
That, to evince we are not ſullen,
We'll bury all paſt Faults in Woollen:
By which you may perceive we draw
Our wiſe Reſolves from Statute-Law.
And therefore by this Declaration
We promiſe Pardon to the Nation,
Excepting only whom we may pleaſe,
Whether they be on Land or Seas.
And further, Bloodſhed to prevent,
We here declare our ſelf content
To heap as large Reward on all,
That help to bring us to *Whitehall*,
As ever did our Brother dear,
At his Return, on *Cavalier*;
Or we, to our immortal Glory,
Conferr'd on *Non-reſiſting Tory*.
Then be aſſured, the firſt fair Weather,
We'll call a Parliament together,
(Chuſe right or wrong, no Matter whether)
Where with united Inclination
We'll bring the Intereſt of the Nation
Under our own Adjudication:
With whoſe Concurrence, we'll redreſs
What we ourſelf think Grievances.
All ſhall be firm as Words can make it:
And, if we promiſe, What can ſhake it?
As for your Church, we'll ſtill defend it;
Or, if you pleaſe, the Pope ſhall mend it.
Your Chapels, Colleges and Schools,
Shall be ſupply'd with your own Tools:
But, if we live another Summer,
We'll then relieve 'em from St. *Omer*.
Next for a Liberty of Conſcience,
With which we bit the Nation long ſince;
We'll ſettle it as firm and ſteady,
As that perhaps you have already.
We'll never violate the Teſt,
'Till 'tis our Royal Intereſt;
Or till we think it ſo at leaſt,
But there we muſt conſult the Prieſt.
And as for the diſpenſing Power,
(Of Princes Crowns, the ſweeteſt Flower)
That Parliament ſhall ſo explain it,
As we in Peace may ſtill maintain it.

If

If other Acts ſhall be preſented,
We'll paſs them all and be contented:
Whatever Laws receiv'd their Faſhion
Under the preſent Uſurpation,
Shall have our gracious Confirmation,
Provided ſtill we ſee Occaſion.
Our Brother's *Iriſh* ſettling Act
(Which we, 'tis true, repeal'd in Fact)
We'll be contented to reſtore,
If you'll provide for *Teague* before:
For you yourſelves ſhall have the Glory
To re-eſtabliſh wand'ring *Tory*.
But now you have ſo fair a Bidder,
'Tis more than Time you ſhould conſider,
What Funds are proper to ſupply us
For that, and what your Hearths ſave by us.
Therefore conſult your *Polyhymne*,
To find another Rhyme to Chimney;
Or, if I bleed, the Devil's in me.
And, leſt a Project, in its Prime,
Should be deſtroy'd for Want of Time,
We'll ſoon refer the whole Amount
To your Commiſſioners of Account.
Thus having tortur'd our Invention,
To frame a Draught of our Intention,
By the Advice of *Hun——ton*,
Wiſe *Ely*, *F——ck*, and *Tom D——e*
And of all Ranks ſome Fifty-one:
Who have adjuſted for our Coming,
All Gimcracks fit for ſuch a Mumming:
And 'tis their Buſineſs to perſuade you,
We come to ſuccour, not invade you.
But after this we think it Nonſenſe;
Beſides it is againſt our Conſcience,
To trouble you with a Relation
Of Tyranny and Violation,
Or Burdens that oppreſs the Nation.
Since you can make the beſt Conſtruction,
Of what may turn to your Deſtruction.
But ſince our Enemies wou'd fright you,
Telling our Debt to *France* is mighty;
As poſitively we aſſure you,
As if we ſwore before a Jury;
That he expects no Compenſation,
But what he gains in Reputation
For helping in our Reſtoration.
And all muſt own, that know his Story,
How far his Intereſt ſtoops to Glory:
Whoſe Generoſity is ſuch,
We doubt not he'll out-do the *Dutch*.
We only add, that we are come
By Trumpet's Sound, and Beat of Drum,
For our juſt Title's Vindication,
And Liberty's Corroboration.
So may we ever find Succeſs,
As we deſign you nothing leſs,
Than what you owe to old QUEEN *BESS*.

The Geography and Hiſtory of *Tournay*: Firſt written in *French*, for the Service of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and ſent incloſed in a Letter to him, when he marched to beſiege *Tournay*. Now done a Second Time in *Engliſh*, for the Satisfaction of our *Britiſh* Gentlemen and Officers, By *John Mack Gregory*, L L. L. Profeſſor of *Geography* and *Hiſtory*. To which is prefixed, as an Epiſtle Dedicatory, the Author's Letter to Prince *Eugene*. Printed at *Edinburgh*, 1709. *Quarto*, containing forty-four Pages.

To

To his Highneſs Prince *Francis Eugene* of *Savoy*, in the Army about *Tournay*.

Edinburgh, *the Ninth of* July, 1709.

SIR,

THIS is only to accompany the Incloſed, and it is the Fourth I have writ to your Highneſs, ſince I had the Honour of one from you.

The Firſt was from London, January 1704, *concerning my own private Affairs. The Second was from* Edinburgh, Auguſt 1708, *after a long Silence, having incloſed an Account of the Situation and Fortification of* Liſle. *The Third was likewiſe from* Edinburgh, December *the ſame Year, concerning my own private Affairs.*

This preſent has incloſed an Account of the Situation and Fortification of Tournay; *I ſhould be glad to know, that your Highneſs is pleaſed to take all my little Services in good Part.* I am,

Sir,

Your Highneſs's moſt humble, moſt obliged, and moſt devoted Servant,

MACK GREGORY.

TOURNAY is a great Town, the ſecond City of *Walloon Flanders*, and the principal Place of Reſidence of the Parliament of that Part of theſe Countries, which, becauſe it was ſome Time ago conquered by the *French*, and is ſtill in their Poſſeſſion, is commonly called, *The conquered Countries.*

It is ſituate on the Banks of the River *Scheld*, upon the Skirts of a large Campaign, that reigns about it, for ſeveral Leagues on the one Side towards *Liſle*; on the other Side towards *Oudenard*; there are a great many little Hills, that interrupt the Continuance of the Plain, though none ſo nigh as to command it: And, juſt where the Town ſtands, it is an Eminence; the Bank of the River, on the one Side, being a riſing Ground, or Hill; that on the other Side a Level or Plain. There have likewiſe been ſome Heights hard by, eſpecially on the Hill Side the River, that were indeed very hurtful to the Town, in the Caſe of a Siege, by commanding and weakening its Defence: But ſince the *French* came laſt there, and have fortified it, all theſe Heights, and the other Eminences, that did any way prejudice its Strength, are either incloſed, and taken in with the Outworks, or levelled; ſo that now the Town is free, and its Fortifications command all around.

The *Scheld* is one of the greateſt Rivers in the *Low-Countries*. It takes its Riſe near *Chaſtelet* in *Picardy*, and makes a great many Turnings and Windings, as it goes through *Cambreſis*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*; but the main of its Courſe is from South to North, eſpecially it is ſo at *Tournay*: At length it falls into the *German* Sea, over-againſt the Iſlands of *Zealand*.

Upon both the Sides of this River, at a Place where it runs from South to North, or rather from South-South-Eaſt, to North-North-Weſt, ſtands *Tournay*, ſeated upon the two Banks, the Bank on the Weſt-ſide being a Hill, that on Eaſt-ſide a Plain; and the River, running thorough the Town, divides it into two unequal Parts, the greater being on the Weſt-ſide upon the Hill, the leſſer on the Eaſt-ſide in the Plain; juſt fifteen Leagues below where it riſes near *Chaſtelet*, and about twenty above where it falls into the Sea over-againſt *Zealand*: But *Tournay* is not ſo far diſtant from the Sea in direct Way, there being no more than ſifteen or ſixteen Leagues from it to *Newport*, or to *Oſtend*.

Beſides this great River, there is a ſmall Brook, or Rivulet, which takes its Riſe near a little Village, about a League and a Half from the Town on the Eaſt-ſide, and comes turning and winding thorough the Country, till at length

length it falls into that Part of the Ditch, which is about the Town on the ſame Side.

This Town is one of the moſt ancient in *Europe*, ſo that it is very hard to trace out its Origin. However, we find that it was at firſt founded by the *Nervii*, otherwiſe *Minervii*, ſo called from the Goddeſs *Minerva*, whom they worſhiped, the original Inhabitants of that Country; who, in the Year of the World 3360, Six-hundred Years before the Birth of our Saviour, built a Tower there, in a ſmall Iſland of the River *Scheld*, in the Place within *Tournay*, at the lower End of the Town, where now there is a Bridge over the River, called the *Iron Bridge*; which Tower ſerved them as an Obſervatory, or Watching-place, from whence they could diſcover and view the Country all about. They likewiſe built a Caſtle there, in the Year of the World 3396, on the Eaſt Bank of the River, upon the Water-ſide, juſt oppoſite to the Tower, which they joined to it with a Bridge of Timber over the Part of the River that run between, and ſurrounded it with a Moat, or wet Ditch, on the Land Side; which was ſo much the more practicable there at that Time, becauſe the Ground then, on that Side the River, was a Marſh, whereas now it is good Ground: And this Caſtle ſerved them as a Fortreſs, or Place of Security, where they lodged their Wives and Children, and laid up what elſe was dear unto them, during the troubleſome Time of War.

About Five-hundred Paces from that Tower and Caſtle, up towards the South, the Banks of the River, on both Sides, were in thoſe Days covered with Woods of Thorn-Trees, and Thickets of Briar-buſhes; among which the ſame *Nervii*, the ancient People of the Country, in the Year of the World 3430, begun firſt to build Huts and Houſes, under the Shadow of the Trees and Buſhes, and in the Neighbourhood of their Tower and Caſtle; and thoſe Huts and Houſes, by Degrees, and through Time, grew out into a conſiderable Village, on both Sides the River. Then, to ſecure themſelves farther from the Attempts and Aſſaults of their Enemies, they cut and plied, and joined, and interlaced the Thorns and Briars, with the ſupple Branches of other young Trees, ſo as to make a Hedge about their Village, ſo ſtrong, and to ſuch a Thickneſs, that not only their Enemies could not paſs it, but what was more, they could not ſo much as ſee thorough it. This was done in the Year of the World 3482, and it is the firſt Incloſure of *Tournay*, which from a Village made it become a Town. They likewiſe, about the ſame Time, built a Bridge of Timber over the River, to join the two Parts of the Town together; as before they had built one below over a Part of the River, to join the Tower and Caſtle together: Which Tower and Caſtle were, by that Hedge-Incloſure, ſhut out without the Town, at the Diſtance of Five-hundred Paces, down towards the North. And they called the Name of the Town *Doornwick*, or *Doornick*, ſignifying in *Teutonick*, or old *High Dutch*, the ancient Language of that Country, as much as to ſay, *Thorntown*, or *Town of Thorns*, it having been built in a Wood of Thorns, and incloſed with a Hedge of the ſame. Which Name it retains to this Day. Accordingly, the *Latin* Name of it is *Dornacum*, or *Tornacum*, and the *French* call it *Tornay*, or *Tournay*.

What Sort of Town this ancient Town of the *Nervii* has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no Veſtiges of it to be ſeen, no more than of their Caſtle and Tower. But I have ſeen a Plan of them in Miniature, in an old *Teutonick* Manuſcript, preſerved by the *Monks* of St. *Martin's* at *Tournay*, and to be ſeen in their Library by any one that calls for it; by which it appears, that the Town has been of an oblong Figure, lying croſs the River on both Sides, and ſtretching itſelf out from Eaſt to Weſt, the River running from South to North; the Caſtle has been a Square, upon the Water Side, on the Eaſt-ſide of the River, below the Town; and the Tower has been round in a little Iſland in the Middle of the River, juſt oppoſite to the Caſtle.

This was the Condition of *Tournay*, as the *Nervii*, the original Inhabitants of the Country, built it. It continued much in the ſame State, without any farther Alteration, either for its Increaſe, or for its better Defence, till the Days of *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt Emperor of the *Romans*; who, in the Year of the World 3950, came into that Country, beſieged the Town of *Tournay*, found it an eaſy Matter to break thorough its Hedges, and ſubdued it to the *Roman* Empire.

It continued in the Power of the *Romans*, till the Year of our Lord 445, when *Clodion*, ſirnamed *the Hairy*, King of *France*, Son to *Pharamond the Great*, the firſt King thereof, having conquered as far as the Rivers *Rhine* and *Maeſe*, came at laſt unto the *Scheld*, drove the *Romans* out of the Country, and took both

Tournay

Tournay and *Cambray*. But the ſame King *Clodion*, in the Year following, being obliged to return Home, becauſe of an Irruption which the *Goths* and *Vandals*, at the Inſtigation of the *Romans*, had then made into *France*; he was content to abandon his Foreign Conqueſts, to ſave his own Kingdom; ſo the Country of the *Nervii* and the Town of *Tournay* returned to the *Roman* Empire.

It continued again in the Poſſeſſion of the *Romans*, till the Days of *Clovis the Firſt*, ſirnamed *the Great*, King of *France*, who, in the Year of our Lord 479, having overcome the *Roman* Governor at *Soiſſons*, came conquering into the Country of the *Nervii*, and ſubdued to himſelf all that the *Romans* held there; by which Means *Tournay* returned to the Dominion of the *French*, who kept it unmoleſted for a long Time after.

It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding all theſe Changes and Revolutions, which happened about *Tournay*, and though the *Romans*, as well as the *French*, were there for ſome Hundreds of Years, yet it never was any Thing conſiderable, and never came to have any better Incloſure than Hedges, till the Time of *Chilperick the Firſt*, King of *France*, who alone did more for it than all thoſe who were before him, and made it indeed look like a Town. For, *Firſt*, he went thither in Perſon, and dwelt at it; he added a great many Houſes to it; he built ſome Palaces in it, particularly *Our Lady*'s Church, the Cathedral; and adorned it with an Infinity of other Publick Buildings. Then, what was moſt of all, in the Year of our Lord 580, he was the firſt who begun to incloſe it with a Wall and a Ditch, and took Care to have it perfected in his own Life-time; ſo as to take in with it the old Town of the *Nervii*, on both Sides the River, but ſtill to leave out their Caſtle and Tower, at the Diſtance of Five-hundred Paces, down towards the North. He alſo built Bridges over the River, to join the two Parts of the Town together; the Part on the Weſt-ſide, upon the Hill, being always the greater, that on the Eaſt-ſide in the Plain, the leſſer. In fine, it was in this Prince's Time, that the Town of *Tournay* arrived at a Pitch of Splendor and Magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before. An Account of all which may be ſeen upon Record, in a rich *Latin* Manuſcript, preſerved by the Canons of *Our Lady*'s, to be ſeen in their Treaſury.

This ſecond Incloſure of *Tournay* of King *Chilperick*'s is ſtill on Foot, and intire, tho' now ſhut up very far within the Body of the Town, by the laſt Incloſure, which has been ſince made, and ſo much engaged and confounded with other Edifices adjoining to it, on all Sides, that it is not every where to be ſeen. However, in ſome Places, going thorough the Town, we ſee a Part, both of the Wall and Ditch of it; and, by Sight of a Part, we may gueſs at the Whole.

It is not a Rampart, but a Wall, built in the *Roman* Faſhion; but after the Manner of the *Goths*, which begun early to prevail over that of the Ancients in Architecture, eſpecially in theſe Weſtern Countries.

It has thirteen Gates in it; eight in that Part of it which ſurrounds the greater Part of the Town, on the Weſt-ſide the River, commonly called, *the High Town*, ſtanding on a Hill; four in that Part, which ſurrounds the leſſer Part of the Town, on the Eaſt-ſide the River, named *the Low Town*, lying in a Plain; and one upon the River, at the upper End of the Town, towards the South, at a Place where the Channel of it is ſo narrow, as to admit of a Gate over it, thorough which the River runs. So that this Gate is not only a Gate upon the River, but it may likewiſe be ſaid to be a Kind of Bridge of one Arch over it, joining the Wall on the one Side, and that on the other Side together, at the one End of the Town, as in Effect we ſee at this Day, it does actually ſerve as a Bridge: And, correſponding to it, there is another Bridge of five Arches over the River, at the lower End of the Town, towards the North, at a Place where the Channel of it is ſo wide, as not to admit of a Gate, or Bridge of one Arch upon it; which Bridge joins the Wall on the one Side, and that on the other Side together, at the other End of the Town, and ſo compleats the Incloſure. There is alſo a third Bridge of three Arches over the River, in the Heart of the Town in the Middle of the Diſtance between the other Two: It joins the Body of the Town on the one Side, and that on the other Side together, and is alſo a Work of King *Chilperick*'s.

The Gates on the Weſt-ſide, in the Wall about the High Town, beginning at the River, at the upper End towards the South, from thence going Weſtwards, and ſo round, are reckoned in this Order, and thus named, St. *Mark*'s *Gate*, St. *Catharine*'s *Gate*, St. *Piat*'s *Gate*, St. *Martin*'s *Gate*, St. *Quintin*'s *Gate*, the *Magdalen Gate*, our *Lady*'s *Gate*, and the

Tower

Tower Gate: Thoſe on the Eaſt-ſide in the Wall about the Low Town, beginning at the River, at the lower End towards the North, from thence going Eaſtwards round, are reckoned and named ſo: The *Caſtle Gate*, St. *Brice*'s *Gate*, the *Hoſpital Gate*, and St. *John*'s *Gate*: And that upon the River, at the upper End of the Town, towards the South, is named the *Water Gate*, as being a Gate, but as a Bridge it is called, *The Bridge of one Arch*; whereas the Bridge, correſponding to it, at the lower End of the Town, towards the North, is named *the Turned Bridge*; and the third Bridge, in the Middle of the Town, is called, *The Bridge to Bridge*.

This Wall is fortified all about with round Towers, at the Diſtance of fifty Paces one from another; and every one of theſe Gates is ſo placed between two Towers, one on each Side of it, and ſo nigh to one another, that the Gate ſtands equally defended and hid between them.

The Wall is built intirely of hewn Stone, to the Thickneſs of five Feet, and to the Height of twenty; but the Gates and Towers are of Earth reveſted with Stone, likewiſe hewn; theſe to the Solidity of ten Feet, and to the Height thirty; thoſe to the Thickneſs of ten Feet, and to the ſame Height with the Wall: So that the Towers are in Solidity twice the Thickneſs of the Wall, and in Height a third Part higher, after the Manner practiſed in the Towers of the *Aurelian* Wall about *Rome*; but the Gates, though twice as thick as the Wall, yet are no higher, according to the common Practice. The Wall is terminated with a Corridor, or Gallery, running along the Top of it; the Gates and Towers with Platforms, or Terraſſes, ſome of which are covered, and ſome diſcovered; and both Platforms and Corridor are guarded on the Outſide, with a Battlement, or Breaſt-work, likewiſe of hewn Stone, two Feet thick, and five Feet high, that reigns along the one, and around the others, all about the Town.

The Bridges over the River are alſo built of hewn Stone: The one, at the lower End of the Town, towards the North, making a Part of the Incloſure, to the Breadth of fifteen Feet, and to the Length of a Hundred and fifty, the Channel of the River being ſo wide at that Place; the other, in the Middle of the Town, to the Breadth of twenty Feet, and to the Length of a Hundred, the Channel there being ſo wide; whereas the Third, being the Water-Gate, at the upper End of the Town, towards the South, is but ten Feet broad, and fifty Feet long, the Channel there being no wider: They are terminated in the Top, with a Cauſey, or Street, guarded on both Sides with a Baluſtrade, or Rail; the Whole of hewn Stone.

Without the Wall is the Ditch, fifty Feet broad, and ten Feet deep, having its Scarp and Counter-ſcarp incruſted with Stone, likewiſe hewn: It is a Moat or a wet Ditch, on the one Side the River, towards the Eaſt, where the Ground is a Level, or Plain, and is ſupplied with Water from the River, as alſo from the little Brook, which falls into it, on the ſame Side; on the other Side, towards the Weſt, where the Ground is a riſing Ground, or Hill, it is dry. Over it, on both Sides, before the Gates are Bridges, giving Paſſage into, and out from the Town; they were anciently Draw-bridges of Timber, but now they are fixed ones of Stone: And, at the outer Ends of them, there are principal Streets, that anciently were ſo many Highways, running out from the Gates into the adjacent Country, having each of them the ſame Name with the Gate it runs out from.

The Channel of the River within the Town is ſo unequal in its Dimenſions, that I can ſay nothing about it; for it is differently wide and deep in different Places: At the upper End of the Town, towards the South, it is fifty Feet wide, and a Hundred Feet deep; in the Middle of the Town, a Hundred Feet wide, and fifty Feet deep; and at the lower End, towards the North, it is a Hundred and fifty Feet wide, and five and twenty Feet deep. It is bordered all along with a large Quay, or Landing-place, reveſted with hewn Stone, its Channel being incruſted with the ſame; for the Merchants of the Town their Conveniency in Embarking and Diſ-embarking their Goods, the River being navigable for Barks and Boats, all the Way from the Sea, not only up to *Tournay*, but as far as *Conde* and *Valenciennes*, which is ſeven Leagues higher. The Bridges over it within the Town, giving Paſſage from the one Part of it to the other, are already deſcribed; having at both Ends of them ſome principal Streets, that from thence run out thorough the Town.

It is obſervable concerning this Incloſure of King *Chilperick*'s, that, whereas anciently it was every where to be ſeen, being free of other Edifices, now it is ſo far ſhut up in the Heart of the Town, and ſo mixed with other Buildings adjoining to it on every Side, that one ſees but Parts of it here and there: The Bridge over the River, at the upper End of the Town, towards the South, called, *The Bridge of one Arch*, is a Part of it, being the ancient Water Gate; and a very remarkable Part, being one of the hardieſt Pieces of *Gothick* Architecture in the World: It is ten Feet broad, and fifty Feet long, the Channel of the River being ſo wide there, all one Arch; for which Reaſon, it is called, *The Bridge of one Arch*, all the other Bridges upon the River being of ſeveral Arches: Anciently it ſerved only as a Gate, but now it is commonly uſed as a Bridge; and is terminated in the Top with a Cauſey, guarded on the one Side with the old Battlement, and on the other, with a new Baluſtrade: The Whole of hewn Stone. From this Bridge, going Weſtwards, round, at the Diſtance of about Three-hundred Paces, there is another Part of the Incloſure to be ſeen, being the ancient St. *Catharine*'s Gate. And in ſeveral Places, going thorough the Town, there are Parts of it here and there to be found; and, by a Sight of a Part, one may gueſs at the Whole.

And this is what they call *Old Tournay*, as it was founded, enlarged, incloſed, and fortified, firſt by the *Nervii*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, and then, by *Chilperick the Firſt*, King of *France*.

It is a Town of an oblong round, or parabolick Figure, lying croſs the River on both Sides, and ſtretching itſelf out from Eaſt to Weſt, the River running from South to North: It has in Length, taking it from St. *Brice*'s Gate on the Eaſt-ſide, to St. *Quintin*'s Gate on the Weſt, croſs the River, juſt a Thouſand common Paces, that is, Five-hundred geometrical Paces, or a third Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; in Breadth, reckoning from the Water Gate, or the *Bridge of one Arch*, at the upper End of the Town, towards the South, to the *Turned Bridge*, at the lower End towards the North, along the River-ſide, it is Five-hundred common Paces, or Two-hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, or a ſixth Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; and in Circumference, going round within, on the Inſide the Wall, as near as one can go for the other Buildings adjoining to it, there are about three Thouſand common Paces, that is, Fifteen-hundred geometrical Paces, or a *Britiſh* Mile; but meaſuring it without, on the Outſide the Ditch, as nigh to it as we could go, we found it to be as good as Four-thouſand and Five-hundred common Paces, or Two-thouſand Two-hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, or a *Britiſh* Mile and a Half.

This was the Condition of *Tournay*, as King *Chilperick the Firſt* of *France* left it, in the Year of our Lord 587, the laſt Year of his Life, when having compleated its Incloſure, as the laſt Token of his good Will to it, he declared it a noble Town, and gave it all the Privileges of a City, with this Coat of Arms, *Azure*, a Caſtle triple-towered *Argent*.

It continued ſo, in the ſame State, and in the Power of the Princes of the ſame Nation, without any further Addition or Change befalling it, either in its Building or Government, till the Days of *Charles the Second*, ſirnamed *The Bald*, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Germany*; who having ſharp War, in his Time, with the *Danes* and *Normans*, that were then come from the North, in the Deſign to make an Irruption into *France*, in the Year of our Lord 880, they beſieged and took *Tournay* in their Way, and deſtroyed it with Fire and Sword. It lay in Ruins for thirty Years, that is, till the Year 910, when, in the Days of *Charles the Fourth*, ſirnamed *The Simple*, King of *France*, it was begun to be rebuilt, and, in the Space of a few Years, it came to be in as good a Condition as formerly.

It continued ſo, in this rebuilt State, and again in the Dominion of the *French*, who kept it unmoleſted for above Three-hundred Years, that is, till the Year of our Lord 1214, in the Days of *Philip the Second*, ſirnamed *Auguſtus*, King of *France*; who having violent War, in his Time, with *Don Fernardo*, ſirnamed of *Portugal*, Earl of *Flanders*, whom he looked upon as his Vaſſal, and a Rebel, becauſe he had entered into an Alliance with *Otho the Fifth*, Emperor of *Germany*, and *John* King of *England*, againſt him. *Don Fernando* beſieged the Town of *Tournay*, and took it. But it was immediately retaken, the ſame Year, by King *Philip*; who, beſides, gave the Princes in Alliance againſt him an intire Defeat, at the memorable Battle of *Bovines*,

vines, within two Leagues of *Tournay*, took *Don Fernardo* Priſoner, and carried him to the *Louvre* at *Paris*, where he kept him twelve Years: By which Means, *Tournay* returned into the Power of the *French*, who again held it in peaceable Poſſeſſion, for a long Time after.

Charles the Sixth, ſirnamed *The Well-beloved*, King of *France*, in the Year of our Lord 1384, having Occaſion to be at *Tournay*, as a Mark of his good Will to the Town, confirmed to it all the Privileges that his Predeceſſor, King *Chilperick the Firſt*, had given it, and made this Addition to its Coat of Arms, a Chief *Argent*, three Flower-de-Luces *Gules*; which was a conſiderable Piece of Honour done to it, the Flower-de-Luces being the Enſigns Armorial of the Kings of *France* their own Coat: So that the Arms of *Tournay*, as they now ſtand, are, *Azure*, a Caſtle triple-towered *Argent*, on a Chief *Argent*, three Flower-de-Luces *Gules*. And *Lewis the Eleventh*, King of *France*, having likewiſe Occaſion to be there, in the Year 1467, confirmed again to it all the Privileges and Honours, that his Predeceſſors, King *Chilperick the Firſt* and King *Charles the Sixth*, had beſtowed upon it: And the Burghers of *Tournay*, at that Time, were ſo ſenſible of the good Will and Kindneſs of the Kings of *France* towards them, upon ſo many Occaſions, and were *frenchified* to ſuch a Pitch, that, when King *Lewis* departed from the Town, in Order to return Home, the Magiſtrates preſented him with a Flower-de-Luce of Gold; and, to make it appear to him, how much he might reckon upon their Gratitude and Fidelity towards him, they affirmed, that every Burgher of *Tournay* bore the Figure of a Flower-de-Luce imprinted upon his Heart.

In this Manner, it continued in the ſame State, and in the Hands of the *French*, who had kept it unmoleſted for ſuch a long Time, till the Year of our Lord 1479, in the Days of the ſame King *Lewis the Eleventh* of *France*; who, having ſharp War, at that Time, againſt *Maximilian*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and Earl of *Flanders*, and the Arch-Duke having gained a memorable Victory over the *French*, at the Battle of *Eſguingate* near *Terouane*, marched thereupon ſtraight to *Tournay*, beſieged it, and took it upon Terms. But, four Years after, that is, in the Year 1483, a Peace being concluded at *Arras*, betwixt theſe two Princes, and confirmed by a Marriage agreed on, between *Charles* Dauphin of *France*, King *Lewis*'s Son, and the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, the Arch-Duke's Daughter, by an Article of that Treaty, it was reſtored to the *French*, who again held it peaceably for ſome Time.

Lewis the Twelfth, King of *France*, having very violent War in his Time, with *Henry the Eighth*, King of *England*, eſpecially towards the End of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 1513, King *Henry* came over with an Army of Fifty-thouſand Men into *France* againſt him. He firſt landed at *Calais*, and ravaged *Picardy*; then he went into *Artois* and *Flanders*, and took both *Terouane* and *Tournay*: And although, the Year following, Peace was concluded between theſe two Kings, and confirmed by a Marriage, betwixt the ſame King *Lewis* of *France* and the Lady *Mary* of *England*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, yet the Town of *Tournay*, by that Treaty, was not reſtored to the *French*, but it remained in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, who kept it five Years.

It is to be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding all the War that had chanced to be in the Country of *Flanders*, and all the Changes and Revolutions that had befallen the Town of *Tournay*, yet its Inhabitants, by this Time, were come to increaſe ſo much in Number, by reaſon of a great Concourſe of People that had come thronging thither, at different Times, on ſeveral Occaſions, and from a great many Foreign Countries, eſpecially from *France* and *Burgundy*, that there was not Room enough for them to lodge in, within the old Town; and, no empty Space being left to build any more in within King *Chilperick*'s Wall, they were obliged to build without the Ditch: Which Buildings, by Degrees, grew out into Suburbs, having each of them the ſame Name with the Gate they ſtood neareſt to; thoſe Suburbs, through Time, became conſiderable, becauſe they were ſo very large; and this gave Beginning to, what was afterwards, when it came to be incloſed, called, *The New Town*.

In this Condition it was when the *Engliſh* came from *England* before it, in the Days of King *Henry the Eighth*; who, after he had ſubdued it, did not lodge within the Town, there being no convenient Lodgings for him there, but took up his Quarters in the old Caſtle of the *Nervii*, on the Eaſt-ſide the

River, Five-hundred Paces from the Town, down towards the North; which, together with their Tower in an Iſland of the River, continued on Foot at that Time. But becauſe he found, that that old Caſtle was both too little for him, and become ruinous, he ordered the Tower and it together to be thrown down, and a new Caſtle of his own to be built, in the ſame Place, and on the ſame Ground, but a great deal larger and more capacious; ſo as that it might be ſufficient to hold, not only himſelf, and his ordinary Attendants, but likewiſe a good Number of Troops in Gariſon; and to the End it might ſerve, both as a Caſtle, or Palace, where himſelf, or his Lieutenants, might lodge, and as a Citadel, or Fortreſs, from whence his Troops might command the Town, in the Caſe of an Inſurrection among the Inhabitants: Which was accordingly done; and it was incloſed with a Wall and a Ditch, adjoining to the River, on the Eaſt-ſide, and at the Diſtance of Five-hundred Paces from the Town-wall and Ditch, towards the North. And then the other *Engliſh*, who had Occaſion to come thither at that Time, and either would not, or could not be allowed, to lodge within the Caſtle, built Houſes for themſelves hard by, in the Neighbourhood, and under the Shadow of it, in the Interſpaces that reigned from the Caſtle, on both Sides the River, towards the Town.

This Caſtle of King *Henry*'s is ſtill on Foot, tho' not intire, and now ſhut up within the Town, by the laſt Incloſure of *Tournay*, which was afterwards made; and although it be ſomewhat engaged, and confounded with other new Edifices adjoining to it, both without and within, and the *French*, ſince they came laſt there, have induſtriouſly made it their Buſineſs, by throwing down ſome Parts of it, to diſfigure an Edifice, which ſerved as a laſting Monument of the *Engliſh* Conqueſt and Power over them, yet it is ſtill very manifeſtly to be ſeen, by thoſe who will be at Pains to look out for it, on the Eaſt-ſide the River, down towards the North, where it makes the North-eaſt Corner of the Town: For that was the Quarter of *Tournay* where the *Engliſh* dwelt, during the Space of five Years that they ſtaid there, and where all the old Buildings, both within and without the Caſtle, on both Sides the River, as well as the Caſtle itſelf, have been built by the ſame Nation.

The Incloſure of it is not a Rampart, but a Wall; built in the *Roman* Faſhion, but after the *Gothick* Manner, according to the Knowledge that the *Engliſh* had of Military Architecture in thoſe Days. There are two Gates in it: The one towards the River, called, the *River-Gate*; the other towards the Country, named, the *Country-Gate*. Each of theſe Gates is defended by two round Towers, one on each Side of it, and nigh to one another; and the reſt of the Wall is fortified all about with round Bulwarks, at the Diſtance of Two-hundred Paces one from another.

The Wall is built intirely of hewn Stone, to the Thickneſs of ſix Feet, and to the Height of four and twenty; but the Gates, the Towers, and the Bulwarks are of Earth, reveſted with Stone, likewiſe hewn; the firſt and the ſecond to the Thickneſs of twelve Feet, the laſt to the Solidity of eighteen, and all to the ſame Height with the Wall: Being terminated in the Top with Platforms, or Terraſſes, as the Wall is with a Corridor, or Gallery, that runs along the Top of it from one Platform to another; and both Platforms and Corridor are guarded on the Outſide with a Battlement or Breaſt-work, likewiſe of hewn Stone, that reigns along the one, and around the others, all about the Caſtle.

Without the Wall, on the one Side, is the River, a hundred and fifty Feet broad and five and twenty Feet deep, bordered all along, on both Sides, with a large Quay or Landing-place, reveſted with hewn Stone, the Channel of the River being incruſted with the ſame; on all the other Sides, there is the Ditch, being a Moat, or wet Ditch, ſixty Feet broad, and twelve Feet deep, having its Scarp and Counterſcarp incruſted with Stone, likewiſe hewn, and being ſupplied with Water from the River. Over the River on the one Side, and over the Ditch on the other, before the two Gates, are as many Bridges, giving Paſſage into, and out from the Caſtle, and having at the outer Ends of them Streets, that run from thence through the Town: They were anciently Draw-bridges of Timber, but now they are fixed ones of Stone. The one over the River is the moſt remarkable, conſiſting of five Arches, fifteen Feet broad, and a hundred and fifty Feet long, the Channel there being ſo wide; being terminated in the Top with a Cauſey, or Street, guarded on both Sides with a Baluſtrade or Rail: The Whole of hewn Stone. It was anciently called the

Caſtle-

Caſtle-Bridge; but now it is named the *Iron-Bridge*: It is juſt Five-hundred Paces diſtant from the turned Bridge, which makes a Part of King *Chilperick*'s Incloſure of the Town, down towards the North; and exactly in the Place where the Iſland was, in which ſtood the ancient Tower of the *Nervii*, their Caſtle having been built on the River-ſide, upon the Ground where the Bridge ends, towards the Eaſt, which is now occupied with a Corner of King *Henry*'s Caſtle, for, of the ancient Tower and Caſtle of the *Nervii*, there is not now the leaſt Veſtige to be ſeen.

And this is that Caſtle of *Tournay*, which was built by the Order of King *Henry the Eighth* of *England*, during the Time that the *Engliſh* ſtaid there. It is of an oblong Square, or parallelogrammatick Figure, lying along the River-ſide on the Eaſt, Five-hundred Paces from the Town, down towards the North, and ſtretching itſelf out from South to North, the River running the ſame Way. Its Length, taking it from the South-ſide to the other Side parallel, is juſt Five-hundred common Paces, that is, Two-hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or the ſixth Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; its Breadth, reckoning from the River-ſide to the other Parallel, Three-hundred common Paces, or the tenth Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; and its Circumference within, on the Inſide the Wall, is about Fifteen-hundred common Paces, that is, Seven-hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or half a *Britiſh* Mile; but without, on the Outſide of the Ditch, it will be as good as Two-thouſand common Paces, or a Thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two Thirds of a *Britiſh* Mile.

This is the Condition that *Tournay* was in, in the Time that the *Engliſh* were there: It conſiſted of the old Town, incloſed by King *Chilperick the Firſt* of *France*; of ſeveral Suburbs all around, occaſioned by a Throng of People from a great many foreign Countries, eſpecially from *France* and *Burgundy*; and of the new Caſtle, or Citadel, built by King *Henry the Eighth* of *England*, without the Town, upon the Eaſt-ſide the River, down towards the North.

The *Engliſh* kept it five Years, that is, from the Year of our Lord 1513, to 1518, in the Days of *Francis the Firſt*, King of *France*; who, having made his Peace with King *Henry*, and given him a Sum of Money, to reimburſe him of the Charges he had been at in building a Citadel at *Tournay*, and King *Henry* not caring to retain a Place ſo remote from his other Territories, the *Engliſh* were content to evacuate it, and it returned again to the Dominion of the *French*, who loſt it in a ſhort Time to the *Spaniards*. For the ſame King *Francis the Firſt* of *France*, having very violent War then with *Charles the Fifth*, King of *Spain*, Emperor of *Germany*, and Earl of *Flanders*, in the Year 1521, the Emperor *Charles* ſent thither an Army, which immediately ſat down before *Tournay*, and took it in a few Days.

The Emperor *Charles the Fifth* having got it into his Hands, and conſidering that it was a Member of the Earldom of *Flanders*, and an advantageous Poſt upon the River *Scheld*, he reſolved well to keep it, if he could, and to prevent the *French* from coming there again. So, to the End he might be able to do that effectually, he reſolved to have it fortified at a better Rate than ever it had been before; and conſidering that then, after the Invention of Powder and Guns, neither the Wall about King *Chilperick the Firſt*'s Town, nor that of King *Henry the Eighth*'s Caſtle, was ſufficiently ſtrong to hold out againſt an Enemy, he thereupon was the firſt who conceived the Deſign of having it fortified with a Rampart; and becauſe the Town, by Reaſon of its Excreſcence into Suburbs, which by that Time were likewiſe grown conſiderable, required a new Incloſure, he deſigned further, that that Rampart ſhould incloſe and go clear round it, by the far Ends of all the Suburbs, ſo as to take in King *Chilperick*'s Town, King *Henry*'s Caſtle, the Suburbs, and all that was on it: Which Deſign he immediately took Care to have put in Execution, beginning, the very Year following, being 1522, to cut out the Ditch, and throw up the Rampart, making both to go quite round the Town, by the outer Ends of the Suburbs and Caſtle, ſo as to ſurround and ſhut up all. And this is the third and laſt Incloſure of *Tournay*, which gave Birth to what they call the *New Town*, that is, that Part of it which is included between the two laſt Incloſures.

This laſt Incloſure of the Emperor *Charles*'s is ſtill on Foot, and intire; and, tho' it be now very near Two-hundred Years old, yet it is all that *Tournay* has about it.

It is not a ſimple Wall of Stone, as King *Chilperick*'s Incloſure is, but a Rampart of Earth thrown up, built in the ancient Faſhion, not after the modern; every Way irregular, not according to Art; and fortified with Bulwarks, not Baſtions: Being a groſs Piece of *Gothick* Architecture, that diſcovers, by its Face, both the Age it was done in, and the Hands who did it; for one ſees in it a Mixture of an ancient and modern Work together, that points out a Turning, or Changing, from the one to the other, the Whole accompanied with a *Spaniſh* Air; and tho' the *French*, at that Time, began to underſtand a little the modern Way of Building and Fortifying, yet the Knowledge of it did not ſo ſoon come the Length of being comprehended by the *Spaniards*. It is hard to tell its Dimenſions, becauſe of its Irregularity; for we could not take them otherwiſe, than meaſuring them by common Paces, which we did, walking it on Foot all the Way, both within and without the Town: So, according to what we found, I ſhall give a Deſcription of it, as full and exact as is poſſible; and to begin with its Plan.

It is built in Form of a *Parabola*, or Figure oblong and round, of an oval Kind; conſiſting of two Parts upon the two Sides of the River, and having ſeven Gates in it, two Sluices, and about eighty Bulwarks, on both Sides the Town.

The great Semidiameter of the *interior Parabola* is juſt a Thouſand common Paces, that is, Five-hundred Geometrical Paces, or a third Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Length of the Ground, within this *Parabola*, Two-thouſand common Paces, or a Thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two third Parts of a *Britiſh* Mile: The great Semidiameter of the *exterior Parabola* is a Thouſand and forty-two common Paces, that is, Five-hundred and twenty-one geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than a Third of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Length of the Ground within this *Parabola*, or the greateſt Length of the Place, take it which Way you will, Two-thouſand and eighty-four common Paces, or a Thouſand and forty-two geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than two Thirds of a *Britiſh* Mile. The little Semidiameter of the *interior Parabola* is juſt Seven-hundred and fifty common Paces, that is, Three-hundred and ſeventy-five geometrical Paces, or a Quarter of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Breadth of the Ground, within this *Parabola*, Fifteen-hundred common Paces, or Seven-hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, or Half a *Britiſh* Mile: The little Semidiameter of the *exterior Parabola* is Seven-hundred and ninety-two common Paces, that is, Three-hundred and ninety-ſix geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than a Quarter of a *Britiſh* Mile; which, doubled, makes the Breadth of the Ground within this *Parabola*, or the greateſt Breadth of the Place, take it which Way you will, Fifteen-hundred and eighty-four common Paces, or Seven-hundred and ninety-two geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than Half a *Britiſh* Mile. The Circumference of the *interior Parabola* is juſt Six-thouſand common Paces, that is, Three-thouſand geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles; and the Circumference of the *exterior Parabola*, Six-thouſand two-hundred and fifty-two common Paces, or Three-thouſand a hundred and twenty-ſix geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than two *Britiſh* Miles: But the Circumference, meaſuring it upon the Top of the Rampart, going along the Corridor, or Terra-plain, and around the Platforms, or Terraſſes, by the Foot of the Battlement, or Parapet, and reckoning all the Sides and Turnings of the Ramparts and Bulwarks, or the greateſt Circumference of the Place, take it which Way you will, is Eight-thouſand two-hundred and forty common Paces, that is, Four-thouſand a hundred and twenty geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles, and ſomewhat more than two Thirds of a Mile.

There are ſeven Gates in it: Four in that Part of it, which ſurrounds the greater Part of the Town, on the Weſt-ſide the River, commonly called the *High Town*, ſtanding on a Hill; and three in that Part, which ſurrounds the leſſer Part of the Town, on the Eaſt-ſide the River, named the *Low Town*, lying in a Plain. Theſe ſeven Gates in this Rampart are built anſwerable to as many of thoſe that are in King *Chilperick*'s Wall; but moſt of them with different Names. The Gates on the Weſt-ſide, in the Rampart about the *High Town*, beginning at the River, at the upper End towards the South, from thence going Weſtwards, and ſo round, are reckoned in this Order, and thus named: The *Valenciennes-Gate*, that anſwers to *S. Catharine*'s-*Gate*, in King *Chilperick*'s *Wall*; *S. Martin*'s-*Gate*, that anſwers to the Gate of the ſame Name;

Name; the *Liſle-Gate*, anſwering to *S. Quintin*'s-*Gate*; and the *Seven Fountains-Gate*, to *Our Lady*'s-*Gate*. Thoſe on the Eaſt-ſide, in the Rampart about the *Low Town*, beginning at the River, at the lower End towards the North, from thence going Eaſtwards, round, are reckoned and named ſo: The *Brail-Gate*, that anſwers to the *Country-Gate* in King *Henry*'s Caſtle-wall; the *Mortal-Gate*, anſwering *S. Brice*'s-*Gate*; and the *Sorrowful*'s-*Gate*, to the *Hoſpital-Gate*.

Upon the River, at each End of the Town, there was a Pannel, or Piece, of Wall, having three Gates in it for the Water to paſs thorough, built by the *Spaniards*, to join the Rampart on the one Side, and that on the other Side together, and ſo to compleat the Incloſure. But, ſince the *French* came laſt there, they have deſtroyed thoſe Pannels of Wall, and put Sluices in their Room, which ſerves the Turn of joining the two Ramparts, and compleating the Incloſure to better Purpoſe; becauſe, beſides the Joining of the Ramparts, by theſe Sluices, they have the Command of the River-water, ſo as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it what they pleaſe; whereas by thoſe Pannels of Wall they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round Bulwarks, at the Diſtance of a Hundred Paces one from another; and every one of thoſe Gates and Sluices is ſo planted in the Middle, between two Bulwarks, one on each Side of it, and ſo nigh one another, that it is equally defended and hid between them: They are all placed at the outer Ends, as the others are at the inner Ends, of as many of the Suburbs, which, becauſe they lie between the two, are indifferently called by both their Names.

As for its Profile, the Rampart, the Gates, the Bulwarks, and all that is on it, built wholly of Earth thrown up, reveſted on the Outſide with one Facade of hewn Stone, and on the Inſide incruſted with another of the ſame: The Rampart and Gates being to the Thickneſs of ſeventy Feet, that is, reckoning the Maſs of Earth, with the Reveſture and Incruſture of Stone, and to the Height of eight and twenty; the Bulwarks to the Solidity of five and thirty Feet, and to the ſame Height with the Rampart, according to the common Practice, except thoſe defending the Gates and Sluices; which, though they be to the ſame Solidity with the others, yet are in Height a third Part higher, that is, two and forty Feet high, after the Manner practiſed in the Towers of the *Aurelian* Wall about *Rome*. The Rampart and Gates are terminated in the Top with a grand Corridor, or Gallery, being a Kind of Terra-plain, running round the Bulwarks with grand Platforms, or Terraſſes; and both Platforms and Terra-plain are guarded on the Outſide with a grand Battlement, or Breaſt-work, being a kind of Parapet, likewiſe of Earth caſt up, reveſted and incruſted with hewn Stone, to the Thickneſs of one and twenty Feet, and to the Height of ſeven, founded upon the Top of the Rampart and Bulwarks, and reigning along the Terra-plain, and around the Platforms all about the Town: By which Means, though the Rampart be ſeventy Feet thick, yet the Terra-plain in the Top of it comes to be only forty-nine Feet broad, by Reaſon that one and twenty Feet, the Thickneſs of the Parapet, is taken from it; and the Parapet going round the Bulwarks, as well as along the Rampart, the Breadth of their Platforms comes alſo to be diminiſhed in Proportion.

Without the Rampart is the Ditch, a Hundred and five Feet broad, and fourteen Feet deep; being cut out of the Earth, and having its Scarp and Counter-ſcarp incruſted with hewn Stone: It is a Moat, or wet Ditch, on the one Side the River, towards the Eaſt, where the Ground is a Level, or Plain, and is ſupplied with Water from the River, as alſo from the little Brook, which falls into it on the ſame Side; on the other Side, towards the Weſt, where the Ground is a riſing Ground, or Hill, it is dry. Over it, on both Sides, before the Gates in the Rampart, are ſeven Draw-bridges, that is, one before each Gate, giving Paſſage into, and out from the Town, and having at the outer Ends of them as many Highways, that from thence run out into the neighbouring Country, and have each the ſame Name with the Gate it runs out from.

That was the Condition of *Tournay* in the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Time, and this is all the Length the new Incloſure and Fortifications of the Town came in his Reign; for, according to the Knowledge that the *Spaniards* had of the Art of Military Architecture in thoſe Days, after it was ſurrounded with a Rampart and a Ditch, they reckoned it compleatly fortified.

It

It continued ſo, in the ſame State, without any farther Addition to its Strength, and in the Power of the Princes of the ſame Nation, as being reckoned a Member of the Earldom of *Flanders*, till the Year of our Lord 1579, in the Days of *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, the Emperor *Charles*'s only Son, and his Succeſſor in the Earldom of *Flanders*. This Prince, in his Time, had little War with the *French*, who had been long his Father's Enemies; but had a very Religious War with the *States-General* of the United Provinces, who were naturally his Subjects, and had made a general Defection from him, becauſe of his Cruelty and Oppreſſion towards them, upon the Account of the Difference of Religion between him and them, they being Proteſtants, and he a Papiſt, and had eſtabliſhed a Common-wealth of their own. The People of *Tournay* had begun early to join with the *States-General*; for, in the Year 1576, they aſſiſted with them at the Pacification of *Ghent*: And, in this Year 1579, the *States* being united into a Common-wealth by the Union of *Utrecht*, thoſe of *Tournay* entered into an Alliance with them, againſt King *Philip the Second*; from which Time they were an Independent State, and governed themſelves after their own Mind, as Allies of the *States-General*.

In this Condition it continued till the Year of our Lord 1581, in the Days of the ſame King *Philip the Second* of *Spain*; who having ſent Prince *Alexander* of *Parma* into the *Low-Countries*, in Quality of Governor; and having given him a Commiſſion, to uſe all Means to reduce his diſcontented Subjects to their Allegiance, and the Prince of *Parma* being in *Flanders*, and conſidering of what Importance *Tournay* would be to him, for the ſecuring of ſeveral other Places, in the Midſt of which it ſtands, he catched hold of an Occaſion, when Prince *Peter* of *Eſpinoy*, Governor of it, marched out to go towards *Ghent*, and carried along with him the beſt Part of the Gariſon, to join and to head the Army of the *States-General* there; and firſt making Shew, as if he would have followed the Prince of *Eſpinoy*, and continuing to do ſo till he was out of Sight of *Tournay*, he then ſuddenly turned about towards the Town, beſieged it, and took it in ſix Weeks.

It is recorded in the Annals of *Tournay*, that, though the Town at that Time wanted both Governor and Gariſon, and there was Nobody in the Caſtle but the Princeſs of *Eſpinoy*, the Governor's Lady, with two or three Companies of Foot, her Guards; though it was beſieged with a great Army, and battered with a great Number of Cannon; yet the People from within made the moſt obſtinate Defence that ever was heard of: For not only Men, but Women, not only Burghers and Boys, but Wives and Maids, appeared upon the Rampart, to reſiſt the Enemies Aſſaults, and behaved themſelves very bravely. The Princeſs of *Eſpinoy*, at the Head of her Ladies, during the Time of an Aſſault, was ſhot through the Arm, at one Occaſion. At another Occaſion, the Beſiegers having ſprung a Mine, and blown up a Part of the Rampart, ſeveral Gentlewomen, who had been on the Terra-plain upon Duty at the Time, got both Death and Burial at once in the Ruins; and, the *Spaniards* entering the Breach, they found ſome of the Women ſtill alive, being buried in the Ruins only up to the Shoulders; and, the Marquis of *Renty*, who commanded the Aſſault, ſeeing them in that Pickle, he admired their Bravery, pitied their Condition, ordered them to be taken out, and allowed them to go back to the Town. It is likewiſe recorded, that, during the Continuance of this Siege of *Tournay*, one Colonel *Preſtoun*, a *Scotch* Officer in the Service of the *States-General*, being ſent off by the Prince of *Eſpinoy*, Commander in Chief of their Army, with a Party of Three-hundred Horſe in the Deſign to throw them into the Town, for its Relief, he attacked the *Spaniſh* Camp before *Tournay* at the *German* Quarter, where the Prince of *Chimay*, General of the Artillery, commanded; and having beat the *Spaniſh* Foot, and broke thorough the *German* Horſe, he not only forced his own Way into the Town, with all his own Troops, but, beſides, he carried thirty of the Prince of *Chimay*'s Artillery-men along with him. However, all this did not ſave the Place, for it was ſurrendered, the Thirtieth of *November* 1581, after a Siege of two and Forty Days: And ſo *Tournay* returned into the Dominion of King *Philip the Second* of *Spain*.

King *Philip* having recovered it into his Hands, and the Religious War, betwixt him and the *States-General*, becoming more violent, the *States* being powerfully aſſiſted by their Protectrix, *Eliſabeth* Queen of *England*, and he paſſionately deſirous to reduce them to his Obedience; conſidering the Weakneſs of the

the Defence of what Towns he held in *Flanders*, eſpecially of *Liſle* and *Tournay*, and the *Spaniards* being come a greater Length in the Knowledge and Skill of Military Architecture, than formerly, he reſolved to provide for the further Security of theſe Towns by the Addition of Outworks to the Fortification. So accordingly, in the Year of our Lord 1596, for the better Defence of the Town of *Tournay*, to ſupply the Defect of its Rampart, he ordered the Ditch to be enlarged at twelve different Places, to make Way for as many Outworks he deſigned to plant in it, and afterwards raiſed them, being a Kind of Ravelin, or Half-moon, one before each of the Seven Gates, on both Sides the Town, and five more at other convenient Places, three on the Weſt-ſide, and two on the Eaſt.

What Kind of Works theſe Outworks of King *Philip*'s were then, we cannot preciſely tell; for now they are either taken in, or embodied with the *French* new Works, or levelled. However, I have ſeen a Draught of them in the Parliament-hall at *Tournay*; by which it appears, that they have been large voluminous Works built of Earth, reveſted and incruſted with Stone, to a Solidity double of the Thickneſs of the Rampart, and to a Height equal to the Depth of the Ditch, where they were planted; terminated in the Top with Platforms, guarded on the one Side with Battlements, ſuitable to the reſt of the Fortification; planted in the Ditch ſurrounding them; and joined to the Scarp on the Inſide, and to the Counterſcarp on the Outſide, with Drawbridges.

By this Means, *Tournay* was then become indeed pretty ſtrong, according to the Rate of reckoning the Strength of Towns in thoſe Days; being incloſed with the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Rampart, fortified with good Bulwarks, for its Defence, with the additional Defence of King *Philip the Second*'s Outworks. All which, at that Time, did indeed render it ſtrong; but now it would ſignify nothing.

However, it continued ſo, in the ſame State, and in the Power of the Princes of the ſame Nation, without any Change or Revolution befalling it, either in its Edifices or Government, till the Days of *Charles the Second*, late King of *Spain*; who having ſharp War, in his Time, with *Lewis the Fourteenth*, the preſent King of *France*, in the Year of our Lord 1667, King *Lewis* marched an Army into *Flanders*, came before *Tournay*, beſieged it, and took it in a very ſhort Time: So once more it returned into the Power of the *French*. He alſo took *Liſle* and *Douay*, and ſeveral other Towns, the ſame Year, and put King *Charles* ſo hardly to it, that, the next Year 1668, a Peace being concluded at *Aix la Chapelle* between theſe two Princes, by an Article of that Treaty, King *Charles* was obliged to reſign to King *Lewis* the Town of *Tournay*, and ſome others, for ever.

King *Lewis the Fourteenth*, having got *Tournay* into his Hands, and knowing the Importance of the Place; conſidering how weakly it was fortified, and the *French* then being come a Length in the Knowledge of Military Architecture before other Nations; and though he but lately concluded a Peace with *Spain*, yet having a Mind to obſerve it no longer than it ſhould ſerve his Turn, and in the Caſe of War, foreſeeing how uſeful and advantageous a Poſt *Tournay* would be to him, for preſerving the Country he had already conquered, and for puſhing on his Conqueſts further, he thereupon reſolved well with himſelf to keep it, as long as he could, and, to that End, immediately begun to take Care to have it compleatly fortified, with all the Art and Skill imaginable, and gave the Direction of the Work to the famous Monſieur *de Vauban*, his Chief Engineer, who has indeed acquitted himſelf very handſomely in it.

Monſieur *De Vauban*, having got ſuch a Commiſſion, proceeded in this Manner in the Execution of it: *Firſt*, he conſidered, that, as for the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Rampart, there was nothing to be done with it, becauſe of the Facades of hewn Stone, with which it was reveſted and incruſted, without Throwing it all down, and Rebuilding a new one, which would have run out to a prodigious Charge; and for that he thought there was not ſo great Need there, as elſewhere: Beſides, he reckoned, that, whatever Weakneſs there was in or about the Rampart, it might be beſt corrected by a ſuitable Contrivance in the Deſign and Execution of the Outworks. As for King *Philip the Second*'s Outworks, he reſolved either to take in and embody them in thoſe that he himſelf deſigned, or to level them.

So, without inſiſting upon the Defects of the Rampart, he immediately proceeded to the Conſtruction of the Outworks; and, having

cleaned the Ditch, and enlarged it in ſuch and ſuch Places, ſo as that it might be capable of the Works he deſigned in it, he planted it abundantly with Ravelins, Half-moons, Horn-works, and all the other Kinds that he thought proper for the Ground, and for correcting the Faults he obſerved in the Situation and Fortification of the Town; eſpecially he built four great Horn-works, three on the one Side of the Town, towards the Weſt, where the Ground is a riſing Ground, or Hill; and one on the other Side, towards the Eaſt, where it is a Level, or Plain; all large voluminous Works running out from the Rampart into the neighbouring Country, ſo as to incloſe and take in all the Heights, and other Eminences, that did any way prejudice, or weaken its Defence. Then, to ſecure all, he raiſed a noble Citadel, immediately without the Town, at the upper End of it, towards the South, and on the Weſt-ſide the River, being the Hill-ſide, in a Place, where the Ground is higher than any where elſe near the Town; in the Building of which, he employed all the Art and Skill, he was Maſter of, in Military Architecture, both as to Deſign and Execution, ſo as to render it a Fortreſs of great Beauty, as well as of great Strength: And, as it is commonly ſaid to be one of *De Vauban*'s Maſter-pieces, ſo it is certainly one of the moſt regular, as well as it has been one of the moſt chargeable Pieces of Fortification in the World; though I will not ſay it is one of the ſtrongeſt, becauſe of its being ſituate on a Height, upon a Ground that is very capable of being mined, and where Mines may have dreadful Effects. The Horn-works on the ſame Side of the Town are liable to the ſame Inconveniency, being ſituate the ſame Way; againſt which Inconveniency, the Architect has provided all the Remedy that can be, that is, Countermines; for both Citadel and Horn-works, and all the other Out-works, on that Hill-ſide the Town, are intirely countermined before-hand; on the other Side, being a Plain, the Works are not liable to ſuch an Inconveniency, and, conſequently, there is no Need of ſuch a Remedy. So that, if ever an Enemy comes about *Tournay*, and attacks it on the high Side of the Town, where the Citadel and three of the Horn-works are, they dare do it only by Mining; and, the Ground there being before-hand countermined, if they be not both very wary and very lucky, they may meet with dreadful Rencounters: And, whereas, on that high Side, they have Fire to deal withal, on the other Side, being low, there is Water; for, though the Ground there be ſomewhat drained, yet it is ſtill a little marſhy; and, in the Caſe of a Siege, the Beſieged can, by ſhutting the Sluices upon the River, overflow the whole Country on that Side with Water. By this Means, *Tournay*, by Nature and Art together, is a Town compleatly fortified, and abundantly ſtrong: For if, on the one Side, it be naturally weak, becauſe of its dry Situation upon a Hill, Art has provided there Abundance of Outworks, and theſe Outworks countermined, to remedy that Defect: If, on the other Side, it be artificially weak, by Reaſon of fewer Outworks there, and theſe Outworks not countermined, Nature has provided a wet Situation in a Plain, to counterbalance that Want. So that Nature and Art have conſpired together, to render it a Place of Strength: However, there is nothing, that Art has fortified, but Art can take it; nor any Thing, that Nature has made ſtrong, but what Wit may overcome: And the ſureſt and ſafeſt, as well as the moſt effectual and ſucceſsful Way, to beſiege *Tournay*, would, in my humble Opinion, be in this Manner: To make feint Attacks on the high Side the Town, where there are Countermines, and to make real Attacks on the low Side, where there are none; and, becauſe of the Inconveniency of Water on that Side, to begin early to batter the Sluices, that keep it up; which being deſtroyed, the Water will run clear away along the Channel of the River, and the Ground on that Side become good Ground, and the Beſiegers Attacks may go on a-pace, with a great deal of Safety, and with all the Succeſs imaginable; whereas, if the real Attacks be on the high Side, where the Ground is naturally good, but countermined, by beginning early to diſcover the Countermines, the Attacks may indeed be carried on, but ſlowly, with a great deal of Danger, and with a Succeſs that will always be doubtful.

But, becauſe there is ſuch Variety in the *French* Fortifications about *Tournay*, ſuch Excellency appears in Monſieur *De Vauban*'s Works, where-ever they are, and ſuch Regularity is to be ſeen, in all that he has done there, both as to Deſign and Execution, both in Plan and Profile, I ſhall therefore be at Pains to give a compleat Deſcription of theſe Outworks,

Outworks, and an exact Account of their Dimenſions, for the Satisfaction of the Curious: And, to do it in Order, I ſhall begin with the Citadel, on the South-ſide the Town, upon the Weſt-ſide the River; from thence go Northwards, and ſo round. And, firſt, as to its Plan:

It is built in Form of a Pentagon, or Figure having five equal Sides; having juſt ſo many Courtines, as many Baſtions, and two Gates, all royal Work, that is, regular, and according to Art; ſo that we found it an eaſy Matter to take its Dimenſions both in Whole and in Part, and to do it both exactly and compleatly.

The Semidiameter of the interior Polygon is juſt Seven-hundred and five Feet; which, doubled, makes the Length, or Breadth (they being equal) of the Ground within this Polygon a Thouſand Four-hundred and ten Feet, that is, Two-hundred and eighty-two Geometrical Paces, or near the fifth Part of a *Britiſh* Mile. The Semidiameter of the exterior Polygon is Nine-hundred and three Feet; which, doubled, makes the Length, or Breadth of the Ground within this Polygon, or the greateſt Length or Breadth of the Fortreſs, take it which Way you will, a Thouſand Eight-hundred and ſix Feet, that is, Three-hundred and ſixty-one Geometrical Paces and a Foot, or near a Quarter of a *Britiſh* Mile. Each Side of the interior Polygon is juſt Eight-hundred and nine Feet; which, multiplied by Five (there being ſo many Sides in it) makes the Circumference of this Polygon Four-thouſand and forty-five Feet, that is, Eight-hundred and nine Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than Half a *Britiſh* Mile. Each Side of the exterior Polygon is a Thouſand and forty-two Feet; which, multiplied by Five (there being ſo many Sides in it) makes the Circumference of this Polygon Five-thouſand two-dred and ten Feet, that is, a Thouſand and forty-two Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than two third Parts of a *Britiſh* Mile. But the Circumference, meaſuring it on the Outſide, going round by the Foot of the Rampart, along the Way that is called *the Round Way*, and reckoning all the Sides and Angles, or Turnings in and out, of the Courtines and Baſtions, or the greateſt Circumference of the Fortreſs, is a great deal more, in this Manner: The Length of each Courtine is Four-hundred and eighty Feet, and the Circumference of each Baſtion Eight-hundred and ninety, in this Manner: Each Demigorge a Hundred and fifteen Feet, each Flank ninety, and each Face Two-hundred and forty; which, doubled (there being two of each) and added together, make the Circumference ſo much, as I have ſaid: And the Length of the Courtines, multiplied by Five (there being ſo many of them) with the Circumference of the Baſtions (ſubtracting the Demigorges) likewiſe multiplied by Five (there being ſo many of them) and added together, that is, the Length of all the Courtines, Flanks, and Faces in the Rampart, added together, makes the Circumference on the Outſide, or the greateſt Circumference of the Fortreſs, take it which Way you will, exactly Five-thouſand and ſeven-hundred Feet, or a Thouſand a hundred and forty Geometrical Paces, or ſomewhat more than three Quarters of a *Britiſh* Mile.

As to the Profile of it, it is a Rampart of Earth caſt up, reveſted on the Outſide, and incruſted on the Inſide, with a Facade of hewn Stone.

Its Breadth at the Bottom is ſixty-ſix Feet, that is, reckoning the Maſs of Earth, with the Reveſture and Incruſture of Stone; its inward Talud, or Sloping, fifteen Feet; and outward Talud ſeven and a Half: Its Height fifteen Feet, and its Breadth at the Top forty-three and a Half. The Baſtions are terminated in the Top with Platforms, or Terraſſes, as the Courtines are with a Terra-plain, or Corridor, or Gallery, that runs along the Top of the Rampart from one Platform to another; and both theſe Platforms, and that Terra-plain, are guarded on the Outſide with a Parapet, or Battlement, or Breaſt-work, and a Banquet, or Footſtep, that reign along the one, and around the others, all about the Fortreſs: The one being three Feet broad, and a Foot and a Half high; the other, fifteen Feet broad at the Bottom, a Foot of inward Talud, two Feet of outward, ſix Feet high on the Inſide, four Feet on the Outſide, and twelve Feet broad at the Top. Both Parapet and Banquet are built of Earth thrown up, reveſted and incruſted with hewn Stone, founded upon the Top of the Rampart, but with this Difference: The one is terminated in a Level, proper for Men to ſtep or ſtand on, on the Inſide towards the Town, and continued all about; the other terminates in a Slope,

on the Outſide towards the Country, proper for Bullets to ſlip or ſlide on, and is all about diſcontinued with Embraſures, or Port-holes, and Merlons, or ſolid Spaces between the Port-holes. By this Means, though the Rampart at the Top be forty-three Feet and a Half broad, yet the Terra-plain above the Courtines comes to be only twenty-five Feet and a Half; by Reaſon that fifteen Feet, the Breadth of the Parapet, and three Feet, that of the Banquet, are taken from it: And, the Parapet and Banquet going around the Baſtions, as well as along the Courtines, their Platforms come alſo to be diminiſhed in Proportion.

There are but two Gates in this Rampart: The one towards the Town, called *the Royal Gate*; the other towards the Country, named *the Dauphin-Gate:* They are each of them ſtruck out in the Middle of a Courtine, where they ſtand defended by the two neighbouring Baſtions. Without the Rampart, there is, firſt, the round Way, or the Way of the Rounds, being a Corridor, or Gallery, fifteen Feet broad, guarded on the Outſide with its Parapet and Banquet, otherwiſe called *the Falſe Bray*, which is every Way of the ſame Kind, and has the ſame Dimenſions with the Royal Parapet, that is, the Parapet of the Rampart, which we have already deſcribed: Both theſe Works are built of Earth caſt up, reveſted and incruſted with hewn Stone; and reign, as the Rampart does, all about the Fortreſs. Without the *Falſe Bray* is the Berm, or Fore-land, being a Kind of Bank, ſix Feet broad, on the Inſide of the Ditch. It is of Earth reveſted with Stone. Then there is the Ditch, being a dry Ditch, ninety-ſix Feet broad at the Top; its Scarp, or inward Talud, or Sloping, ten Feet; and Counter-ſcarp, or outward Talud, the ſame; its Depth ten Feet, and its Breadth at the Bottom ſeventy-ſix: It is cut out of the Earth, has its Scarp and Counter-ſcarp incruſted with hewn Stone, accompanies the Rampart all around, and is always dry, being upon the Top of a riſing Ground, or Hill, where no Water comes.

This Ditch is abundantly planted with Outworks, in this Manner: *Firſt*, the Courtine towards the Town, that has the *Royal Gate* in it, is defended with a Fortification of three Forts, or Outworks: The one in the Middle, juſt oppoſite to the Gate, being a large Ravelin; the other two are ſmall Quarter-moons, one before each Face of the Ravelin, near the Angle of the Shoulder. Beginning there at that firſt Courtine, where the *Royal Gate* is, towards the Town, from thence going Southwards, round, the next Thing, we found in our Way, was the *King's Baſtion*, one of the Baſtions of the Rampart, which, for Order's Sake, we ſhall likewiſe call, the firſt Baſtion. Then there is the ſecond Courtine, alſo towards the Town, before which is repeated a Fortification of a large Ravelin, and two ſmall Quarter-moons, as before. Next is the ſecond Baſtion, called, the *Queen's Baſtion*. After that, comes the third Courtine, towards the Country, defended with a Fortification of five Forts, or Outworks: The firſt, in the Middle, juſt oppoſite to the Courtine, being a large Ravelin, as before; the other four are two Cut-works, and two ſmall Quarter-moons, covering the Faces of the Ravelin; a Cut-work and a Quarter-moon being before each Face, the one towards the Angle of the Shoulder, as before, the other towards the ſaillant Angle. Next is the third Baſtion, named, *The Dauphin's Baſtion*. Then there is the fourth Courtine, alſo, towards the Country, having the *Dauphin*-Gate in the Middle of it, and before it a Fortification of five Outworks, a Ravelin, two Cut-works, and two Quarter-moons, repeated and diſpoſed in the ſame Order as before. After which, is the fourth Baſtion, called, *The Baſtion of Anjou*. Then there is the fifth and laſt Courtine, alſo towards the Country, defended with a Fortification of four Outworks: The firſt, in the Middle, a Ravelin, as before; the other three are a Cut-work, and two Quarter-moons, covering the Faces of the Ravelin, the Cut-work and a Quarter-moon being before the left Face, the one towards the Angle of the Shoulder, the other towards the ſaillant Angle, as before; the other Quarter-moon, alone, before the right Face, near the Angle of the Shoulder. *Laſt of all*, is the fifth Baſtion, named, *The Baſtion of Orleans*. After which we found the Courtine, towards the Town, having the *Royal* Gate in it, from whence we began our Courſe around the Fortreſs.

All theſe Outworks are built of Earth thrown up, reveſted and incruſted with hewn Stone, and have their Deſign and Execution, their Plan and Profile, their Terra-plains, Parapets, Banquets, and the reſt, ſuitable, and in Proportion to the other Parts of the Fortification; being founded in the Ditch, which has

has been before-hand enlarged in ſuch and ſuch Places, ſo as to be capable of them; and, detached from the Scarp on the Inſide, and from the Counterſcarp on the Outſide, as well as from one another, at reaſonable Diſtances; but joined both to Scarp and Counterſcarp, as well as to one another, with Draw-bridges.

Immediately, without the Ditch, there is the Covered-way, or the Way that is covered, being a Corridor, or Gallery, fifteen Feet broad, guarded on the Outſide with its Parapet and Banquet, otherwiſe named the Glacis: The one being three Feet broad, and a Foot and a Half high, as the other Banquets are; the other Sixty-nine Feet broad at the Bottom; a Foot of inward Talud, ſix Feet high on the Inſide, and, on the Outſide, it is all a continued Talud, or Slope, beginning at the Top of the Height, and ending inſenſibly at the Bottom; the Whole tenailled all around: Both theſe Works are of Earth reveſted and incruſted with Stone; and reign, as the Rampart does, all about the Fortreſs. Without the Glacis, laſt of all, is the Explanade, being a grand Corridor diſcovered, or a Part of the neighbouring Country levelled, to the Breadth of a hundred and five Feet, and accompanying the Glacis all around.

This Citadel is built without the Town, on the South-ſide, and on the Weſt-ſide the River, where the Bank is a riſing Ground, or Hill, upon the very higheſt Spot of Ground about *Tournay*, in the Deſign to command the Town on the one Hand, and the Country on the other; but eſpecially to command the Town and the River, they both lying low under it, towards the North and Eaſt, and it approaching with its Outworks to the one, within the Diſtance of Four-hundred Paces, and to the other adjoining ſo near, that the Outworks of the one incroach and preſume upon the Fortifications of the other, which are there levelled, to make Way for them; ſo that they not only take up all the Ground between the Rampart of the Citadel and that of the Town, but alſo enter a pretty Way within the Town, there being a grand Overture made in the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Rampart, to let them in. The two Extremities of this Rampart of the Town are made to end ſloping, in a right Line upon the Glacis of the Citadel: And, in the Space, within the Town, between this Glacis of the Citadel, and King *Chilperick the Firſt*'s Wall, the Buildings are, for the moſt Part, thrown down, and the Ground where they ſtood is converted into a grand Explanade, having in Length a Thouſand Paces, and in Breadth Two-hundred; and ſerving as a grand Court before the Citadel Gate, where Twenty-thouſand Men may be drawn up in Order of Battle. By this Means, the Town and its Rampart being in this Manner levelled, as well as the Country and its Hedges diſcovered, and the Heights and other Eminences incloſed, the Citadel ſeated upon the very higheſt Spot of Ground thereabouts commands intirely all around.

As to the *French* Fortifications about the Town, they are diſpoſed in this Order: Firſt, that Part of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Rampart, that adjoins to the Outworks of the Citadel, on the Eaſt-ſide towards the River, running from the Sluice, that is there upon the one, up the Face of the Hill, to the Glacis of the other; the Diſtance between theſe two, being Four-hundred Paces, has been lately thrown down, and is rebuilt in a new Way, ſo as to make a ſaillant Angle, in the Middle of the Diſtance from the Glacis of the Citadel, to the Sluice upon the River, to defend the ſame. The one Side of this Angle, towards the River, lies low, in a little Plain that reigns immediately along the Water-ſide, to the Breadth of Two-hundred Paces, towards the Weſt, at the upper End of the Town toward the South, and the Ditch without it is a Moat, or wet Ditch, ſupplied with Water from the River, and continuing to be ſo, as far as the Plain continues, that is, to the very angular Point; the other Side, towards the Citadel, ſtands high, upon the Aſcent of the Hill; that from the angular Point begins to run up pretty ſteep, and the Ditch without it is dry: The Gate of *Valenciennes* is in the Side towards the River, where there is nothing to defend, neither it nor the Sluice, but the ſaillant Angle; but the Sluice, the Gate, the River, the Rampart, all lies low, under the Cannon of the Citadel, which ſtands, and looks, and defends and commands, high, over all.

That Part of the Emperor *Charles*'s Rampart, that adjoins to the Outworks of the Citadel, on the Weſt-ſide, is denuded of its Bulwarks, that have been levelled, to the Length of Two-hundred Paces, and the Rampart itſelf is made to continue ſloping in a right Line, till at laſt it ends, as I have ſaid, upon the Glacis of the Fortreſs.

Four-hundred Paces from the Citadel, going Northwards, round the Town, is the

Gate

Gate of St. *Martin*'s, which, for Order's Sake, we ſhall call the *Second Gate*, reckon the *Valenciennes* Gate the Firſt, between the River and the Citadel, which is between theſe two Gates. This Gate is defended with a great Fortification of three Forts, or Outworks before it; the firſt, a Half-moon, juſt oppoſite to the Gate; the ſecond, a Horn-work, covering the Faces of the Half-moon; and, the third, a Ravelin, before the Courtine of the Horn-work: Being all large voluminous Works, eſpecially the Horn-work, planted in the Ditch, where they take up a great deal of Ground, one without another, directly before the Gate, and running out a great Way from the Town into the adjacent Country, which they intirely command, as far as their Cannon can go.

Immediately after this Fortification, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between this Gate and the next, there is one Half-moon alone, by itſelf, defending the Rampart: And, before the next Gate, being the *Liſle* Gate, and the third in our Way, round, there is another Half-moon, likewiſe alone, by itſelf, oppoſite to the Gate, defending it. After which, we found another great Fortification of three Forts, or Outworks, and a Ravelin, as before: All large voluminous Works, eſpecially the Horn-work, and running out a great Way into the Country.

Immediately after this, there is again a Half-moon alone, by itſelf, defending the Rampart; which, though it be only a Half-moon, yet, among Officers and Soldiers, it is commonly called, *The Baſtion of Blandinois*: And the Ground there falling low, and changing from a riſing Ground into a Level, from a Hill into a Plain, the Ditch is no longer a dry Ditch, but begins to be a Moat, or wet one, being ſupplied with Water from the River, which is at the Diſtance of Six-hundred Paces, the Plain that reigns there along the River-ſide towards the Weſt, at that lower End of the Town, towards the North, being ſo broad. Then we found the Gate of the *Seven Fountains*, being the fourth in our Way, round, and defended with another great Fortification of three Outworks, a Half-moon, a Horn-work, and a Ravelin, as before. After which, the Rampart, on that Side, ends upon the River, where it is defended with an irregular Fort, or Outwork, commonly called, *The Platform*, adjoining to it: It is one of King *Philip the Second*'s old Outworks, as I ſuppoſe, left ſo in its old Form, adjoining to the River, as well as to the Rampart, defending both, but eſpecially defending the Sluice there.

The Rampart, on the other Side the River, makes a Turn, as it goes about King *Henry the Eighth*'s Caſtle, and is extraordinarily defended with a very complex Piece of Fortification, conſiſting of ſix Outworks, diſpoſed in this Manner: Firſt, the Turn of the Rampart, towards the North-eaſt, is defended with a Half-moon before; after that, the *Brail* Gate, towards the Eaſt, being the fifth in our Way, is defended with a ſmall Ravelin, covered with a Counter-guard before it: Then there is a grand double Tenaille, which, beginning upon the River, on the North-ſide, from thence runs Eaſt, turns South, and goes as far as beyond the *Brail* Gate, where it ends upon the Ditch; ſo as to cover and defend the Half-moon, the Ravelin, and the Counter-guard, already named, as well as all that Part of the Rampart, that, from the River on the North, runs Eaſt and South, as far as beyond the *Brail* Gate, being in Length Eight-hundred Paces. Without this Tenaille, on the North-ſide, near the River, there is a Half-moon defending it on that Side; at the Eaſt-end of which is a Canal, with a Sluice upon it, conveighing the Waters of the Ditch away into the lower *Scheld*, the River running on the Weſt-end of it, ſo that it ſtands between the two: And, without the Tenaille, on the Eaſt-ſide, there is another Half-moon, defending it on that Side, which makes out the Number of ſix Outworks that compoſe this complex Piece of Fortification.

After this, we found a Half-moon all alone, by itſelf, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Brail* Gate and the next, defending the Rampart. Then there is the *Mortal* Gate, being the ſixth in our Way, and defended with another great Fortification of three Outworks, a Half-moon, a Horn-work, and a Ravelin, as before. After which, is another Half-moon alone, by itſelf, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Mortal* Gate, and the next, defending the Rampart. Then there is the *Gate of the Sorrowful*, the ſeventh in our Way, defended with a large Ravelin; overagainſt the Point of which, the ſmall Brook, that runs towards the Town on that Side, falls into the Ditch. After that, is another Half-moon alone, by itſelf, defending the

the Rampart, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the *Sorrowful*'s Gate and the River. And, laſt of all, the Rampart, on that Side, ends upon the River, where it is defended with a large Outwork, being a Kind of Baſtion detached, and commonly called, *The Baſtion of Camus:* It adjoins to the River, which it defends, as well as the Rampart; but, eſpecially, it defends the Sluice that is there; being likewiſe defended on the other Side, with the faillant Angle of the Rampart, between the River and the Citadel, from whence we began our Courſe round the Place.

All theſe Outworks are built of Earth thrown up, reveſted and incruſted with hewn Stone, and have their Deſign and Execution, their Plan and Profile, their Terra-plains, Parapets, Banquets, and the reſt, ſuitable, and in Proportion, to the other Parts of the Fortification, eſpecially to the Defects and Irregularities that are in and about the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Rampart. They are founded in the Ditch, which was beforehand enlarged in ſuch and ſuch Places, ſo as to be capable of them; and, on the one Side, where it is a Moat, they are abundantly ſurrounded with Water, it being always full from the River; on the other Side, where a Moat is not practicable, they are dry. They are detached from the Scarp on the Inſide, and from the Counter-ſcarp on the Outſide, as well as from one another, at reaſonable Diſtances; but joined both to Scarp and Counter-ſcarp, as well as to one another, with Draw-bridges.

Without the Ditch, there is the Covered-way, ſeventeen Feet and a Half broad, guarded on the Outſide with its Parapet and Banquet, or the Glacis: The one, the ſame with the other Banquets; the other, ſeventy Feet broad at the Bottom, a Foot of inward Talud, ſix Feet high on the Inſide; and, on the Outſide, it is a continued Talud, or Slope, from the Top to the Bottom: The Whole tenailled all around the Place, as the Glacis about the Citadel is. And, without all, is the Explanade, a Hundred and five Feet broad. Theſe Works are likewiſe of Earth, reveſted and incruſted with Stone, and reign, along with the Ditch, as the Rampart does, all about the Town.

Laſtly, without the Explanade, in the Country, Two-hundred Paces from the Glacis of the Town, on the high Side towards the Weſt, in the Middle of the Diſtance, between the Glacis of the Citadel, and that of the firſt Horn-work, there is a Ravelin, with a dry Ditch about it, placed all alone, by itſelf, by Way of a Redoubt, to defend the Avenue to the Town there. Between the firſt Horn-work, and the ſecond, there is a Half-moon placed in the ſame Manner, at the ſame Diſtances, and to the ſame Purpoſe. Between the ſecond Horn-work and the third, there is another Half-moon, the ſame Way. And, on the low Side, towards the Eaſt, at the lower End of the Town, towards the North, at the ſame Diſtance from the Glacis of the Town, there is a Bridge of Timber over the River, with a ſquare Fort, or Redoubt, on the Eaſt-ſide, defending it, and defending the Avenue to the Town there. The other Avenues to *Tournay* are ſufficiently well defended with the numerous Outworks about the Town and Citadel.

Theſe are the *French* Fortifications about *Tournay*, and this is the Length they came, under the Care and Direction of Monſieur *De Vauban*; who, when he had brought them thus far, reckoned it a Town compleatly fortified, and as ſtrong as the Situation of the Place would allow; and, certainly, it is ſo: As for Beauty and Regularity, it is, without Diſpute, that there is a Variety of Forts, or Outworks, an Excellency of Deſign and Execution, and an Exactneſs in Plan and Profile, ſo great about *Tournay*, that the like is not to be ſeen about any other Town in *Europe*, except it be at *Bergen-op-Zoom*, fortified by *Coehorn*; but, as to this Matter, one may ſay, that though Monſieur *De Coehorn* has a great many very pretty Inventions, that are all his own, and a great deal of very pretty Reaſoning, upon theſe Inventions of his own, yet, after all, if his Works were tried as much as we ſee *Vauban*'s are daily, it is a Queſtion how they would prove.

And this is what they call *New Tournay*; that is, that Part of the Town which is included between King *Chilperick the Firſt* of *France*'s Wall, and the Emperor *Charles the Fifth* of *Germany*'s Rampart, as it was begun by the *French* and *Burgundians*, and other Foreigners, continued by King *Henry the Eighth* of *England*, and the *Engliſh*, incloſed by the Emperor, *Charles the Fifth*, firſt fortified.

tified by King *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, and compleatly fortified by King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*.

The new Town is of the ſame Figure with the old one, that is, an Oblong round, or Parabolick, but ſtretched the contrary Way, for whereas the old Town lies croſs the River, on both Sides, and ſtretches itſelf out, from Eaſt to Weſt, the River running from South to North, the new one lies along the River, on both Sides, and ſtretches itſelf out, from South to North, the River running the ſame Way. It has in Length, taking it from the one Sluice upon the River, at the upper End of the Town towards the South, to the other Sluice at the lower End towards the North, along the River, juſt Two-thouſand common Paces, that is, a Thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two third Parts of a *Britiſh* Mile; in Breadth, reckoning from St, *Martin's*-Gate, on the Weſt-ſide, to the *Mortal* Gate, on the Eaſt, croſs the River, it is Fifteen-hundred common Paces, or Seven-hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or Half a *Britiſh* Mile; and in Circumference, going round within, on the Inſide the Rampart, there are exactly Six-thouſand common Paces, that is, Three-thouſand Geometrical Paces, or two *Britiſh* Miles; but meaſuring it without, on the Outſide the Ditch, we found it to be as good as Twelve-thouſand common Paces, or Six-thouſand Geometrical Paces, or four *Britiſh* Miles.

The Citadel is a *Pentagon*, or Figure, having five Sides, adjoining to the Town, on the South Side, and approaching to the River, on the Weſt, within the Diſtance of Four-hundred Paces. Its Length, take it which Way you Will, is juſt Five-hundred and Sixty-four common Paces, that is, Two-hundred and Eighty-two Geometrical Paces, or near a fifth Part of a *Britiſh* Mile; its Breadth, being equal to its Length, the ſame; and its Circumference within, on the Inſide the Rampart, is exactly a Thouſand Six-hundred and eighteen common Paces, that is, Eight-hundred and nine Geometrical Paces, or ſome more than Half a *Britiſh* Mile; but without, on the Outſide the Ditch, it will be as good as Three-thouſand Seven-hundred and fifty common Paces, or a Thouſand Eight-hundred and ſeventy-five Geometrical Paces, or a *Britiſh* Mile and a Quarter.

In Fine it has continued in the ſame State, and in the ſame Hands, without any further Alteration or Change, from the Year of our Lord 1667, when the *French* took it laſt, till this preſent Year 1709, when they are like to loſe it again. For the preſent King *Lewis the Fourteenth* of *France*, having ſharp and violent War juſt now on Foot, with *Charles the Third*, the preſent King of *Spain*, upon the Account of the Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and King *Charles* being powerfully aſſiſted by the other Princes in Confederacy with him, the Ambition of King *Lewis* and the Power of *France* ſeem to be reduced to a very low Ebb. The laſt Year they took *Liſle* from him; and now they are before *Tournay*: And the Confederate Generals having catched an Occaſion to beſiege it, when the *French* had drawn out a Part of the Gariſon, to reinforce their grand Army, the Gariſon being weak within, it is like to fall into their Hands.

A brefe

A brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the bleſſed Martir of Chriſt, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* the Lord *Cobham*, collected together by *Iohan Bale* *.

In the latter Time ſhall many be choſen, proued and puryfyed by Fyre, yet ſhall the Vngodly lyue wickedly ſtyll, and haue no Vnderſtanding. Daniel xii. 10.

Imprinted at *London*, by *Anthony Scoloker*, and *Wyllyam Seres*, dwelling wythout *Alderſgate*.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio ad Imprimendum ſolum.

This is printed from the firſt Edition in Octavo, *containing ſeven Sheets, in a black Old-*Engliſh *Letter. In the Title-Page is a curious Frontiſpiece cut in Wood, repreſenting Sir* John Oldcaſtle *in a warlike Poſture with his Armour, Helmet, and Shield in his Left Hand, on which is engraven a* Crucifix, *with a Virgin* Mary *on one Side, and Sir* John *on the other; and with a drawn Sword flamed at the Point in his Right Hand; the Whole being circumſcribed with this Inſcription:*

☞ Sir. *Iohan. Oldcaſtle.* the. worthy. ✠
Lord. *Cobham.* and. mooſte. valyaunt.
Warryoure. of. *IESU.* Chryſte. ✠
Suffred. Death. at. *London.* Anno. 1418.

If we would trace the Grounds of this Perſecution and Proceſs againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle, *and other holy Martyrs hereafter mentioned, it will be neceſſary to look back to the Reign of* Edward the Third, *when, a great Conteſt happening at* Oxford *between the Monks and Seculars, Dr.* John Wickliff *attacked the exorbitant Juriſdiction of the Pope and Biſhops, and was ſupported by* John *of* Gaunt, *Duke of* Lancaſter *and* Henry *Lord* Piercy. *This, of Conſequence, drew upon him the Invectives of the Clergy; but, though he was ſummoned and appeared to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Citation before a Council held on Purpoſe at* London, *he ſo defended himſelf, and was ſo well protected by the Duke of* Lancaſter, *then in the chief Management of the Government, that he was acquitted; yet the Pope, being informed of what had paſt, demands Satisfaction of him; but all that followed, upon this Occaſion, was his ſecond Citation before a Council at* Lambeth, *where he was prohibited to preach*

* See p. 97. Vol. I.

againſt the Church of Rome, *which he no ways regarded: For,* Edward *being dead, and the Realm much troubled, during the Minority of* Richard the Second, Wickliff *ſpread his Opinions openly, and gained many Diſciples. So that he was again ſummoned to appear before* William Courtnay, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *eight other Biſhops, and ſeveral Doctors at* London, *in* May 1382; *where they laid many heretical and erroneous Doctrines to his Charge, condemned them, and obtained a Power from King* Richard, *to ſeize upon and impriſon ſuch as taught or wrote the ſaid Doctrines with moſt Warmth. I do not believe that* Wickliff *was ſo overawed with this Acquiſition of the Eccleſiaſticks, as to recant his juſt Oppoſition of the Abominations of the Church of* Rome, *as the* Popiſh *Writers pretend; but this I am certain of, that he died ſoon after, upon his Living at* Lutterworth, *on the Thirty-firſt of* December, 1384, *leaving many Writings in Defence of his Doctrines, and many Diſciples to teach and defend them, even with their Blood.*

Wickliff's *Death at firſt gave the Eccleſiaſticks ſome Hopes of ſuppreſſing his Hereſy, as they called it. But, when* Thomas Arundel *ſucceeded* Courtnay *in the See of* Canterbury, *he found his Works ſo much admired and defended, that, in a Council held at* London *in* 1396, *he condemned eighteen more Propoſitions collected from the ſaid Works, and became the greateſt Perſecutor of all thoſe that maintained his Doctrines, amongſt whom was this noble Champion in Chriſt, Sir* John Oldcaſtle.

This Archbiſhop being extremely incenſed againſt the Lollards, *which was now become a general Name for the Followers of* Wickliff, *or any others that oppoſed the Exorbitancies of the Pope and Prelates, Prieſts or Monks, had obtained of the late King an Order to ſend Commiſſioners to* Oxford, *to take Informations concerning the Doctrine of the* Wickliffites; *thereby to diſcover the chief Abettors of that Hereſy, and by what Means it was ſpread ſo generally over the Kingdom, and eſpecially in the Dioceſes of* London, Hereford, *and* Rocheſter: *Theſe Commiſſioners returned while the Convocation ſat, during the Time of Parliament, and the Archbiſhop laid their Informations before it; where, after ſeveral Debates, it was reſolved neceſſary to inflict exemplary Puniſhment on the principal Favourers of the* Lollard *Hereſy, before it could be rooted out. Then it was concluded that Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Baron of* Cobham, *was their chief Favourer and Protector; and therefore he ought and ſhould be firſt attacked, and a Proceſs formed againſt him for Hereſy, as here you will find, in Terror to the whole Sect.*

The *PREFACE.*

In the prophane Hiſtories * of old Oratours and Poëtes, both *Grekes* and *Latines*, are they moch commended and thought worthy of æternall Memory, whyche have eyther dyed for theyr naturall Countrey, or daungered theyr Liues for a Commenwelthe. As we reade of *Codrus*, that was King of *Athens*, of *Quintus Curcius* the *Romane*, of *Ancurus* the *Phrigiane*, *Vlyſſes*, *Hermas*, *Theſeus*, *Meneſius*, *Scipio Aphricanus*, *Mucius Sceuola*, *Ualerius Cocles*, the two Bretheren of *Carcago*, which were both called *Philenus*, and the thre noble *Decianes*, with other diuerſe. In the ſacred Scryptures † of the Byble, hath *Moyſes*, *Ioſue*, *Gedeon*, *Iepthe*, *De-*

* *Plutarch, Propert. Cicero. Catullus, Horatius, Lucanus.* † *Exod.* xiv. *Eccleſ.* iv. 5. *Iudicum* xi. *Reg.* xvij. 2 *Mach.* vi.

bora,

bora, Iudith, Dauid, Helias, Ioſias, Zorobabel, Mathathias, Eleaſarus, and the *Machabees* theyr juſt Prayſes for theyr mighty Zele and manyfold Enterpryſes concerning the Childeren of *Iſraell.* Among the *Papiſtes* * alſo, which are a mooſt prodigious Kinde of Men, are they mooſt hyghly auaunced by lyeng Signes, falſe Miracles, erroniouſe Writtinges, Shrines, Relykes, Lyghtes, Tabernacles, Aulters, Senſinges †, Songes and Holydays, which haue bene ſlayne, for the Lyberties, Priuileges, Aucthoritee, Honour, Ryches and proude Maintenance of theyr ‖ holy whoryſh Church ‡.

‖ As were *Antidius, Bonifacius, Benno, Thomas Becket, Iohan* the Cardinall, *Petrus de Caſtronouo, Peter* of *Millaine, Paganus, Staniſlaus* of *Cracouia, Steuen Colyer* of *Tholoſe, Bonauenture* of *Padua, Iulianus* the Cardinall of S. *Angell.* And in our Tyme *Iohan Fyſher, Thomas More,* Fryre *Foreſt, Reynoldus,* and the *Charterhouſe* Monkes, whiche ſuffred here in *Ingland,* with an infinite Nombre more. What is than to be thought of thoſe § godly and valyaunt Warryours, which haue not ſpared to beſtow their mooſt dear Liues for the Veritee of Ieſu Chriſt, againſt the malygnaunt Muſtre of that execrable Antichryſt of *Rome,* the Deuels** own Vicar? Of whoſe gratyous Nombre, a very ſpeciall Membre and Veſſel of Gods Election, was that vertuous Knight Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell,* the good Lord *Cobham,* as wil plentuouſly appeare in this Proceſſe following.

He, that hath Iudgement in the Spyrite, ſhall eaſely perceyue by this Treatiſe, what beaſtly Blockheades theſe blody Bellygods were in theyr vnſauery Interrogations; and again what Influence of Grace this Man of God had from aboue concerning his Anſweres, ſpecyally in that mooſt blind and ignoraunt Tyme, wherein all was but Darkeneſſe, the Sonne appearing Sacke-clothe, as St. *Iohn* †† hath in the *Apocalyps:* Moſt ſurely fulfilled Chriſts Promes in him, which he made to his Apoſtles, Caſt not in your Minde aforehande (ſaith he ‡‡) what Anſwere ye ſhall make, whan theſe ſpiritual Tyraunts ſhall examine you in theyr Sinagoges, and ſo deliuer you vp vnto Kinges and Debitees. For I will geue you ſuch Vtteraunce and Wiſdom in that Houre, as all your Enemies ſhall neuer be able to reſiſt. This onely Sentence of Chriſt is ynough to proue him ‖‖ his true Diſciple, and them, in their folyſhe Queſtions, the manifeſt Members of *Sathan.* I remembre that, xiiij. Yeares ago, the tru Seruaunt of God, *Wyllyam Tindale,* put into the Prent a certein brefe Examination of the ſayd Lord *Cobham.* The which Examinacion was written in the Tyme of the ſayd Lordes Trouble, by a certein Frinde of his, and ſo reſerued in Copyes vnto this our Age. But ſens that Tyme I have found it in theyr owne Writtings (which were than his vttre Ennemyes) in a moche more ample Fourme than there. Speciallye in the great Proceſſe, which *Thomas Arundell,* the Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury,* made than againſt him, written by his owne Notaryes and Clerkes, tokened alſo with his owne Signe and Seale, and ſo directed vnto *Rychard Clyfford,* than Biſhop of *London,* with a generall Commaundement to haue it then publiſhed by him, and by the other Biſhops, the whole Realme ouer.

* *Sigebertus Bemblacenſis.* † The Offering of Inſence to the Hoſt and Reliques, and Images, &c. as it is uſed in the Church of *Rome.* ‡ *Petrus Equilinus.* ‖ *Wicleuius, Vincentius, Leander, Voleteranus Æneas. Ioan.* E. c. § *Heb.* xi. *Act* v. *Apoc.* ** *Iohan.* viii.
†† *Iohan* iii. *Apoc.* vi. ‡‡ *Luke* xxi. *Math.* x. *Mark* xiii. *Luke* xii. ‖‖ Sir *John Oldcaſtle.*

Furthermore, I have ſeane it in a Copye of the Writting, * whiche the ſaid *Rychard Clyfforde* ſent vnto *Robert Maſcall*, a *Carmelyte* Fryer, and Biſhop of *Herforde*, vnder his Signe and Seale, and in a Copye of his, alſo directed to the Archdeacons of *Herforde* and *Shreweſbury*. The Yere, Moneth, and Daye of theyr Date, with the Beginninges of theyr Writtinges, ſhall hereafter follow in the Boke, as Occaſion ſhall require it. Beſides all this, *Thomas Walden*, being in thoſe Daies the Kinges Confeſſour, and preſent at his Examinacion, Condemnacion, and Excreacion †, regiſtered it amonge other Proceſſes more in his Boke, called *Faſciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij*. He maketh Mention of it alſo in his firſt Epiſtle to Pope *Martyne the Fifth*, and in his ſolempne Sermon *de Funere Regis*. Onely ſuch Reaſons haue I added thereunto, as the afore named *Thomas Walden* ‡ proponed to him in the Tyme of the Examinacion, as he mentioneth in his firſt and ſecond Bokes *aduerſus Wicleuiſtas*, with the Maner of his godly Departing out of his frayle Lyfe, which I found in other Writtinges and Chronycles. His Youth was full of wanton Wyldenes, before he knewe the Scryptures, as he reporteth in his Anſwere, and for the more Part vnknowen vnto me; therefore I writ it not here. His Father, the Lord *Regnold* of *Cobham*, *Ioſeph Froſyart* nombreth alwaies amongeſt the mooſt worthy Warriours of *Ingland*.

In all aduenterous Actes of worldely Manhode was he euer bold, ſtrong, fortunate, doughty, noble, and valeaunt. But neuer ſo worthy a Conquerour as in this his preſent Conflyct with the cruell and furyous frantick Kingdome of Antichryſt. Farre is this Chriſten Knight more Prayſe-worthy, for that he had ſo noble a Stomake in Defence of Chryſtes Veritee agaynſt thoſe *Romiſh* Superſticions, than for any temporall Noblities eyther of Bloode, Byrth, Landes, or of marciall Feates. For many Thouſandes hath had in that great Corrage, which in the other haue bene moſt faynt-harted Cowards, and very deſperate Daſtards, whereas he perſeuered moſt faithfully conſtaunt to the Ende. Many *Popiſh* Paraſites, and Men-pleaſing Flatterers, haue written large Commendacions and Encomies of thoſe; but, of ſuch Noblemen as this was, very few, or in a Maner none at all. Whan I ſomtime rede the Workes of ſom Men lerned, I meruayle not a lytle to ſee them ſo aboundaunt in vayne flatteryng Prayſes for Matters of no Value, yea, for Thinges to be diſprayſed rather than prayſed, of Menne that were godly wyſe.

Polydorus Virgilius ‖, a Collectour ſomtyme in *Ingland* of the Popes *Peter-pens*, and afterwarde Archdeacon of *Welles*, hath in this Point deformed his Writtinges greatly, pointinge our *Inglyſh* Chronycles mooſt ſhamefully with his *Romiſh* Lyes, and other *Italyſh* Beggery. Battels hath he deſcribed there at large wyth no ſmall Diſcommendings of ſome Princes, whiche were godlye; but the priue Packing of Prelates and craftie Conſcience § of the Spirituaſtee hath he in euery Place almooſt full properly paſſed ouer. He was to familyar with the Biſhops and toke to moch of their Counſell, whan he compiled the xxvi. Bokes of his *Inglyſh* Hyſtory. And not greatly is the Land beholden vnto him in that Worke, for any large Prayſe of Erudicyon that he hath geuen it there **. A ſingular Beautee is it to the Chryſten Relygion, whan theyr aun-

* *Thomas Walden* in *Faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuij*. † al. *Execracyon*.
‡ *Walden. Cont. Wicleuiſtas*, in *Prologo doct.* vii. *Lib.* ii. *cap.* lxvi.
‖ *Polidorus* Anglice hiſtorye, Lib. iv. § al. *Conveyaunce*.
** No Men are lerned with him, but *Italyanes*.

cient

cient Monumentes are garniſhed among others with Men of freſhe Lyterature, which therin hath ſmall Remembraunce or none. Unleſſe it be *Gildas*, *Bedas*, *Alcuinus*, *Ioannes Scotus*, *Aldelmus*, *Neuburgus*, and one or two more, none are in that whole Worke mencioned concerning that, as though *Ingland* had alwaies bene moſt barren of Men lerned. This do I not wryte in Diſprayſe of his Lerning (which I know to be very excellent) but for the Abuſe therof, being a moſt ſyngular Gyft of God.

I wold wyſhe ſom learned *Inglyſh* Man (as there are now moſt excellent freſh Wyttes) to ſet forth the *Inglyſh* Chronclyes in their right Shape, as certein other Landes hath done afore them, al Affections ſet a-part. I can not think a more neceſſarye Thing to be laboured to the Honour of God, Bewty of the Realme, Erudicion of the People, and Commoditie of other Landes, next the ſacred Scryptures of the Byble, than that Worke wold be. For, trulye, in thoſe they haue there yet, is Vyce more auaunſed than Virtu, and *Romiſh* Blaſphemy, than Godlynes. As it may full well appeare vnto Eyes of ryght Iudgement, in the lamentable Hiſtory here following, and ſuch other, which hath bene long hyd in the darke. Marke diligently the Sentence of the ſaid *Polidorus*, concerning this good Lord *Cobham*, and thervpon conſider his good Workemanſhip in other Maters. In the Counſell of *Conſtance* (ſaith he*) was the Hereſye of *Iohan Wicleue* condempned, and two at the ſame Tyme burned in that Cyte which were the chefe Heades of that Secte. All this is true, though the feate Handeling thereof be altogether *Italyſh*.

But wheras he ſaith after, that, whan this was ones knowen to their Companyons in *Ingland*, they conſpired in their Madneſſe againſt the whole Clergye, and finally againſt the Kinge alſo, for that he was than a Fauter of Chryſten Relygion, hauing to their great Captaynes Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* and Sir *Roger Eton*, he maketh a moſt ſhamfull Lye: For how coulde Sir *Roger*, with his Companye, conſpire vpon that Occaſyon, being dead *more* † *than* iiij Yeres afore? And Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* remaining all that Seaſon in *Wales?* *Iohan Hus* ſuffered Death ‡, at *Conſtaunce*, the Year of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xv. in *July*. *Hierom* of *Prage*, in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. & xvj. in *May*, whiche were the two Heades he ſpeketh of. Sir *Roger Acton* was brent with his Companye in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xiij. in *January*, as witneſſeth *Walden*, *Fabian*, and *Iohan Maior*, in their Chronycles and Writtinges. Nowe reken theſe Nombers and Yeres, and marke the proper Conueyance of this *Romiſh* Gentelman §, the Popes Collectour, to clought vp that crooked Kingdom of theyrs. He can by ſuch Legerdemaine both pleaſe his Frindes in *Ingland*, and alſo at *Rome*.

After that he followeth with Lye vpon Lye, as that they came than to *London*, to deſtroy the King; that he in his own Perſon met wyth them there in Armes, that they cowardly fledde, that ſom were taken there, and brent out of Hand, and that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton* were caſt into the *Tower* of *London* upon that Occaſyon. Semeth it not a Mater ſomwhat lyke to the

* *Polidorus* Anglice Hiſtorie, Lib. xxii.

† *More than two Years* before the Death of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*. I apprehend the iiij has been a Fault of the Preſs; becauſe the exact Time is deſcribed, a few Lines below.

‡ Acta Conſilii *Conſtantienſis*. § *Polidore Virgil*.

Purpoſe

Purpoſe (thinke ye) that Men ſhould be there burned for making ſuch an Inſurrection or Tumult? I trowe he hath cobled here ſomwhat workemanly. And whereas he ſaith in the End, that the King thervpon made an Acte, that they from thensforth ſhuld be taken as Traitours againſt his owne Perſone, whiche were proued to follow that Secte, he maketh an abominable Ly *. For that Acte was made only at the Biſhops Complainte and falſe Sute in the fyrſt Yere of his Reigne, and by Force of that Acte thoſe innocent Men than ſuffred. More than iiij. hundreth of ſuch manifeſt Lyes coude I gather out of his Chronycles, moch more than might more Eyes and Iudgements do.

Now lett vs expend what the true Cauſe ſhuld be of this godly Mannes Condemnacion and Death, all Dreames of *Papiſtes* ſet a-part. The Truth of it is, that, after he had ones throughlye taſted the Chryſten Doctrine of *Iohan Wicleue* and of his Diſciples, and perceived their Liuinges agreeable to the ſame, he abhorred all the ſuperſticious Sorceries (Ceremonies I ſhuld ſay) of the proud *Romiſh* Church. From thensforth he brought all Thinges to the Toucheſtone of Gods Word. He tryed all Maters by the Scryptures, and ſo proued their Spyrites, whether they were of God or nay †. He mainteined ſuch Preachers in the Dioceſes of *Caunterbury*, *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Herforde*, as the Biſhoppes were ſore offended with. He exhorted theyr Pryeſtes to a better Waye by the Goſpell, and, whan that wolde not helpe, he gave them ſharpe Rebukes. He admoniſhed ‡ the Kinges, as *Richard the Second*, *Henry the Fourth*, and *Henry the Fifth*, of the Clergyes manifolde Abuſes, and put into the Parlamenthouſe certein Bokes, concerning their iuſt Reformation, both in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. and in the Yere a. M. cccc. x. Of the firſt Boke, this is the Beginning ‖ : *Prima concluſio. Quando Eccleſia Angliæ, &c.* which I have here left oute, leaſt thys Treatyſe ſhuld be to great. The other Boke was made by one *Iohan Purueye*, a Maſter of Art of *Oxforde*. Beſide the xviij. Concluſions that Maſter *Iohan Wicleue* had put in long afore that.

In the Yere of our Lord a. M. ccc. xci. this noble Lord *Cobham* § with certein other more, mocioned the King at *Weſtminſter*, at the Time of his Parlament, that it were very commodious to *Ingland*, if the *Romiſh* Biſhoppes Auctoritee extended no further than the Occeane Sea, or the Hauen of *Calys*, conſydering the Charges and Vnquietnes of Sutes there, and that Mens Cauſes coulde not be throughlye knowen ſo farre of. Wherevpon the King made this Acte by Conſent of his Lordes, that no Man from thensforth ſhould ſue to the Pope in any Mater, nor publyſh any Excommunication of his, vnder Payne of loſing their Goodes, with perpetuall Impriſonnement **. Thys and the aforenamed Boke had coſt him with Sir *John Cheny* and other more his Lyfe, in the ſixt Yere after, at the crafty Accuſement of certein Prelates (though it hath in the Chronycles †† an other Colour) had not God than mooſt graciouſly preſerued him. An other Cauſe of his Death, yet, beſides all that hath been ſayd afore, was this: He cauſed ‡‡ all the Workes of *John Wicleue* to be writ-

* *Waldenus* in Sermone de Funere Regis. † *Iohan.* iii. 1 *Theſſ.* v. *Math.* vii. 1 *Iohan* iv.
‡ *Walden.* in Faſciculo Zizaniorum *Wicleuii.* ‖ *Fabianus.*
§ *Walden. Polidorus* in Hiſtor. Anglorum, Lib. xx. ** *Treuiſa* in Addicionibus Ceſtrenſis, *Polidorus.*
†† *Fabianus, Polidorus.* ‡‡ *Walden.* cont. *Wicleui.* Lib. ii. cap. 70.

ten

ten at the Inſtaunce of *Iohan Huſs*, and ſo to be ſent into *Boheme*, *Fraunce*, *Spayne*, *Portingale*, and other Landes. Whereof *Subinco Lepus*, the Archbiſhop of *Prage*, cauſed * more than two hundreth Volumes fayre written openly to be brent afterwarde, as witneſſeth *Æneas Siluius*, *de Origine Bohemorum*.

Theſe Cauſes knowen, with other more that I coulde reherſe, conſider whether the World, that is alwaies ſo wicked, was worthye to † holde ſoche a noble Chryſten Warryour as this was, or naye? Conſyder alſo the iuſt Punyſhment of the Lorde for wycked Lawes that were than made, with the exceding Miſcheues, that the Spiritualte ‡ than vſed. And way the miſerable Eſtate that the Realme was in ſone after, for Contempt of his eternall Word. And thervpon lawd his Rightuouſnes, and beware of lyke Contempt and Plage in theſe Dayes. In the Year of our Lord a. M.cccc.xxii, departed Kyng *Henry the Fyft* in his moſt floriſhyng Tyme, euen in the Beginnyng of the xxxvii. Yere of his Age ‖, which was about foure Yeres after the Death of thys Lord *Cobham*. His Sonne *Henry the Sixt* ſucceſſed in hys Rome, and had the Gouernaunce of this whole Realme, being but a Babe of eight Moneth § old, and odde Dayes. What a Dolour was this vnto Men of rype Diſcretyon naturally louing their Countrey, and regarding the Common-welth therof? Yea what a Plage of God was it, after the Scryptures **, to haue *a yong Child to their Kyng?* And that it ſhuld the more manifeſtly appeare to com that Waye, or, of the Stroke of God, he was a childyſſhe Thing all the Dayes of his Lyfe.

I ſhall geue you, ſayth the Lorde †† in his hyghe Dyſpleaſure, *Chylderen to be your Princes, and yonge Infauntes without Wiſdome ſhal haue the Gouuernaunce of you.* What wretched Calamities the Realme ſuffred afterward for the Space of more than fourſcore Yeres, and thre, tyl the Dayes of King *Henry the Seuenth*, it is vnſpeakable. Sens the Preaching of *Iohan Wicleue*, hath the Lorde ſuffred the pompouſe *Popyſh* Prelates to ſhew themſelues forth in theyr owne ryghte Coulours, that they myght now in the Lyght of hys Goſpel appeare, as they are in Dede; euen ſpightful Murtherers, Ydolaters and Sodomites. Afore hys Tyme, they lurked vnder the glyttering Shyne of Hypocreſye, and coulde not be ſeane in their Maſtryes. The Fryers with their charminge Sophiſtrye threwe ſuch a darke Myſt ouer the vniuerſall Worlde, that Superſticyon coulde not be knowen for Superſticyon, nor Ydolatrye for Ydolatrye.

Unſpeakable Fylthynes of all fleſhly Occupieng was than called Pryeſtes Chaſtitee, as it is yet, and will be tyl it come to the hygheſt, that God may take ful Vengeaunce. Then was Whoordom ‡‡ worſhiped in Prelates of the Churche, and ſacred Wedlocke rekened ſuch a deteſtable Vyce as was worthy in a Pryeſt ‖‖ mooſt cruell Death. As was ſeane for Example in Sir *Wyllyam Wyghts*, whiche was brent §§ for the ſame at *Norwych*, in the Yeare of our Lorde 1428.

Thus was Whight iudged Blacke, and Lyght Darkeneſſe, ſo yll was Mens Syghte in thoſe Dayes. By ſoch Meanes (ſayth the Prophet ***) *they drewe Wickednes vnto them, as it were with a Corde, and all Kindes of Synne, as yt were with a Cart*,

* Acta Conſilii Conſtancienſis *Hermannus, Shedel.* † *Hebr.* xi. *Eſay.* x. *Nahum* iii.
‡ *Viz.* the Clergy. ‖ *Waldnus* in Sermone de Funere Regis. § *Al.* Monethes.
** *Eſay.* iii. †† *Id. ib.* ‡‡ *Apoc.* xviii. ‖‖ The Church of *Rome* forbids its Prieſts to *marry*. §§ *Walden* in utroque Opere. *** *Eſay.*

Rope

Rope. If *Englond*, at that Tyme, had not bene vnthankfull for the ſyngular Benefyght that God than ſent them by thoſe good Menne, the Dayes of *Antichryſt* and his beaſtly Brood had bene ſhortened there longe agoo, as it is euen now, and here after lyke to be more largely. A mooſt orient * freſhe Myrrour of Chryſten Manhode appeareth thys worthye Lord *Cobham* in our Age, the Veritee now open, which was, in her Abſens, a Lampe of Contempt before worldlye wyſe Men. In him, maye noble Men beholde here plainlye a mooſt noble Stomake and pretiouſe Faith, in the Middes of great *Antichryſtes* morde Muſtre: His Corrage was of ſuche Value that it gaue hym the Victory ouer them by the clere Iudgement of the Scryptures †, what though the Worldes Iudgement be farre otherwiſe. And as for the cruel Death, which he moſt contumeliouſly ſuffred, it is now vnto him a moſt plentuouſe Winning ‡, for in the iuſt Quarell was it of his Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Myght thoſe bloudy Bluſterers haue had their full Swaye now of late, they wolde haue made more *Oldcaſtells*, *Actons*, *Brownes*, and *Beuerlays*; yea, they wolde haue made there a greater Hauocke vpon Chriſtes Congregation, than euer did *Paul* in his raging Furie ‖. They ment more than they vttered, whan they approched ſo nigh (as did cruell *Haman*) to the Preſence of noble *Aſſuerus* §. But, bleſſed be the eternall Father, whiche hath geuen ſuche godlye Wyſdome vnto our mooſt worthy Kyng, that he, perceyuing their Sleyghtes, ſo abated their tyrannouſe Fercenes. Praye noble Men, pray, yea with the true Clergye and Comunes, that, lyke as he hath now with Duke *Ioſue* the Ouerhande of wycked *Hierico* **, by his onely Gift, and is through that becomen an whole perfyght Kyng †† within his own Realme farre aboue all his Predeceſſours, ſo that he may in Concluſion ouerthrow her clerely. For as yet the dredefull Damſell ‡‡ (Tirannye) that was *Cayphas* Dorekeper, dwelleth in the Houſes ‖‖ of Biſhoppes, and dayly compelleth poore *Petre* to deny his Maſter. As many Eyes, as euer had vygylaunt *Argus*, had he Nede to haue, that is compaſſed with ſoch a Sort, as are the Broode of the wilye Serpent. Conſyder what heauenly Things ye haue receyued of the Scryptures vndre hys Permiſſyon, and yet pray ones again for his gratiouſe Continuaunce to the more Increace of Knowledge. *Amen.*

O Babylon, *thy Marchauntes were Princes of the Earth. And with thyne Inchauntementes were all Nations deceyued.* Apocal. xviii.

* Riſing *or* early. † 1 *Iohan* v. 1 *Cor.* xv. ‡ *Phil.* i. *Apol.* 1.
‖ *Act.* viii. § *Heſter* v. ** *Ioſue* vi. †† Having thrown off the Supremacy and Impoſitions of the Pope and See of *Rome*, and declared himſelf ſupreme Head over all Perſons as well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil, in his Dominions. ‡‡ *Matth.* xxvi. *John.* xvii.
‖‖ *Walden* in Sermone.

The great Proceſſe of Thomas Arundell, *the Archbiſhop of* Caunterbury, *and of the* Papiſticall Clergye *with him, agaynſt the moſt noble Knight, Sir* Iohan Oldcaſtell, *the Lord* Cobham, *in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. and xiii. wherin is conteyned hys Examinacion, Impriſonnement, and Excommunication.*

The Proceſſe before his Examinacion.

AFter that the true Seruaunt of Ieſus Chryſt, *Iohan Wicleue* *, a Man of very excellent Lyfe, and Learning, had, for the Space of more than xxvi. Yeares, mooſt valeauntly battelled with the great Antichryſt of *Europa*, or Pope of *Rome*, and his dyuerſly diſgyſed † Hoſt of anointed Hypocrites, to reſtore the Church again to the pure Eſtate that Chryſt left her in at hys Aſcenſyon, he departed hens moſt Chriſtenly into the Handes of God, the Yere of our Lord 1387, and was buried in his own Pariſh-Church of *Lutterworth*, in *Lincolnſhere* ‡. No ſmall Nombre of godly Diſciples left that good Man behynd hym to defende the Lowlyneſſe of the Goſpell agaynſt the exceading Pryde, Ambition, Symony, Auarice, Ipocryſye, Whoredom, Sacrylege, Tyrannye, ydolatrouſe Worſhipinges, and other fylthy Frutes of thoſe ſtifnecked Pharyſees. Agaynſt whome *Thomas Arundell*, than Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, ſo ferce as euer was *Pharao*, *Antiochus*, *Herodes*, or *Cayphas*, collected, in *Pauls* Church at *London*, an vniverſall Sinode ‖ of all the Papiſticall Clergye of *England*, in the Yere of our Lord a M. cccc. & xiii. as he had done diuerſe other afore, to withſtand their mooſt godly Enterpryſe. And thys was the fyrſt Yere of King *Henry the Fifth*, whome they had than made fit for theyr Hande.

As theſe hygh Prelates, with theyr Pharyſees and Scribes, were thus gathered in thys peſtilent Counſell againſt the Lord **, and his Worde, fyrſt there reſorted vnto them the xii. Inquiſitours of Hereſyes (whome they had apointed at *Oxford* the Yere afore, to ſerche out Heretikes, with all *Wickcleues* Bokes) and they brought two hundreth and lxvi. faithfull Concluſyons whome they had collected as Hereſyes of the ſeyd Bokes. The Names of the ſeyd Inquiſitours were theſe ††: *Iohan Witnam*, a Maſter in the *New College*, *Iohan Langedon*, Monke of *Chry-Church* in *Caunterbury*, *William Ufforde*, Regent of the *Carmelytes*, *Thomas Plaxton*, Regent of the *Dominikes*, *Robert Gylbert*, *Rycharde Earthyſdale*, *Iohan Lucke*, *Rycharde Snediſham*, *Richarde Flemming*, *Thomas Rottborne*, *Robert Rondbery*, and *Rycharde Grafdale*. In the meane Seaſon cauſed they theyr hyred Seruauntes to blowe it forth abroade throughout all the whole Realme, that they were there congregated for an wholeſome Vnitee and Reformacion of the Churche of *Ingland*, to ſtoppe ſo the Mouthes of the comen People. Such is always the comen Practiſe of theſe ſubtile Sorcerers, whyls they are in doing Miſchief, to blere the Eyes of the vnlerned Multytude, with one falſe Craft or other.

After a certein Communication, they concluded among themſelues, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chryſtes Cote without Seme (meaning thereby their patched Popyſh Synagoge) onleſſe certeyn great Men were brought out of the Way, which ſemed to be the chefe Mainteiners of the ſeyd Dyſciples of *Wicleue*. Among whome the moſt noble Knight Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, was complained of by the generall Proctours, yea rather Betrayers, of Chryſt in his faithfull Membres, to be the chefe Principall. Him they accuſed firſt, for a mighty Maintener of ſuſpected Preachers in the Dioceſes of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Herforde*, contrary to the Mindes of their Ordynaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue ſent thyther the ſeid Preachers, but alſo to haue aſſiſted them there, by Force of Armes: Notwithſtanding their Sinodall Conſtitution made afore to the Contrarye. Laſt of all, they accuſed him, that

* Ex Operibus & Scriptis *Thome Waldeni*.
† Prieſts and Friars, who dreſſed themſelves in various Sorts of Habits.
‡ It ſhould be *Leiceſterſhire*. ‖ *Thomas Arundell* in magno Proceſſu. ** *Iohan* iii. *Pſalm* i. *Pſalm* ii.
†† *Walden.* in Faſciculo Zizaniorum *Wicleuii*.

he was farre otherwiſe in Beleue of the Sacrament of the Altre, of Penaunce, of Pilgrymage, of Ymage worſhipping, and of the eccleſiaſtycall Power, than the holy Churche of *Rome* had taught many Yeres afore.

In the Ende, it was concluded amonge them, that, wythoute anye farther Delaye, Proceſſe ſhulde oute agaynſt hym, as agaynſt a mooſt pernycyous Heretike.

Som of that Fellouſhyp, whyche were of more craftye Experyence than the other, wold in no Caſe haue that Mater ſo raſhlye handeled, but thought thys Waye moche better: Conſydering the ſeid Lord *Cobham* was a Man of great Byrthe, and in Fauer at that Tyme with the Kyng; theyr Counſell was to know firſt the Kynges Mynde, to ſaue all Thynges right up. This Counſell was well accepted, and thervpon the Archbiſhop, *Thomas Arundell*, wyth his other Biſhoppes, and a great Part of the Clergye, went ſtrayght wayes vnto the Kyng, as than remayninge at *Kenyngton*, and there layed forth mooſt greuous Complayntes againſt the ſeid Lord *Cobham*, to his great Infamy and Blemyſh, beinge a Man mooſt godly.

The Kyng gentilly harde thoſe bloud-thurſty Rauenours, and, farre otherwiſe than became * his Princelye Dignitie, he inſtantly deſyred them, that, in reſpect of his noble Stock and Knighthoode, they ſhuld yet favourably deal with him; and that they wold, if it were poſſible, without all Rigour, or extreme Handeling, reduce him againe to the Churches Vnitee. He promiſed them alſo, that in Caſe they were not contented, to take ſome Delyberacion, his ſelfe wold ſeryouſly common the Mater with him.

Anon after the Kyng ſent for the ſeyd Lord *Cobham*; and, as he was come, he called him ſecretly, admoniſhing him, betwixt him and him, to ſubmit himſelfe to hys Mother the holy Church, and, as an obedient Child, to acknowledge himſelfe culpable. Vnto whome the Chriſten Knight made this Anſwere: You mooſt worthy Prince, ſaith he, am I always prompt and wylling to obeye, for ſo moche as I knowe you a Chriſten Kyng, and the appointed Miniſter of God †, bearing the Sworde to the Puniſhement of all yll Doers, and for the Sauegarde of them that be vertuous. Vnto you, next my æternal God, owe I my whole Obedience, and ſubmit me therevnto, as I haue done euer, all that I haue eyther of Fortune or Nature, redy at all Times to fulfill whatſoeuer ye ſhall in that ‡ Lorde commaund me: But as touching the Pope, and hys Spiritualty, truly I owe them neither Sute nor Seruice; for ſo moch as I knowe him by the Scriptures ‖, to be the great Antichryſte, the Sonne of Perdicyon, the open Adverſary of God, and the Abhominacyon ſtanding in the holy Place. Whan the Kyng had hearde this, with ſochelyke Sentences more, he wolde talke no longer with him, but leſte hym ſo vtterly.

And, as the Archbiſhop reſorted again vnto him for an Anſwere, he gaue him his full Auctoritee ** to cyte him, examine him, and punyſhe him, according to the develiſh Decrees, whiche they call the Lawes of Holye Church. Than the ſeyd Archbiſhop, by the Counſell of hys other Biſhoppes and Clergye, appointed to call before him Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, and to cauſe him perſonally to appeare to anſwere to ſuche ſuſpect Articles as they ſhuld lay againſt him. So ſent he forth his chefe Sommener, with a very ſharp Citacion vnto the Caſtell of *Cowling* ††, where as he at that Tyme dwelt for his Solace. And as the ſeyd Sommener was thether comen, he durſte in no Caſe entre the Gates of ſo noble a Man, without his Lycens, and therfore he returned Home agayne, hys Meſſage not done. Than called the Archbyſſhop one *Iohan Butler* vnto him, which was then the Dorekeeper of the Kynges Priue Chamber, and with him he covenaunted, through Promiſes and Rewards, to haue this Mater craftely brought to paſſe vnder the Kynges Name. Whereupon the ſeyd *Iohan Butler* toke the Archbyſhops Sommener with hym, and went vnto the ſayd Lord *Cobham*, ſhewing him, that it was the Kynges Pleaſure that he ſhuld obeye that Citacyon, and ſo cyted him fraudulently. Than ſaid he vnto them in fewe Wordes, That in no Caſe wold he conſent to thoſe moſt deuelyſh Practiſes of the Pryeſtes. As they had informed the Archbiſhop of that Anſwere, and that it

* Becauſe he ſhould not have ſtooped ſo low, as to yield to their arbitrary Proceedings, but, by his ſupreme Power, ſecured his good Servant from their Tyrannical Uſurpations.

† *Rom.* xiii. 1 *Pet.* ii. ‡ *Viz.* Life and Fortune. ‖ 2 *Theſſ.* ii. *Mat.* xxiiii.

** Ex vetuſto Exemplari *Londinenſium*. †† Al. *Towlynge*.

was

was mete for no Man priuately to cyte him after that, without Parell of Lyfe: He decreed by and by to haue him cyted by publike Proceſſe, or open Commaundment. And in all the Haſt poſſible, vpon the *Wednyſday* before the Natiuite of oure Ladye, in *September*, he commaunded Letters citatory to be ſet vpon the great Gates of the Cathedral Church of *Rocheſter* (which was but iii. *Engliſh* Myles from thens) charging him to appeare perſonally before him at *Ledys* in the xi. Daye of the ſame Moneth and Yere, all Excuſes to the Contrary ſet apart. Thoſe Letters were taken downe anon after, by ſuch as bare Fauer vnto the Lord *Cobham*, and ſo conveyed aſyde. After that cauſed the Archbiſhoppe newe Letters to be ſet vpon the Natiuitee Daye of our Ladye, whiche alſo were rent downe, and vtterly conſumed.

Than for ſo moche as he did not appeare at the Daye appoynted at *Ledys* (where as he ſate in Conſiſtory, as cruell as euer was *Cayphas*, with his Court of Hipocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him of moſt depe Contumacy. After that whan he had bene falſely infourmed by his hired Spyes, and other gloſing Glauerers *, that the ſayd Lord *Cobham* had lawghed him to Scorne, diſdayned all his Doings, mainteined his old Opinions, contemned the Churches Power, the Dignite of a Biſhop, and the Ordre of the Pryeſthode (for all theſe was he than accuſed) in hys mody Madnes without iuſt Profe, dyd he openly excomunicate him: Yet was he not with all this ferce Tiranny qualifyed, but commaunded him to be cited afreſh, to appeare afore him the *Saturday* before † the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* the Apoſtle, with theſe cruell Threatninges added thereunto: That, if he did not obey at the Daye, he wold more extremely handle him. And, to make himſelfe more ſtrong towardes the Performaunce thereof, he compelled the Laypower by moſt terrible Menacinges of Curſes and Interdictions, to aſſyſt him againſt that ſedicious Apoſtate, Schiſmatike, that Heretike, that Troubler of the publycke Peace, that Enemye of the Realme, and great Adverſarye of all holy Church; for all theſe hateful Names dyd he giue him.

This moſt conſtaunt Seruaunt of the Lord, and worthy Knight, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, beholding the vnpacable Fury of Antichryſt, thus kindled againſt him, perceiuing himſelf alſo compaſed on euery Side with deadly Daungers, he toke Paper and Penne in Hand, and ſo wrote a Chriſten Confeſſion, or Rekening of his Faith (whiche followeth hereafter) and both ſigned and ſealed it with his owne Hande. Wherin he alſo anſwereth to the iiii. chefeſt Articles that the Archbiſhop layed againſt him. That doone, he tooke the Copye with him, and went therewith to the Kyng, truſtinge to fynd Mercy and Fauer at his Hande. None other was that Confeſſion of his, than the common Beleue, or Somme of the Churches Faith, called the *Apoſtles Crede*, of all Chriſten Men than uſed. As thus:

The Chriſten Beleue of the Lord Cobham.

I Beleue in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heauen and Earth. And in *Ieſu Chryſt* his only Sonne our Lord, whiche was conceyued by the Holy Goſt, borne of the Virgyn *Mary*, ſuffred vnder *Ponce Pilate*, crucified, dead and buried; went doun to Helle, the third Daye roſe againe from Death, aſcended vp to Heauen, ſitteth on the right Hande of God the Father Almightye, and from thens ſhall come agayne to iudge the Quicke and the Dead. I beleue in the Holy Goſt, the Vniuerſall Holy Churche, the Communion of Saincts, the Forgeuenes of Sinnes, the Vpriſing of the Fleſh, and everlaſting Life. *Amen.*

And for a more large Declaration (ſaith he) of this my Faith in the Catholik Church, I ſtedfaſtly beleue that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whoſe Godhead are theſe iij. Parſonnes the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Goſt, and that thoſe iij. Parſonnes are the ſame ſelfe GOD Almightye ‡. I beleue alſo that the ſeconde Parſonne of this moſt bleſſed Trinite ‖, in moſt conuenient Tyme appointed thereunto afore, toke Fleſh and Bloud of the moſt bleſſed Virgyn *Mary*, for the Sauegard and Redempcion of the vniverſall Kynd of Man, which was afore loſt in *Adams* Offence. Moreouer I beleue that the ſame *Ie-*

* Tale-bearers.

† *After* the Feaſt of St. *Matthew*, it being the 23d, whereas St. *Matthew* falls on the 21ſt.

‡ 1 *Iohan* v. ‖ *Gal.* iv. *Iohan* i. *Luc* ii.

ſus Chryſt our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the onely Head of the whole Chriſten Churche, and that all thoſe that hath bene or ſhal be ſaued, be Membres of this moſt holy Churche. And this holy Church I think to be divided in to iij. Sortes or Companyes.

Whereof the firſt Sort be now in Heauen, and they are the Sainctes from hens departed. Theſe, as they were here conuerſaunt, confyrmed * alwayes their Lyues to the moſt holye Lawes and pure Examples of Chryſte, renouncyng Sathan, the Worlde, and the Fleſh wyth all their Concupicences and Euels. The ſecond Sort are in Purgatory (if any ſuch be † by the Scryptures) abydyng the Mercy of GOD and a full Delyueraunce of Payne. The thyrde Sorte are here vpon the Earth and be called *The Churche Mylytaunt*; for Daye and Nyght they contend agaynſt the crafty Aſſaultes of the Deuel, the flattering Proſperities of thys Worlde, and the rebellyouſe Fylthines of the Fleſhe.

Thys latter Congregation by the iuſte Ordinaunce of God is alſo ſeuered into iij. diuerſe Eſtates, that is to ſay, into Pryeſthode, Knighthode, and the Comens ‡. Amonge whome the Wyll of God is, that the one ſhould ayde the other, but not deſtroye the other. The Pryeſtes, fyrſt of all, ſecluded from all Worldlyneſſe, ſhuld conforme theyr Lyues vtterly to the Examples of Chryſt and his Apoſtles. Euermore ſhulde they be occupied in Preaching and Teaching the Scryptures purely, and in geuing wholſom Counſels of good Liuing to the other two Degrees of Men. More modeſt alſo, more louing gentyll and lowlye in Spirite ſhuld they be than any other Sortes of People.

In Knighthode are all they whyche beare Sworde by Lawe of Office. Theſe ſhuld defende Gods Lawes, and ſee that the Goſpell were purely taught, conforming their Lyues to the ſame, and ſecludynge all falſe Preachers: Yea, theſe ought rather to haſard their Lyues than to ſuffer ſuch wycked Decrees as eyther blemiſheth the eternal Teſtament of God, or yet letteth the fre Paſſage therof, wherby Hereſies and Sciſmes might ſpring in the Church. For of none other aryſe they, as I ſuppoſe, than of erronyous Conſtitutions, craftely fyrſt creping in vnder Ypocrites Lyes for Auauntage. They ought alſo to preſerue Gods People from Oppreſſors, Tirauntes, and Theues, and to ſee the Clergie ſupported ſo long as they teache purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the Sacramentes frely. And, if they ſee them do otherwiſe, they are bound, by Lawe of Office, to compell them to chaunge theyr Doinges, and to ſee all Thinges performed according to Gods preſcript Ordinaunce.

The latter Fellouſhip of this Church are the common People, whoſe Dewtye is to beare their good Mindes and true Obedience to the aforeſeid Miniſters of God, theyr Kinges, Cyuile Gouernours, and Pryeſtes. The right Office of theſe, is iuſtly to occupy euery Man in his Facultee, be it Marchaundiſe, Handycraft, or the Tilthe of the Grounde. And ſo one of them to be as an Helper to another, followynge all Wayes in theyr Sortes the iuſt Commaundementes of theyr Lord God.

Ouer and beſydes all thys, I mooſt faythfully beleue that the Sacramentes of Chryſtes Church are neceſſary to all Chryſten Belieuers, thys alwayes ſene to, that they be truly miniſtred according to Chryſtes fyrſt Inſtitucion and Ordinaunce. And for ſo moch as I am malyciouſly and mooſt falſely accuſed of a Miſbeleue in the Sacrament of the Aulter, to the hurtful Slaundre of many: I ſignifye here vnto al Men, that thys is my Fayth concerning that. I beleue in that Sacrament to be contayned very Chriſtes Body and Bloude vnder the Similytudes of Breade and Wyne, yea, the ſame Body that was conceyued of the holy Goſt, borne of *Mary*, the Virgyn, done on the Croſſe, dyed, that was buried, aroſe the thyrde Day from the Death, and is now gloryfied in Heauen. I alſo beleue the vniuerſall Lawe of God to be mooſt true and perfight, and they which do not followe it in theyr Fayth and Workes, at one Tyme or other, can neuer be ſaued. Whereas he that ſeeketh it in Faith, accepteth it, lerneth it, delighted therein, and perfourmeth it in Loue, ſhall taſt for it the Felicitee of euerlaſting Innocencye.

Finally, This is my Faith alſo, that God wyll axe ‖ no more of a Chriſten Beleuer in this Lyfe, but *only* to obey the Preceptes of that mooſt bleſſed Lawe. If any Prelates of the

* *Al.* Conformed. † Contrary wrote he, *ad Parliamentum. Ex Waldeno.* ‡ *Al.* Commons.
‖ Exact or require.

Churche

Churche require *more*, or els *any other* Kynd of Obedience, than thys to be vſed, he contemneth Chryſt, exalting himſelfe aboue God, and ſo becometh an open Antichryſt. Al theſe Premiſſes I beleue particularlye, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scryptures, that I ſhuld beleue. Inſtauntly deſiring you me * lyege Lord and mooſt worthy Kyng, that thys Confeſſion of mine may be iuſtly examined by the moſt godly, wiſe, and lerned Men of your Realme. And, if it be found in all Points agreeyng to the Veritee †, than let it be ſo allowed, and I thervpon holden for none other than a true Chriſtiane. If it be proued otherwiſe, than let it be vtterly condemned; prouided alwaies, that I be taught a better Beleue by the Word of God, and I ſhall moſt reuerently, at all Tymes, obey therunto.

Thys brefe Confeſſyon of hys Fayth the Lord *Cobham* wrote (as is mencyoned afore) and ſo took it with him to the Courte, offeryng yt wyth all Mekeneſſe unto the Kyng to ~~read it~~ over. The Kyng wold in no Caſe receive it, but commaunded yt to be delyvered vnto them that ſhould be his Iudges. Than deſyred he in the Kynges Preſens that an hondred Knights and Eſquiers might be ſuffered to come in vpon hys Purgacyon, whiche, he knewe, wold clere him of all Hereſyes. Morouer, he offred hymſelfe after the Lawe of Armes, to fyght for Lyfe or Death with any Man lyuing, Chriſten or Heythen, in the Quarel of his Faith, the King and the Lordes of his Councell excepted. Finally, with all Gentilneſſe he proteſted before all that were preſent, that he wold refuſe no Manner of Correction that ſhuld after the Lawes of God be miniſtred vnto him, but that he wold at all Tymes with all Mekenes obey it. Notwithſtandyng all thys, the Kyng ſuffered him to be ſummoned perſonally in his own preuy Chambre. Than ſayed the Lord *Cobham* to the Kyng, that he had appealed from the Archbiſhop to the Pope of *Rome*, and therfore he ought, he ſayd, in no Caſe to be his Iudge. And, having hys Appeale there at Hande redye written, he ſhewed yt wyth all Reuerence to the Kyng. Wherwith the Kyng was than moche more diſpleaſed than afore, and ſaid angerly vnto him, that he ſhuld not purſue his Appeale; but rather he ſhuld tarry in Hold, tyll ſuch Tyme as it were of the Pope allowed. And than, wold he or nyld he, the Archbiſhop ſhould be his Iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good Lord *Cobham* had lawfully afore required. But for ſo moch as he wold not be ſworn in all Things to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church, and ſo to take what Penaunce the Archbiſhoppe wold enioyne him, he was areſted againe at the Kinges Commaundement, and ſo led forth to the *Towre* of *Lonnon*, to kepe his Daye (ſo was it than ſpoken) that the Archbiſhop had appoynted hym afore in the Kynges Chambre.

Then cauſed he the aforſayd Confeſſyon of his Faith to be copyed agayne and the Anſwere alſo (whiche he had made to the iiij. Articles proponed agaynſt hym) to be wrytten in Maner of an Indenture, in two Shetes of Paper; that, whan he ſhould come to his Anſwere, he might give the one Copye vnto the Archbiſhop, and reſerve the other to himſelfe. As the Daye of Examinacion was comen, whiche was the xxiij. Day of *Septembre*, the *Saturday* before the Feaſt of St. *Mathewe*, *Thomas Arundell*, the Archbiſhop, fytting in *Cayphas* Roume, in the *Chapterhouſe* of *Paules*, wyth *Rychard Clyfforde*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Henry Bolinbroke*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, Sir *Robert Morley*, Knight, and Lefetenaunt of the Towre, brought perſonally before him the ſeyd Lord *Cobham*, and there left hym for the Time, vnto whom the Archbiſhop ſaid theſe Wordes:

The firſt Examinacion of the Lord Cobham.

SIR *Iohan*, in the laſt general Conuocation of the Clergye of thys our Prouynce, ye were detected of certein Hereſyes, and by ſufficient Witneſſes founde culpable. Whervpon ye were by Forme of ſpirituall Lawe cyted, and wolde in no Caſe appeare. In Concluſion, vpon your rebellyous Contumacie, ye were both priuatelye and openlye excommunicated. Notwythſtanding, we neuer yet ſhewed ourſelfe unreadye to haue geven you youre Abſolucion (nor yet do not to thys Houre) wolde ye haue mekelye axed it.

Unto this the Lord *Cobham* ſhewed as tho' he had geuen none Eare, hauing his Mynde otherwiſe occupied, and ſo deſyred none Abſolucion.

* *Al.* my. † Of Chriſt's Words.

But

But he ſayd, he wolde gladly before him and his Brethern make Reherſall of that Fayth, which che helde and entended always to ſtande to, yf it wolde pleaſe them to lycens him therevnto. And than he toke out of hys Boſome a certein Writting endented, concerning the Articles wherof he was accuſed, and ſo openly redde it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbiſhop, as he had made therof an Ende.

Whereof this is the Copye.

* I *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, Knight and Lord · *Cobham*, wyll all Chryſten Men to vnderſtand, that *Thomas Arundell*, Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, hath not onely laid it to my Charge malytiouſly, but alſo very vntruly by hys Lettre and Seale, written againſt me in moſt ſlaunderouſe Wyſe that I ſhould otherwyſe fele † and teach of the Sacramentes of the Church (aſſigning ſpecyally the Sacrament of the Aulter, the Sacrament of Penaunce, the Worſhipping of Ymages, and the Going of Pilgrymage unto them) far otherwiſe than either beleueth or teacheth the vniverſall holye Churche. I take Almyghtye God vnto Wytneſſe, that it hath bene and nowe is, and euermore wyth the Helpe of God, yt ſhall be my full Intent and Wyll to beleue faythfully and wholy all the Sacramentes that euer God ordeined to be mynyſtred in the holy Church. And morouer for to declare me in theſe iiij Poynts, afore reherſed:

I beleue that, in the moſt worſhipful Sacrament of the Aulter, is Chriſts very Bodie in Forme of Bread, the ſame Body that was borne of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, done on the Croſſe, dead, and buried, and that the thyrd Day aroſe from Death to Lyfe, the whiche Body is nowe glorified wyth the Father in Heauen. And as for the Sacrament of Penaunce, I beleue that it is nedefull to all them that ſhall be ſaued, to forſake theyr Sinne and to do Penaunce for it wyth true Contricion to God, Confeſſyon of theyr Fautes, and dewe Satisfactyon in Chryſte, like as Gods Lawes limiteth and teacheth, els can they have no Saluation. This Penaunce I deſyre all Men to do. And as for Ymages, I vnderſtand that they perteyn nothing to our Chryſten Beleue, but were permitted, long ſins the Faith was geuen vs of Chriſt, by Sufferance of the Church, for to be as Kalenders vnto Layemen to repreſent or bring to Mind the Paſſion of our Lorde *Ieſus Chryſt*, with the Martirdom and good Liuing of the Saincles.

I think alſo that whatſoever he whiche doth that Worſhip to dead Ymages, that is duely belonginge vnto God, or that putteth his Faith, Hope, or Confidence in the Helpe of them, as he ſhuld do only in his eternall lyuing God, or that hath Affection in one more than in another; he perpetrateth, in ſo doing, the abhominable Sin of Idolatry. Moreover, in this am I fully perſwaded, that euery Man dwellynge on thys Ærth is a Pilgrym, eyther towardes Bleſſe or els towardes Payne ‡.

And that he which knoweth not, nor wyll not know, nor yet kepe the holy Commaundementes of God in hys Lyuing here (all be it that he goeth on Pylgrymage into all Quarters of the Worlde) yf he departeth ſo, he ſhall ſurely be dampned. Agayne, he that knoweth the holy Commaundementes of God, and ſo perfourmeth them to the Ende of his Lyfe to his Power, ſhal without Fayle be ſaued in Chryſt ‖, thoughe he neuer in his Lyfe go on Pylgrimage, as Men vſe now a Daies to *Caunterbury*, *Walſingham*, *Compoſtell*, and *Rome*, or to anye other Places.

This Anſwere to his Artycles thus ended and redde, he delyuered yt to the Biſhops as is ſayde afore. Than counſeled the Archbiſhop wyth the other two Biſhoppes and with dyuerſe of the Doctours, what was to be done in thys Matter, commaunding him for the Tyme to ſtand aſide. In Concluſion by theyr Aſſent and Informacion, he ſayd thus unto him:

Come hider, Sir *Iohan*; in thys your Writtinge are many good Thinges conteyned, and ryght Catholyck alſo, we deny yt not: But ye muſt conſyder that thys Daye was appoynted you to anſwere to other Poynts concerning thoſe Articles, whereof as yet no Mencion is made in thys your Byll; and therefore ye muſt yet declare vs your Minde more plainly. As thus, Whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleue, that in the Sacrament of

* Ex utroq; Exemplari. † Think or underſtand. ‡ *Geneſ.* xxiii. *Pſ.* ii.
‖ *Note*, Here is no Mention of Purgatory; we are ſaved in CHRIST, *without* Purgatory.

the

the Aulter, after the Conſecracion rightly done by a Pryeſt, remaineth materyall Bread or not? Moreouer, Whether ye do hold, affirme, and beleue that as concerning the Sacrament of Penaunce (wheras a competent Nombre of Pryeſts are) every Chryſten Manne is neceſſarely bound to be confeſſed of hys Synnes to a Pryeſt ordayned by the Churche or not?

After certein other Communication, thys was the Anſwere of the good Lord *Cobham:* That none otherwiſe would he declare his Minde, nor yet anſwere vnto hys Artycles, than was expreſſelye in his Writtinge there conteyned.

Than ſayd the Archbiſhop againe vnto to him: Sir *Iohan*, beware what ye do; for, if ye anſwere not clerely to thoſe Thinges that are here obiected againſt you, ſpecially at the Tyme appointed you only for that Purpoſe, the Lawe of holy Church is, that, compelled ones by a Iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an Heretike.

Vnto whome he gaue this Anſwere: Do as ye ſhall thinke it beſt, for I am at a Poynt.

Whatſoeuer he or the other Biſhoppes did axe him after that, he bad them reſort to his Byll, for therby wold he ſtande to the verye Death. Other Anſwere wolde he not geue that Day, wherewith the Biſhoppes and Prelates were in a Maner amaſed and wonderfullye deſquyeted. At the laſt, the Archbiſhop counſeled again with his other Biſhoppes and Doctours. And in the End therof declared vnto him, what the holy Church of *Rome*, following the Sayinges of St. *Auſtyn*, St. *Hierom*, St. *Ambroſe*, and of other Holy Doctours, had determined in the ſayd Matter, no Maner of Mencion ones made of Chryſt; which Determinacion (ſayth he) ought all Chryſten Menne both to beleue and to followe.

Than ſaid the Lord *Cobham* vnto him, that he wold gladlye bothe beleue and obſerue what ſoeuer the holy Church of Chriſtes Inſtitucion had determined, or yet what ſoeuer God had willed him eyther to beleue, or to do. But that the Pope of *Rome*, with his Cardinalls, Archbyſhoppes, Byſhoppes, and other Prelates of that Church, had laufull Power to determyne ſuche Matters as ſtode not wyth his Worde throughly, that wolde he not (he ſayd) at that Tyme affyrme. Wyth thys, the Archbyſhoppe bad hym to take good Aduyſement tyll the *Monday* nexte followinge (whiche was the xxv. Daye of *Septembre*) and than iuſtly to anſwere, ſpecyallye vnto thys Poynte, Whether there remayned *materyall* Breade in the Sacrament of the Aulter, after the Wordes of Conſecracion, or not? He promyſed hym alſo to ſende vnto him, in Wryttinge, thoſe Maters clerely determined, that he myght than be the more perfyghte in hys Anſwere-making. And all this was not els but to blynde the Multitude with ſomwhat. The nexte Day following, according to hys Promes, the Archbiſhoppe ſent vnto hym, into the *Towre*, thys folyſh and blaſphemouſe Writting, made by hym, and by hys vnlerned Clergye.

*The Determinacion * of the Archbyſhoppe and Clergye.*

THE Faith and Determinacion of the holy Church, touching the blesfull Sacrament of the Aulter, is this: That, after the ſacramentall Wordes be ones ſpoken by a Pryeſt, in his Maſſe, the *materyall* Bread, that was before Bread, is turned into Chryſtes very Body; and the *materyall* Wyne, that was before Wyne, is turned into Chryſtes very Bloud: And ſo there remayneth in the Sacrament of the Aulter, from thens forth, *no* materyall Breade, nor materyall Wyne, whiche were there, before the ſacramentall Wordes were ſpoken. How beleue ye this Artycle?

Holy Churche hath determined, that euery Chryſten Man, lyuing here bodyly vpon Earth, ought to be ſhriuen † to a Pryeſt, ordeyned by the Church, if he may come to him. How fele ye thys Artycle?

Chriſt ordeyned Sainct *Peter* the Apoſtle to be his *Vicar* here in Earth, whoſe See is the holy Church of *Rome*; and he graunted, that the ſame Power, which he gaue vnto *Peter*, ſhuld ſuccede to al *Peters* Succeſſours, whiche we call now Popes of *Rome*. By whoſe ſpeciall Power, in Churches particular, be ordeyned Prelates, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Parſons, Curates, and other Degrees more; vnto whome Chriſten Menne ought to obeye, after the Lawes of the Church of *Rome*. Thys is the Determinacion of Holy Church: How fele ye this Artycle?

Holy Church hath determined, that it is

* Ex magno Proceſſu *Thomæ Arundeli.* † Confeſſed.

meritoryous

meritoryous to a Chriſten Man to go on Pilgrymage to holy Places, and there ſpecially to worſhipe holy Relyques, and Ymages of Sainctes, Apoſtles, Martirs, Confeſſours, and all other Saintes beſydes approued by the Church of *Rome*. Howe fele ye thys Artycle?

And, as the good Lord *Cobham* had red ouer thys mooſt wretched Writtynge, he marueled greatly of their madde Ignoraunce. But that he conſydered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer, for theyr Vnbeleues Sake, into mooſt depe Errours, and Blindneſſe of Soule. Agayne, he perſeyued herby, that theyr vttermooſt Malyce was purpoſed againſt him, how ſoeuer he ſhulde anſwere; and therfore he put his Lyfe into the Handes of God, deſyring his onely Spirit to aſſiſt him in his next Anſwere. Whan the ſayd xxv. Daye of *Septembre* was come (which was alſo the *Monday* afore *Myghelmaſſe*) in the ſayd Yere of our Lord M. cccc. and xiij. *Thomas Arundell*, the Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, commaunded his judicyall Seate to be remoued * from that *Chapterhouſe* of *Pauls* to the *Dominike Fryers*, wythin *Ludgate*, at *London*. And, as he was there ſet with *Rychard*, the Biſhop of *London*, *Henry*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Benet*, the Biſhop of *Bangor*, he called in vnto him his Counſell and his Officers, with diuerſe other Doctours and Fryers; of whom theſe are the Names here followynge:

Maſter *Henry Ware*, the Officyall of *Caunterbury*.

Philip Morgan, Doctour of both Lawes; *Howell Kiffin*, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; *Iohan Kempe*, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; *Willyam Carleton*, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; *Iohan Witnam*, of the *New College*, in *Oxford*; *Iohan Whighthead*, a Doctour, of *Oxforde*: Alſo *Robert Wonbewell*, Vicar of Saint *Laurence* in the *Iewry* †; *Thomas Palmer*, the Warden of the *Mynors*, *Robert Chamberlaine*, Prior of the *Dominickes*; *Rychard Dodington*, Prior of the *Auguſtines*; *Thomas Walden*, Prior of the *Carmelites*; all Doctours of Diuinitie. *Iohan Steuens* alſo, and *Iames Cole*, both Notaries, appointed there purpoſly to write all that ſhuld be eyther ſayd or done. All theſe, with a great Sort more of Pryeſtes, Monks, Chanons, Fryers, Pariſh Clarks, Belringers, and Pardoners, diſdained him with innumerable Mockes and Scornes, rekening him to be an horrible Heretik, and a Man accurſed afore God.

Anon, the Archbyſhoppe called for a Maſſeboke, and cauſed all thoſe Prelates and Doctoures to ſweare there vpon, that euerye Man ſhulde faythfullye doo hys Offyce and Dewtye that Daye; and that, neyther for Fauer nor Feare, Loue nor Hate, of the one Partye nor the other, any Thinge ſhuld ther be witneſſed, ſpoken, or done, but according to the Trueth, as they wold anſwere before God, and all the World, at the Daye of Dome. Than were the two forſeyd Notaries ſworne alſo to wryte and to witnes the Wordes and Proceſſe, that there ſhuld be vttered on both Partyes, and to ſaye their Minds (if they otherwiſe knewe it) before they ſhuld regeſter it. And all thys Diſſimulacion was but to colour their Miſcheues before the ignoraunte Multytude.

Conſydre herin (gentyll Reader) what this wicked Generacion is, and how farre wyde from the iuſt Feare of God; for, as they were than, ſo are they yet to this Daye.

After that, came forth before them Sir *Robert Morley*, Knight, and Lefetenaunt of the *Towre*, and he brought with him the good Lord *Cobham*, there leauing him among them, as a Lambe among Wolues, to his Examinacion and Anſwere.

The latter Examinacion ‡ *of the Lord* Cobham.

THAN ſayd the Archbyſhoppe vnto hym: Lord *Cobham*, ye be adveſed (I am ſure) of the Wordes and Proceſſe which we had vnto you, vpon *Saturday* laſt paſt, in the *Chapterhouſe* of *Paules*; which Proces were now to long to be reherſed agayne. I ſayd vnto you than, that ye were accurſed ‖ for your Contumacy and Diſobedience to holy Church, thinking that ye ſhulde, with Mekenes, haue deſired your Abſolucion.

Than ſpake the Lord *Cobham*, with a mooſt cherefull Contenaunce, and ſayd: God ſayth, by his holy Prophet §, *Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris* (which is as moch to ſay, as, *I ſhall curſe, wheras you bleſſe.*

The Archbiſhop made than, as though he

* Ex utroque Exemplari. † *London.* ‡ Ex vetuſto Exemplari *Londinenſium.* ‖ Excommunicated. § *Malac.* ii.

had

had continued forthe hys Tale, and not heard hym, ſaying: Sir, at that Tyme I gentilly proferd to haue aſſoyled * you, if ye wold haue aſked it; and yet I do the ſame, if ye wyll humbly deſyre it in due Forme and Maner, as holy Church hath ordeined.

Than ſayd the Lord *Cobham*: Naye, forſoth, wyll I not; for I neuer yet treſpaſed againſt you, and therfore I wyll not do it: And, with that, he kneeled down on the Pauement, holding vp hys Handes towardes Heauen, and ſayd: I ſhryue me here vnto the, my Eternall, Lyuynge God, that, in my frayle Youth, I offended the (Lord) moſt greuouſly in Pryde, Wrath, and Glottony, in Couetouſnes and Lechery. Many Men haue I hurt in mine Angre, and done manye other horryble Synnes; good Lord, I aſke the Mercy. And therwith, wepingly, he ſtode vp againe, and ſayd, with a mighty Voyce: Lo, good People, lo; for the Breaking of Gods Lawe, and his great Commaundementes, they † neuer yet curſed me; but, for theyr owne Lawes and Tradicions, moſt cruelly do they handle both me, and other Men; and therfore both they and theyr Lawes, by the Promes of God ‡, ſhall vtterly he deſtroied.

At this, the Archbiſhop and hys Companye were not a lytle blemyſhed. Notwithſtanding, he toke Stomake vnto hym agayn, after certein Wordes had in Excuſe of theyr Tyrannye, and examined the Lord *Cobham* of his Chriſten Beleue.

Wherunto the Lord *Cobham* made thys godly Anſwere: I beleue (ſayth he) fullye and faythfullye the vnyuerſall Lawes of God. I beleue, that all is true, which is conteyned in the holy ſacred Scryptures of the Byble. Finally, I beleue all, that my Lord God wolde I ſhulde beleue.

Than demaunded the Archbiſhop an Anſwere of the Byll, which he and the Clergy had ſent him into the *Tower* the Daye afore, in Maner of a Determinacyon of the Church concerning the iiij. Articles wherof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the Sacrament of the Aulter, how he beleued therin?

Wherevnto the Lord *Cobham* ſayd, that with that Byll he had nothing to do. But this was his Beleue (he ſayd) concerning the Sacrament: That his Lord and Sauer *Ieſus Chryſt*, ſitting at his laſt Supper, with his mooſt dere Diſciples, the Night before he ſhuld ſuffer, toke Bread in his Hand. And, geving Thankes to his eternall Father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Take it vnto ye, and eate thereof all; this is my Body which ſhall be betraied for you; do this hereafter in my Remembraunce. This do I thoroughly beleue (ſaith he) for this Faith am I taught of the Goſpell in *Mathew*, in *Marke*, and in *Luke*, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of St. *Paull* to the *Corinthianes* ‖.

Than aſked the Archbiſhoppe, If he beleued that it were Bread *after* the Conſecracion or Sacramental Wordes ſpoken ouer it.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: I beleue that in the Sacrament of the Aulter is Chryſtes very Body, in Fourme of Breade, the ſame that was born of the Virgyn *Mary*, done on the Croſſe, dead and buried, and that the thyrd Day aroſe from Death to Lyfe, whych nowe is glorified in Heauen.

Than ſayd one of the Doctors of the Lawe, *After* the Sacramental Wordes be vttered, there remaineth no Breade, but the onely Body of Chryſt.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd than to one Maſter *Johan Whighthead*, You ſayd ones vnto me in the Caſtell of *Coulynge* §, that the ſacred Hoſt was *not* Chryſtes Body; but I held than againſt you, and proved that therin was his Body, though the Seculars ** and Fryers †† could not therin agree, but helde yche one againſt other in that Opinyon. Theſe were my Wordes than, yf ye remembre it.

Than ſhouted a *Sort of them* together and cryed with a great Noyſe: *We ſay all it is* Gods Body.

And dyuerſe of them aſked hym in great Angre, Whether it were *materiall* Bread *after* the Conſecracion, or not?

Than loked the Lord *Cobham* ærneſtly vpon the Archbiſhop, and ſayde: I beleue ſurely

* Pardoned, *or* abſolved. † *Hiere.* li. *Apoc.* xviii. ‡ The *Popiſh* Eccleſiaſticks.
‖ *Matth.* xxvi. *Mark* xiv. *Luke* xxii. 1 *Cor.* xi. § Al. *Towlynge.*
** *Secular*, or the *Pariſh* Prieſts.
†† *Regulars*, or Prieſts that live in *Monaſteries*, following the *Orders* or *Rules* of *Dominick*, *Benedict*, &c.

that it is Chryſtes Body in Fourme of Breade. Sir, beleve not you thus?

And the Archbiſhoppe ſayd: Yes mary do I.

Than aſked him the Doctours: Whether it were onely Chryſtes Body *after* the Conſecracion of a Pryeſt and no Bread or not?

And he ſayd vnto them: It is both Chryſtes Body and Bread. I ſhall prove it as thus; for lyke as Chryſt, dwelling here vpon the Earth, had in him both Godhead and Manhead; and had the inuiſible Godhead couered vnder that Manhead, which was only uiſible and ſeane in him: So, in the Sacrament of the Aulter, is Chriſtes very Body and very Bread alſo, as I beleue the Breade is the Thyng, that we ſee with our Eyes; the Body of Chriſt (which is his Fleſh and his Bloud) is there vnder hydde and not ſeane but *in Faith.*

Than ſmyled they yche one vpon other, that the People ſhulde iudge hym taken in a greate Hereſye. And wyth a great Bragge diuerſe of them ſayde: *It is a foule Hereſy.*

Than aſked the Archbiſhop, What Breade it was? And the Doctours alſo inquired of him, Whether it were *materiall* or not?

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd unto them: The Scryptures maketh no Mencion of this Worde *materiall*, and therefore my Fayth hath nothing to do therwith; but thys I ſay and beleue it, that it is Chryſtes Bodye and Bread; for Chryſt ſayde in the Syxt of *Iohans* Goſpell: *Ego ſum panis viuus, qui de celo deſcendi*, i. e. *I, whiche came down from Heauen, am the liuing and not the dead Bread.* Therfore, I ſay now agayn, like as I ſaid afore, As our Lord *Ieſus Chryſt* is very God and very Man, ſo, in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, is Chryſtes very Body and Breade.

Than ſeyd they all with one Voyce: It is an Hereſye.

One of the Biſhoppes ſtode vp by and by, and ſayd: What, it is an Hereſye manyfeſt, to ſay that it is Breade after the Sacramentall Worde be ones ſpoken, but Chryſtes Body onely.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: St. *Paule*, the Apoſtle, was (I am ſure) as wyſe as you be nowe, and more godlye lerned; and he called yt Breade, wrytting * to the *Corinthianes: The Breade that we breake*, ſayth he, *is it not the Partaking of the Body of Chryſt?* Lo, he calleth it Breade and not Chryſtes Body, but a *Meane* whereby we receyue Chryſtes Body.

Than ſayd they agayne: *Paule* muſt be otherwiſe vnderſtanded; for it is ſurely an Hereſye to ſaye that it is Breade after the Conſecracion, but onely Chryſtes Body.

The Lord *Cobham* aſked, Howe they coulde make good that Sentence of theyrs?

They anſwered him thus: For it is againſt the Determinacion of the holy Church.

Than ſayde the Archbiſhop vnto hym: Sir *Iohan*, we ſent you a Wrytting concerning the Faith of thys bleſſed Sacrament clerely determined by the Church of *Rome*, our Mother, and by the holy Doctours.

Than ſayd he again vnto him: I knowe none holyer than is Chryſt and hys Apoſtles; and as for that Determinacion, I wote, it is none of theyrs, for it ſtandeth not with the Scryptures, but manifeſtly againſt them. If it be the Churches, as ye ſay it is, it hath bene hers onely ſins ſhe receiued the greate Poyſon of worldly Poſſeſſions, and not afore.

Than aſked they hym, to ſtoppe his Mouth therwith, If he beleued not in the Determinacion of the Church?

And he ſaid vnto them: No, forſooth, for *it is no God.* In all our Crede is IN but thryſe mencioned, concerning Beleue; IN God the *Father*, IN God the *Sonne*, IN God the *Holy Goſt.* The Byrthe, the Death, the Buriall, the Reſurrection, and Aſcenſyon of Chriſt hath none IN for Beleue, but IN hym. Neyther yet hath the Church, the Sacramentes, the Forgeuenes of Synne, the latter Reſurrection, nor yet the Life euerlaſting any other IN, than IN the Holy Goſt.

Than ſayd one of the Lawiers: Tuſh, that was but a Worde of Office. But what is your Beleue concerning holy Church?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered: My Beleue is (as I ſayde afore) that all the Scryptures of the ſacred Byble are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleue throughly; for, I know, it is Gods Pleaſure that I ſhuld ſo do. But in youre lordly Lawes and ydell Determinacions haue I no Beleue; for ye be no Part of Chryſtes holy Churche, as your open Dedes doth ſhew. But ye are very Antichryſtes, obſtinatly ſet agaynſt his holy Lawe and Wyll. The Lawes,

* 2 *Cor.* x.

that

that ye haue made, are nothing to his Glorye, but onely for your vayne Glory and Abhominable Couetouſnes.

This, they ſaid, was an exceading Hereſy (and that in a great Fume) not to beleue the Determinacion of holy Church.

Than the Archbiſhop aſked him: What he thought holy Church?

He ſayd unto hym: My Beleue is, that *holy Church is the Nombre of them, whiche ſhall be ſaued, of whom Chryſt is the Head.* Of this Church one Part is in Heauen with Chryſt, another in Purgatory (you ſay) and the third is here in Ærth. This latter Part ſtandeth in thre Degrees, in Knighthode, Pryeſthode, and the Comunaltee, as I ſayde afore plainly, in the Confeſſyon of my Beleue.

Than ſaide the Archbiſhop vnto him: Can ye tell me, who is of this Church?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered: Yea, truly can I.

Than ſaid *Doctor *Walden*, the Pryor of the *Carmelytes*: It is a Doubte unto you who is therof; for Chriſt ſayth in *Math. Nolite iudicare*, i. e. *Preſume to iudge no Man.* If ye here be forbidden the Iudgment of your Neighbour or Brother, moche more the Iudgment of your Superiour.

The Lord *Cobham* made him thys Anſwere, Chryſt ſayth alſo in the ſelfe ſame Chapter of † *Math.* that, lyke as the yll Tree is knowen by hys yll Frute, ſo is a falſe Prophet, by his Workes, appeare they neuer ſo gloryous; but that ye left behind ye. And in ‡ *Iohan* he hath this Text: *Operibus credite?* i. e. *Beleue you the outward Doings?* And in another Place of *Iohan: Iuſtum iudicium iudicate*, i. e. *Whan we knowe the Thing to be true, we may ſo iudge it, and not offende*; for *David* ‖ ſayth alſo: *Recte iudicate filii hominum*, i. e. *Iudge rightly alwayes ye Children of Men.* And as for your Superioritee, were ye of Chryſt, ye ſhuld be meke Miniſters, and no proude Superiours.

Than ſayd Doctour *Walden* vnto hym: Ye make here no Difference of Iudgments; ye put no Diverſitee between the yll Iudgements, which Chryſt hath forbidden, and the good Iudgementes, which he hath commaunded vs to haue; raſh Iudgement and right Iudgement, all is one with you; ſo is Iudgement preſumed and Iudgement of Office, ſo ſwift Iudges alwayes are the lerned Scolers of *Wicliue.*

Unto whome the Lord *Cobham* thus anſwered: It is wel ſophiſtried of you, forſooth; prepoſterouſe are your Iudgements euer more; for as the Prophet *Eſay* ſayth §, *Ye iudge Yll Good, and Good Yll*; and therefore the ſame Prophet ** concludeth, that *your Wayes are noe Gods Wayes, nor Gods Ways your Wayes.* And as for that vertuouſe Man *Wicleue*, whoſe Iudgements ye ſo hyghelye diſdayne: I ſhall ſaye here for my Part both before God and Man. That, before I knewe that diſpiſed Doctrine of his, I neuer abſteyned from Synne ††. But, ſyns I lerned therin to fear my Lorde God, it hath otherwiſe, I truſt, bene with me; ſo moch Grace could I neuer finde in all your glorioufe Inſtructions.

Than ſayde Doctor *Walden* agayn yet unto hym: It were not well wyth me, ſo many vertuous Men lyuing and ſo many lerned Men teaching the Scryptures, being alſo ſo open, and the Examples of Fathers ſo plentouſe, if I than had no Grace to amende my Lyfe till I hearde the Deuell preache. St. *Hierom* ſaith, that he, whyche ſeketh ſuche ſuſpected Maſters, ſhall not fynde the Mydday Lyght, but the Mydday Deuell ‡‡.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid: Your Fathers, the olde Phariſees, aſcribed ‖‖ Chryſtes Miracles to *Belzebub*, and his Doctrine to the Deuell; and you, as their naturall Children, have ſtill the ſelfe ſame Iudgement, concernyng his faithfull Followers. They, that rebuke your vicious Lyuinge, muſt needs be Heretykes; and that muſt your Doctours proue, whan ye haue no Scryptures to do it.

Than ſaid he to them all: To iudge you as ye be, we nede no further go, than your own propre Actes: Where do ye find in all Gods Lawes, that ye ſhuld thus ſyt in Iudgement of any Chriſten Men, or yet ſentens anye other Man vnto Death, as ye do here dayly? No Ground haue ye in all the Scryptures ſo lordely to take it vpon ye, but in *Annas* and in *Cayphas*, which ſate thus vpon Chryſt, and vp-

* *Walden* contr. *Wicliuiſtas*, Lib. iii. cap. 67.
† *Math.* vii.
‡ *Iohan* v. ib. vii. *Deut.* i.
‖ *Pſalm* lvi.
§ *Eſay* v.
** *Eſay* lv.
†† *Walden* in Prefacione Doctrina 7.
‡‡ *Hieron.* in Breuiari in Minori.
‖‖ *Luke* xi. *Iohan* x.

on his Apoſtles after his Aſcenſyon. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chryſtes Members, as ye do, and neyther of *Peter* nor *Iohan*.

Than ſayde ſome of the Lawyers: Yes, forſoth, Sir, for Chryſt iudged *Iudas*.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: No, Chryſt iudged him not, but he iudged himſelfe, and thervpon went forth, and ſo did hang himſelfe. But, indede, Chryſt ſayd, *Wo unto him*, for that couetous Act of his, as he doth yet ſtyll vnto many of you; for, ſens the *Venime* was ſhed into the Church, ye neuer followed Chryſt; neither yet haue ye ſtand in the Perfection of Gods Lawe *.

Than aſked him the Archbiſhoppe, What he ment by that *Venime?*

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: Your *Poſſeſſyons* and *Lordſhippes*. For than cryed an Aungell in the Ayre (as your owne Chronycles mencioneth †) *Wo, Wo, Wo, this Day is Venime ſhedde into the Church of God.* Before that Tyme all the Biſhops of *Rome* were Martirs in a Maner; and ſens that Time we rede of very few. But, indede, ſens that ſame Time, one ‡ hath put down another, one hath poyſoned another, one hath curſed another, and one hath ſlayne another, and done much more Miſchiefe beſides, as all the Chronycles telleth. And let all Men conſydre well thys, that Chriſt was meke and mercifull; the Pope is proud and a Tiraunt. Chriſt was pore, and forgaue; the Pope is riche and a moſt cruell Manſlayer, as his dayly Actes doth proue him. *Rome* is the very Neſt of Antichryſt; and out of that Neſt cometh all his Diſciples: Of whom Prelates, Prieſtes, and Monkes are the Body, and theſe pylde ‖ Fryers are the Tayle, whyche couuereth his mooſt fylthy Part.

Than ſayd the Pryor of the Fryre *Auguſtines*, Alac, Sir, why do ye ſay ſo? That is uncharitably ſpoken.

And the Lord *Cobham* ſaid: Not onely is it my Saying, but alſo the Prophet *Eſayes*, longe afore my Tyme. The Prophet, ſayth he §, which preacheth Lyes, is the Tayle behinde. As you Fryers and Monkes be lyke the Phariſees, divided in your outward Apparell and Vſages, ſo make ye Diuiſyon among the People; and thus you, with ſuch other, are the very naturall Membres of Antichryſt.

Than ſayd he vnto them all: Chryſt ſayth in his Goſpell **: *Wo to you Scribes and Phariſees, Ypocrites; for ye cloſe vp the Kingdom of Heauen, before Men, neither entre ye in yourſelves, nor yet ſuffre any other that would entre into it.* But ye ſtop vp the Ways thereunto with your owne Tradicions, and therfore are ye the Houſhold of Antichryſt; will not permit Gods Verytee to haue Paſſage, nor yet to be taught of his true Miniſters, fearinge to haue your Wickednes reproued? But, by ſuch vayne Flatterers as vpholde you in your Miſcheues, ye ſuffre the common People mooſt miſerably to be ſeduced.

Than ſayd the Archbiſhop. By oure Lady, Sir, there ſhall no ſuche preach within my Dioceſe (and God wyll) not yet in my Iuriſdiction (yf I may knowe yt) as either maketh Diuiſion or yet Diſſenſion amonge the poore Commons.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: Both Chryſt and his Apoſtles were accuſed †† of Sedicion-making, yet were they moſt peceable Men. Both *Daniell* ‡‡ and Chryſt prophecyed, that ſuch a ||| troublous Tyme ſhulde come, as hath not bene yet ſens the Worldes Beginning. And this Prophecye is partly fulfylled in your Daies and Doinges. For many haue ye ſlaine alredy, and more wyll ye ſle here after, if God fulfil not his Promes. Chryſt ſaith alſo, if thoſe Dayes of yours were not ſhortened, ſcarſly ſhuld any Fleſh be ſaued. Therfore loke for it iuſtly, for God wyll ſhorten your Dayes. Moreouer, though Pryeſtes and Deacons, for Preaching of Gods Word, and for Miniſtring the Sacramentes, with Prouiſion for the Pore, be grounded in Gods Lawe, yet haue theſe other Sectes no Maner of Ground therof, ſo farre as I haue red.

Than a Doctour of Lawe, called Maſter *Iohan Kempe*, plucked out of his Boſome a Copye of that Byll, whiche they had afore ſent him into the *Tower*, by the Archbiſhops Councell, thinking therby to make ſhorter Worke with him. For they were ſo amaſed with his Anſweres (not al vnlike to them which dyſputed wyth *Steuen* §§) that they knewe not well howe to occupye the Tyme, there Wyttes

* *Geraldus Cambrenſis*, Diſt. i. cap. 17. † *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* in Polychro. Lib. iv. cap. 26.
‡ Pope. ‖ Shaven. § *Eſay* ix. ** *Math.* xxiii.
†† *Luke* xxiii. *Joan.* xvi. ‡‡ *Daniell* xii. ||| *Math.* xxiv. §§ *Acts* vi.

and

and Sophiſtry (as God wolde) ſo fayled them, that Daye.

My Lord *Cobham* (ſayth this Doctour) we muſt brefely know your Mynde concerning theſe four Poyntes here following. The fyrſt of them is thys. And than he redde vpon the Byll. The Fayth and the Determinacion of holy Church, touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, is this: That, *after* the Sacramentall Wordes be ones ſpoken by a Pryeſt in hys Maſſe, the *materiall* Breade, that was before Breade, is turned into Chryſtes very Bodye. And the *materiall* Wyne, that was before Wyne is turned into Chryſtes very Bloude. And ſo there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Aulter from thens forth no materiall Bread, nor materiall Wyne, which were there before the Sacramentall Wordes were ſpoken: Sir, beleue ye not this?

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: This is not my Beleue. But my Fayth is (as I ſayd to you afore) that, in the worſhypfull Sacrament of the Aulter, is very Chryſtes Body, in Fourme of Breade.

Than ſaid the Archbiſhop, Sir *Iohan*, ye muſt ſay otherwiſe.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: Naye that I ſhall not, if God be vpon my Syde (as I truſt he is) but that there is Chryſtes Body in Fourme of Breade, as that comen * Beleue is.

Than redde the Doctor agayne.

The ſecond Poynt is this: Holy Church hath determined that euery Chryſten Man, lyuing here bodely vpon Earth, ought to be ſhryuen to a Pryeſt ordeined by the Church, if he may come to him: Sir, what ſay ye to this?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered and ſayd: A diſeaſed or ſore wounded Man had Nede to haue a ſure wyſe Chyrurgion and a true, knowing both the Ground and the Daunger of the ſame. Mooſt neceſſary were it, therfore, to be fyrſt ſhriuen vnto God, whiche only knoweth our Diſeaſes and can helpe vs. I deny not † in this the Going to a Pryeſt, if he be a Man of good Lyfe and Lerninge; for the Lawes of God are to be required of the Pryeſt, which is godly lerned. But, if he be an Ydiote or a Man of viciouſe Lyuing that is my Curate ‡, I ought rather to flee from him, than to ſeke vnto him. For ſonner might I catche Yll of him, that is nought, than any Goodneſſe towardes my Soules Helth.

Than redde the Doctour agayne.

The third Point is this: Chryſte ordeined Sainct *Peter* the Apoſtle, to be his Vicar here in Ærth, whoſe See is the Church of *Rome*. And he graunted that the ſame Power, which he gaue vnto *Peter*, ſhulde ſuccede to all *Peters* Succeſſours, which we call now Popes of *Rome*. By whoſe ſpeciall Powr in Churches partycular be ordeined Prelates, as Archbiſhops, Parſons, Curates, and other Degrees more. Unto whom Chryſten Men ought to obeye after the Lawes of the Church of *Rome*. This is the Determinacion of holy Church. Sir, beleue ye not this?

To this he anſwered and ſayd: He, that followeth *Peter* mooſt nigheſt in pure Lyuing, is next vnto him in Succeſſion: But your lordely Ordre eſtemeth not greatly the lowly Behauer of pore *Peter*, whatſoeuer ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly e for the humble Maners of them that ſucceded him tyll the Tyme of *Silueſtre* ‖, which for the more Part were Martirs, as I tolde ye afore. Ye can lett all their good Conditions go by you, and not hurt your ſelues with them at all. All the Worlde knoweth thys well inough by you, and yet ye can make Boaſt of *Peter*.

With that, one of the other Doctours axed him: Than what do ye ſay of the Pope?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered. As I ſaid before: He and you together maketh whole the great Antichryſt. Of whom he is the great Heade, you Byſſhops, Prieſtes, Prelates, and Monkes are the Body, and the begging Fryers are the Tayle, for they couuer the Filthineſſe of you both, with their ſubtyle Sophiſtrye. Neuer will I in Conſcience obey any of you all, tyll I ſee you with *Peter* follow Chryſt in Conuerſation.

Than redde the Doctour agayne.

The fourth Poynt is this. Holy Church hath determined that it is meritoriouſe to a Chryſten Manne to go on Pilgrymage to holy Places. And there ſpecially to worſhip holy Relikes and Ymages of Saincts, Apoſtles, Martirs, Confeſ-

* Al. *common.* † *Wald.* 2. ‡ Pariſh Miniſter or Prieſt.

‖ *Silveſter* I, for, as *Platina* confeſſeth, *Silveſter* II. ſold himſelf to the Devil, for his Help to gain the Popedom.

ſours,

ſours, and all other Sainctes beſydes approued by the Church of *Rome*. Sir, what ſay ye to this?

Whervnto he anſwered: I owe them no Seruice by any Commaundment of God, and therfore I minde not to ſeke them for your Couetouſnes. It were beſt ye ſwept them fayre from Cobwebs and Duſte, and ſo layed them vp for catching of Scathe; or els to bury them fayre in the Ground, as ye do other aged People whiche are Gods Ymages. It is a wonderfull Thyng, that Sainctes, now being dead, ſhuld become ſo couetuous and nedye, and thervpon ſo bytterly begge, which, al their Lyfe-time, hated all Couetouſneſſe and Begginge. But this I ſaye vnto you, and I wold all the World ſhuld marke it: That with your Shrines and Idolles, your fayned Abſolutions and Pardons, ye drawe vnto you the Subſtaunce, Welthe, and chefe Pleaſurs of all Chryſten Realmes.

Why Sir (ſaid one of the Clerkes) wyll ye not worſhip good Ymages?

What Worſhip ſhuld I geue vnto them, ſayd the Lord *Cobham*.

Than ſayde Fryer *Palmer* vnto him: Sir, ye wyll worſhy p the Croſſe of Chryſt, that he dyed vpon?

Where is it, ſayd the Lord *Cobham?*

The Fryer ſayd: I put the the Caſe, Sir, that it were here euen now before you?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered: This is a great wyſe Manne, to put me an ærneſt Queſtion of a Thyng, and yet he his ſelfe knoweth not where the Thyng itſelfe is. Yet ones again aſke I you, What Worſhip I ſhuld do vnto it?

A Clerke ſaid vnto him: Such Worſhip as *Paull* ſpeaketh * of, and that is this. God forbidde that I ſhuld ioye but onely in the Croſſe of Ieſuchriſt.

Than ſayd the Lord *Cobham:* And ſpreade his Armes abroade. This is a very Croſſe, yea, and ſo moche better than your Croſſe of Woode, in that it was created of God. Yet, will not I ſeke to haue it worſhipped.

Than ſaid the Biſhop of *London*, Sir, ye wote wel that he died on a materiall Croſſe?

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd: Yea, and I wote alſo, that our Saluacion came not in by that materiall Croſſe, but alone by him which dyed thervpon. And well I wote that holy Saint *Paull* reioyſed in none other Croſſe, but in Chryſtes Paſſion and Death onely, and in his own Sufferings of like Perſecution with him, for the ſelfe ſame Veritee, that he had ſuffred for afore.

An other Clerke yet aſked him: Wyll ye than do none Honour to the Holy Croſſe?

He anſwered him: Yes, if he were myne, I wolde lay him vp honeſtlye, and ſee vnto him, that he ſhuld take no more Scathes Abroade, nor be robbed of his Goodes as he is now a-dayes.

Than ſayd the Archbiſhop vnto him, Sir *Iohan*, ye haue ſpoken here many wonderfull Wordes to the ſlaundrous Rebuk of the whole Spiritualtee, geuing a great yll Example vnto the common Sort, here, to haue vs in the more Diſdayne. Moche Time haue we ſpent here, abought you, and al in vaine, ſo farre as I can ſee. Well, we muſt be now at this ſhort Poynt with you, for the Day paſſeth away, ye muſte eyther ſubmit your ſelfe to the Ordinaunce of Holy Church, or els throwe your ſelfe (no Remedy) into mooſt depe Daunger. See to it, in Tyme, for anon it will be els to late.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid: I know not to what Purpoſe I ſhulde otherwiſe ſubmitte me. Moch more haue you offended me, than euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before thys Multitude.

Than ſayd the Archbiſhop agayne unto him: We ones again require you to remembre your ſelfe wel, and to haue none other Opinion in theſe Maters, than the vniuerſall Fayth and Beleue of the Holy Church of *Rome* is. And ſo lyke an obedient Child to returne again to the Vnitee of your Mother. See to it, I ſay, in Tyme, for yet ye may have Remedy, where as anon it will be to late.

The Lord *Cobham* ſayd expreſſely before them all: I will none otherwiſe beleue in theſe Poyntes, than I have tolde ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally, than the Archsbiſhop ſayd: Wel than I ſee none other, but we muſt nedes do the Lawe; we muſt procede forth to the Sentence diffinitiue, and both iudge ye and condempne ye for an Heretike.

And wyth that the Archbyſhoppe ſtode up, and redde there a Byll of his Condempnacion all the Clergye and Laytee avaylyng † their Bonnettes. And this was therof the Tenour.

* *Gal.* vi.

† Pulling off.

The

The diffinitive Sentence of his Condempnacion.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Nos Thomas permiſſione diuina Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ Archiepiſcopus, Metropolitanus, totius Anglie primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus*, and ſo forth, *in barbarous Latin*, which we haue here tranſlated into *Ingliſh* for a more playne Vnderſtanding to the Reader:

In the Name of God. So be it. We *Thomas* by the Sufferaufhce of God, Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, Metropolitane, and Primate of all *Ingland*, and Legate from the Apoſtolyke Seate of *Rome*, wylleth this to be knowen vnto all Men. In a certein Cauſe of Hereſy, and vpon diuerſe Articles, wherevpon Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtle*, Knight and Lord *Cobham*, after a diligent Inquiſition made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed, and preſented before vs in our laſt Convocation of all our Province of *Caunterbury*, holden in the Cathedrall Churche of *Paules* at *London*. At the laufull Denouncement and Requeſt of our vniuerſall Clergye in the ſeid Conuocation, we proceded againſt him, accordinge to the Lawe (God to witneſs) with all the Fauer poſſible; and, following Chryſtes Example in all that we might, which wylleth not the Death of a Synner, but rather that he be conuerted and lyve †, we toke vpon vs to correct him, and ſought all other Ways poſſible to bring him agayne to the Churches Vnytee, declaringe vnto him what the holye and vniuerſall Church of *Rome* hath ſayd, holden, determined, and taught in that Behalfe And though we found him, in the Catholike Faith, farre wyde and ſo ſtifnecked, that he wold not confeſſe his Erroure, nor pourge himſelf, nor yet repent him therof. We, yet pyteing him of fatherly Compaſſion, and intierlye deſyrynge the Helthe of his Sowl, appoynted him a competent Tyme of Delyberacion, to ſee if he wold repent, and ſeke to be reformed. And ſens we haue found him worſe and worſe, conſidering therfore, that he is incorrygible, we are driuen to the very Extremitee of the Lawe, and, with great Heuynes of Hart, we nowe procede to the Publicacyon of the Sentence diffinityue againſt him.

Than brought he forth an other Byll conteyning the ſayd Sentence, and that he redde alſo in his bauger ‡ *Latyne* ‖.

Chriſti nomine inuocato, ipſumq; ſolum pre oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitati, and ſo forth; whiche, I have alſo tranſlated into *Englyſh* that Men may vnderſtand it:

Chryſt we take vnto Witneſs, that nothing els we ſeke in this our whole Enterpryſe, but his onely Glory. For as much as we have found by dyuerſe Actes done, brought forth, and exibited, by ſundry Euidences, Sygnes and Tokens, and alſo by many mooſt manifeſt Proues, the ſeid Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, Knight and Lord *Cobham*, not only an euident Heretyke in hys owne Parſonne, but alſo a mighty Mainteyner of other Heretikes againſt the Fayth and Relygion of the holy and univerſall Church of *Rome*, namely about the two Sacramentes of the Aulter, and of Penaunce, beſides the Popes Power and Pylgrymages. And that he, as the Chyld of Iniquitee and Darkenes, hath ſo hardened his Hart, that he will in no Caſe attend vnto the Voice of his Paſtour. Neyther wyll he be alured by ſtrayght Admoniſhments, nor yet be brought in by fauourable Wordes. The Worthenes of the Cauſe firſt wayde on the one Side, and his Vnworthynes agayn conſidered on the other Side, his Fautes alſo aggravated, or made double through his damnable Obſtinacy. We being loth that he which is nought ſhould be worſe, and ſo with his Contagiouſnes infect the Multitude. By the ſage Councell and Aſſent of the very diſcret Fathers our honorable Brethren, and Lordes Biſhops, here preſent, *Rychard* of *London*, *Henry* of *Wyncheſter*, and *Benet* of *Bangor*, and of other great lerned and wyſe Men here, both Doctours of Diuinitee, and of the Lawes Canon and Ciuyle, Seculars and Religious, with dyuerſe other expert Men aſſiſting vs, we ſentencyally and dyffinitiuely, by thys preſent Writing, iudge, declare, and condempne the ſeid Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, Knight and Lord *Cobham*, for a moſt pernicious and deteſtable Heretike, conuycted vpon the ſame, and refuſing vtterly to obey the Churche againe, commyttyng hym here from hensforth as a condempned Heretike to the ſecular Iuriſdiction, Power, and Iudgement, to do him thervpon to Death. Furthermore we excommu-

* Ex magno Proceſſu *Thome Arundeli*. † *Exec.* xviii. ib. xxxiii. ‡ Barbarous. ‖ Ex magno Proceſſu *Thome Arundeli*.

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nicate and denounce accurſed not only this Heretike, here preſent, but ſo many els beſydes as ſhall hereafter in Fauer of his Errour eyther receive him, or defend him, counſell him, or help him, or any other Way maintein him, as very Fauters, Receiuers, Defenders, Councelers, Ayders, and Maynteyners of condempned Heretikes.

And, that theſe Premyſſes maye be the better knowen to all faythfull Chryſten Men, we commit yt here vnto your Charges, and geve you ſtrayghte Commaundement thervpon by thys Wryttyng alſo, that ye cauſe this Condempnacion and diffinityue Sentence of Excommunycacyon, concerning both thys Heretyke, and hys Fawters, to be publyſhed throughoute all Dyoceſes, in Cytyes, Townes, and Vyllages, by your Curates and Paryſh Prieſts, ſuch Time as they ſhall haue moſt Recourſe of People. And ſee that it be done after this Sort: As the People are thus gathered deuoutlye together, lett the Curate euery where go into the Pulpet, and there open, declare, and expounde thys Proceſſe in the Mother Tonge, in an audyble and intelligyble Voice, that yt maye well be perſeiued of all Men, and that, vpon the Fear of this Declaracion alſo, the People maye fall from their yll Opinions conceiued now of late by ſedicioufe Preachers.

Moreouer we will that after we haue deliuered vnto yche one of you Biſhoppes (which are here preſent) a Copye herof, that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out again, into dyuers Copyes, and ſo to be ſent vnto the other Biſhops and Prelates of our whole Province, that they may alſo ſee the Contentes thereof ſolempnely publiſhed within theyr Dioceſes and Cures. Finally, we wyll that both you and they ſignifye again vnto vs ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your Wryttinges, as the Mater is without fayned Colour in euery Point perfourmed, the Daye whervpon ye receyued thys Proceſſe, the Tyme whan it was of you executed, and after what Sort it was done in euerye Condicion, according to the Tenour herof, that we may knowe it to be iuſtly the ſame.

A Copye of thys Writynge ſent *Thomas Arundell*, the Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury* *, afterwarde from *Maydeſton* the tenth Daye of *October*, within the ſame Year of our Lord, M. cccc. and. xiij. vnto *Rychard Clifford*, the Biſhop of *London*, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permiſſione diuina.* &c.

The ſayde *Rychard Clyfforde* ſent an other Copye thereof, incloſed within hys own Letters, vnto *Robert Maſcall*, a *Carmelyte* Fryer, which was than Biſhop of *Herforde* in *Walis* †, written from *Hadham* the xxiij. Day of *October*, in the ſame Yere, and the Beginning thereof is this: *Reuerende in Chriſto pater.* &c.

The ſaid *Robert Maſcall* directed another Copye therof from *London* the. xxvij. Day of *Novembre* in the ſame Yere, incloſed in his own Commiſſion alſo, vnto his Archdeacons and Deanes in *Herforde* and *Shreweſbury*. And this is therof the Beginning, *Uenerabilibus & diſcretis viris.* & cet.

In like Maner did the other Biſhops within their Dioceſes.

After that the Archbiſhop had thus red the Byll of his Comdempnacion, with moſt Extremitee, before the whole Multitude; the Lord *Cobham* ſayd with a mooſt cherefull Countenaunce ‡: Though ye judge my Body which is but a wretched Thing, yet am I certein and ſure, that ye can do no Harme to my Soul ‖, no more than could Sathan vpon the Soule of *Job* §. He, that created that, wyll of his infinite Mercy and Promes, ſaue it, I have therin no Maner of Doubt. And, as concerning theſe Artycles before reherſed, I wyll ſtande to them, euen to the very Death, by the Grace of my eternall God.

And therwith he turned him vnto the People, caſting hys Handes abroade, and ſaying with a very loude Voice, Good Chryſten People, for Gods Love, be wel ware of theſe Men; for they will els begyle you, and leade you blindelynge into Hell with themſelues. For Chryſt ſayth plainly ** vnto you, *If one blind leadeth another, they are lyke both to fall into the Dytche.*

After thys, he fell downe there vpon his Knees, and thus, before them all, prayed for his Ennemies, holding vp both his Handes and his Eyes towards Heauen, and ſaying, Lord God eternall, I beſeche the, for thy great Mercies Sake, to forgeue my Perſuers, if it be thy bleſſed Wyll. And than he was delyuer-

* *Thomas Waldin*, in Faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuii. † *Wales.* ‡ Ex vtroq; Exemplari.
‖ *Math.* x. § *Job* i. ** *Math.* xv.

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ed to Sir *Robert Morleye*, and ſo ledde forth agayne to the *Tower* of *London*. And thus there was an Ende of that Dayes Worke.

Whyle the Lord *Cobham* was thus in the *Tower*, he ſent out priuily * vnto his Fryendes. And they, at his Deſyre, wrote this lytle Byll here following, cauſing it to be ſet vp in diuerſe Quarters of *London*, that the People ſhulde not beleue the Slaundres and Lyes that his Ennemies, the Biſhopes Seruaunts, and Pryeſtes, had made on him Abroade. And this was the Letter:

FOraſmuch as Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, Knight and Lord *Cobham*, is vntruly conuicted and impryſoned, falſely reported and ſlaundred among the comen People by his Aduerſaryes, that he ſhuld otherwiſe both fele and ſpeake of the Sacramentes of the Church, and ſpecially of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, than was written in the Confeſſyon of his Beleue, which was indented and taken to the Clergye, and ſo ſet vp in diuerſe open Places in the Citee of *London*. Knowen be it here to all the World, that he neuer ſens uaryed in any Poynt therfrom; but this is playnely his Beleue, that all the Sacramentes of the Church be proffytable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall be ſaued, taking them after the Intent that Chryſt and his true Churche hath ordayned. Furthermore, he beſeueth, that, in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, is verely and truly Chryſtes Body, in Fourme of Breade.

After thys, the Biſhops and Pryeſtes were in moche Obloquie, both of the Nobilitee and Comens, partely for that they had ſo cruelly handeled the good Lord *Cobham*, and partely agayne, bycauſe hys Opinion (as they thought at that Tyme) was perfyght concerning the Sacrament. As they feared thys to growe to further Inconuenience towardes them both Wayes, they drew their Heades together, and, at the laſt, conſented to vſe another Practiſe ſomwhat contrary to that they had done afore. •

They cauſed it by and by to be blowne Abroade by their feed Seruaunts, Fryendes, and babeling Sir *Iohnes* †, that the ſayde Lord *Cobham* was becomen a good Man, and had lawlye ſubmitted himſelfe in all Things vnto holy Church, vtterly chaunging his Opinion concerning the Sacrament. And, therevpon, they contrefayted ‡ an Abiuracion, in his Name, that the People ſhuld take no Hold of that Opinion, by any Thing they had hearde of him before, and to ſtande ſo in the more Awe of them, conſidering him ſo great a Manne, and by them ſubdued.

This is the Abiuracion (ſay they) of Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, Knight, ſomtime the Lord *Cobham*.

An Abiuracion ‖ *counterfayted of the Biſſhoppes.*

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I, *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, denounced, detected, and conuycted of, and vpon, diuerſe Artycles, ſauering both Hereſy and Errour, before the reuerend Father in Chryſt, and my good Lord, *Thomas*, by the Permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, and my lauful and rightful Iudge in that Behalfe, expreſſely graunt and confeſſe: That, as concerning the Eſtate and Power of the mooſt holy Father, the Pope of *Rome*, of his Archbiſhops, his Biſhops, and his other Prelates, the Degrees of the Church, and the holy Sacramentes of the ſame, ſpecyally of the Sacramentes of the Aulter, and of Penaunce, and other Obſeruaunces, beſides, of our Mother holy Church, as Pilgrymages and Pardons; I affyrme (I ſay) before the ſaid reuerend Father Archbiſhop, and els wher, that I, being yll ſeduced by diuerſe ſedicioufe Preachers, haue greuouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly anſwered, and obſtinatlye rebelled. And, therfore, I am by the ſayd reuerend Father, before the reuerend Fathers in Chryſt alſo, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſtre*, and *Bangor*, lawfullye condemned for an Heretyke.

Neuertheleſſe yet, I now remembering myſelfe, and coueting, by this Meane, to auoide that temporall Payne, whiche I am worthy to ſuffer as an Heretike, at the Aſſignacion of my mooſt excellent Chryſten Prince and Liege Lord, Kyng *Henry the Fift*, nowe, by the Grace of God, mooſt worthye Kyng both of *Englande* and of *Fraunce*, minding alſo to preferre the wholſom Determynacyon, Sen-

* Ex vetuſto Exemplari *Londinenſium*. † Sir *Johns* was a general Name for the Prieſts in thoſe Days.
‡ al. *Counterfeited*. ‖ *Waldn* in Faſciculo Zizaniorum *Wicleuii*.

tence, and Doctryne of the holy and vniverſall Church of *Rome*, before the vnwholſom Opinions of myſelfe, my Teachers, and my Followers: I frely, willyngly, deliberately, and throughly, confeſs, graunt, and affyrme the moſt holye Fathers in Chryſt, Sainct *Peter* the Apoſtle, and his Succeſſours, Biſhoppes of *Rome*, ſpeciallye nowe at thys Tyme, my mooſt bleſſed Lorde Pope *Iohan*, by the Permyſſyon of GOD, the xxiij. POPE of that Name, which nowe holdeth *Peters* Seate (and yche of them in their Succeſſion) in full Strength and Power to be Chryſtes Vycar in Ærth, and the Heade of the Church Milytaunt. And that, by the Strength of hys Office (what, though he be a great Syner, and afore knowen of God to be damned) he hath full Auctoritee and Power to rule and gouern, bind and loſe, ſaue and deſtroy, accurſe and aſſoyle, all other Chryſten Men.

And, agreably ſtyl vnto thys, I confeſſe, graunt, and affyrme, all other Archbiſhoppes, Bysſhoppes, and Prelates, in their Provinces, Dyoceſes, and Parriſhes (appointed by the ſeid Pope of *Rome* to aſſyſt him in his Doinges or Buſineſs) by his Decrees, Canons, or Vertue of his Offyce, to haue had in Tymes paſt, to haue nowe at this Tyme, and that they ought to haue in Tyme to come, Auctoritee and Power to rule and to gouerne, bind and loſe, accurſe and aſſoyle the Subiectes or Peoples of theyr aforſeid Prouinces, Dioceſes, and Parriſhes; and that theyr ſayd Subiectes or Peoples ought of Right, in all Thynges, to obey them. Furthermore, I confeſſe, graunt, and affyrme, that the ſayde ſpyrytuall Fathers, as our mooſt holy Father the Pope, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, Auctoritee and Power for the Eſtate, Ordre, and Gouuernnaunce of theyr Subiectes or Peoples, to make Lawes, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitucions, yea, and to publyſh, commaunde, and compell theyr ſaid Subiectes, and Peoples, to the Obſeruation of them.

Morouer, I confeſſe, graunt, and affyrme, that all theſe forſayd Lawes, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitucions, made, publyſhed, and commaunded, accordynge to the Fourme of ſpirituall Lawe, all Chryſten People, and euery Man in himſelfe, is ſtraightly bound to obſerue, and mekelye to obeye, accordynge to the Diuerſitee of the forſayde Powers. As the Lawes, Statutes, Canons, and Conſtitucions of our mooſt holy Father the Pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementynes, Codes, Chartes, Reſcryptes, Sextyles, and Extrauagantes, the World all ouer. And, as the prouinciall Statutes of Archbiſhoppes in their Prouinces, the ſynodall Actes of Biſſhoppes in theyr Dioceſes, and the commendable Rules and Cuſtomes of Prelates in their Colleges, and Curates in their Parriſhes, all Chryſten People are both bound to obſerue, and alſo mooſt mekely to obeye. Ouer and beſides all this, I, *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, utterly forſakinge and renouncynge all the aforeſayd Errours and Hereſyes, and all other Errours and Hereſyes lyke unto them, lay my Hande here vpon this Boke, or holy Euangelye of God, and ſweare, that I ſhall neuermore, from henſforth, hold theſe forſaid Hereſyes, nor yet any other lyke vnto them wetingly. Neyther ſhall I geue Counſell, Ayde, Helpe, nor Fauer, at any Time, to them that ſhall holde, teache, affyrme, or mainteine the ſame, as God ſhall helpe me, and theſe holy Euangelyes.

And, that I ſhall from hensforth faithfully obeye, and inuiolably obſerue all the holy Lawes, Statutes, Canons, and Conſtitucions, of all the Popes of *Rome*, Archbiſhops, Biſſhops and Prelates, as are contayned and determined in theyr holye Decrees, Decretals, Clementynes, Codes, Chartes, Reſcryptes, Sextyles, Summes Papall, Extrauagantes, Statutes prouincyall, Actes ſynodal, and other ordinary Rules and Cuſtomes conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chaunce hereafter dyrectly to be determined or made. To theſe, and all ſuch other, wyll I, myſelfe, with all Power poſſible applye. Beſydes all this, the Penaunce which it ſhall pleaſe my ſaid reuerend Father, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury*, hereafter, to enioyne me for my Synnes, I will mekely obeye, and faithfully fulfyll. Finally, al my Seducers, and falſe Teachers, and all other beſydes, whom I ſhall hereafter knowe, ſuſpected of Hereſye or Errours, I ſhall effectuallye preſent, or cauſe to be preſented, vnto my ſayd reuerend Father, Lord Archbiſhop, or to them which hath his Auctoritee, ſo ſone as I can conueniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected, to my vttermooſt Power. *Amen.*

The

The cruell Complaint of the Clergye and tyrannouſe Acte therevpon made.

NEUER came this Abiuracion to the Handes of the Lord *Cobham*, neyther was it compyled of them for that Purpoſe, but onely therwyth to bleare the Eyes of the vnlerned Multitude. And whan they perceyued that Polycye would not helpe, but made more and more agaynſt them, than ſought they out another falſe Practyſe. They went unto the Kyng * with a moſt greuouſe Complaint, like as they did afore in his Fathers Tyme, that, in euery Quarter of the Realme, by reaſon of *Wicleues* Opinions, and the ſaid Lord *Cobham*, were wonderfull Contentions, Rumours, Tumultes, Vproars, Confederations, Diſſencions, Diuiſions, Differences Diſcordes, Harmes, Slaunders, Sciſmes, Sectes, Sedicions, Perturbacions, Parrels, unlaufull Aſſemblyes, Variaunces, Striſes, Fyghtinges, rebelliouſe Ruffelinges, and dayly Inſurrections. The Church (they ſaid) was hated: The Dioceſanes were not obeyed: The Ordinaries were not regarded: The ſpirituall Offycers, as Suffraganes, Archdeacons, Chauncelers, Doctours, Commiſſaries, Offycials, Deanes, Lawyers, Scribes, and Sommeners were euery where deſpyſed: The Lawes and Liberties of holy Church were troden undre Fote: The Chryſten Fayth was ruynouſlye decayed: Gods Seruice was laught to Scorne: the ſpirituall Iuriſdiction, Auctoritee, Honour, Power, Polycye, Lawes, Rytes, Ceremonies, Curſes, Keyes, Cenſures and Canonicall Sanctions of the Church were had in an uttre Contempt.

So that all, in a Maner, was come to nought.

And the Cauſe of this was, that the Heretikes and *Lolars* † of *Wicleues* Opinion were ſuffered to preach Abrode, ſo boldly to gether Conuenticles unto them, to kepe Scoles in Mens Houſes, to make Bokes, compyle Treatiſes, and wryte Ballets; to teach privately in Angles and Corners, as in Wodes, Feldes, Medowes, Paſtours, Groues, and in Caues of the Ground. This wolde be (they ſayd) a Deſtruction to the Commen-welth, a Subvercion to the Land, and an uttre Decay of the Kynges Eſtate Royall, if Remedy were not ſought in Tyme. And this was their Polycye to couple the Kynges Auctoritee, wyth that they had done in theyr former Councell of Craft, and ſo to make it thereby the ſtronger. For they perceiued themſelues very farre to weake els, to followe againſt their Ennemies, that they had ſo largely enterpriſed. Upon this Complaint, the Kynge immediately called a Parliament at *Leicheſtre*. It might not in thoſe Daies be holden at *Weſtminſtre*, for the great Fauer that the Lord *Cobham* had both in *London*, and about the Cytee, yet were they deceiued. That, they doubted mooſt, lighted there ſooneſt upon them.

A Byll was put in there agayne ‡, by the Commons, againſt their continuall Waſting of the Temporalties, lyke as it had bene twiſe afore by Procurement of the ſeid Lord *Cobham* ‖ both in the Daies of Kyng *Rychard the Second*, *Anno* 1395, and alſo of Kyng *Henry* the IIII. *Anno Domini* 1410, wherupon was growne all this Malice afore ſpecified, but this was than workemanly defeated by another proper Practyſe of theyrs.

They put the Kyng in Remembraunce to claim his Right in *Fraunce*, and graunted him thervnto a Dime, with other great Subſidy of Mony. Thus were Chryſtes People betrayed euery Way, and their Liues bought and ſold by theſe moſt cruell Theves. For in the ſayd Parliament the Kyng made this moſt blaſphemouſe and cruell Acte, to be as a Lawe for euer §: That whatſoever they were, that ſhuld read the Scryptures in the Mother Tongue (which was than called *Wicleues* Lerning) they ſhuld forfet Land, Catel, Body, Lyf, and Godes from theyr Heyrs for ever, and ſo be condempned for Heretykes to God, Ennemies to the Crowne, and moſt errand Trayters to the Land **.

Beſides this, it was inacted, that neuer a Sanctuary, nor priviledged Grounde, within the Realme ſhuld holde them, though they were ſtyll permitted both to Theues and Murtherers. And if in Caſe they wold not gyue

* Ex Statuto Parliamenti Regis, *Hen.* V. † Abettors, Defenders, and Publiſhers. ‡ *Robertus Falianus* in Chronicis. ‖ *Walden* in Faſciculo, *Fabianus* in Chronicis. § *Walden* ad *Martinum* Papam lib. ii. cap. 40. & in Synodo *Polidorus*. ** It was nevertheleſs enacted in this Parliament, That a general Pardon ſhould for the preſent be granted to all *Lollards*, excepting Sir *John Oldcaſtel*, and ſome others therein mentioned. *Clauſ.* 2. *Hen.* V. *m.* 24.

ouer, or were after their Pardon relapſed, they ſhuld ſuffer Death in two Maner of Kindes. That is, they ſhuld fyrſt be hanged for Treaſon agaynſt the Kyng, and than be burned for Hereſy agaynſt God: And yet neither of both committed.

The Beginning of that Act is this:

Pro eo quod magni rumores, &c. Anon after, was it proclaymed throughout the Realme, and than had the Biſhoppes, Pryeſts, Monkes, and Fryers a Worlde ſomwhat to theyr Mindes. For than were many taken in diuerſe Quarters, and ſuffred mooſt cruell Death *. And many fled out of the Lande into *Germany*, *Bohem*, *Fraunce*, *Spain*, *Portingale*, and into the Weld of *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Yreland*, working there many Maruels agaynſt their falſe Kyngdome to long to wryte. In the *Chriſtmas* followinge was Sir *Roger Acton*, Knight, Maſter *Iohan Browne*, Eſquire, Sir *Iohan Beuerlay*, a lerned Preacher, and dyuerſe other more attached for Quareling with certeine Pryeſtes, and ſo impriſoned †. For all Men at that Tyme could not paciently ſuffer theyr blaſphemouſe Bragges.

The Complaint was made vnto the Kyng of them, that they had made a great Aſſemble in Sainct *Gyles-Felde* at *London*, purpoſing the Deſtruction of the Land, and the Subuercyon of the Common-welth. As the Kyng was thus infourmed, he erected a Banner (ſaith *Walden* ‡) with a Croſſe thereupon, as the *Pope* doth commonly by his Legates, whan he pretendeth to warre agaynſt the *Turke*, and with great Nombre of Men entred the ſame Felde, where as he found no ſuch Company. Yet was the Complaint iudged true, bycauſe the Biſhoppes had ſpoken it, at the Informacion of their Pryeſtes. All this hath *Thomas Walden* in diuerſe of his Workes, which was at the ſame Tyme a *Whight* or *Carmelyte* Fryer, and the Kinges Confeſſour; and partely it is touched both by *Robert Fabian*, and by *Polidorus Virgilius*, in theyr *Ingliſh* Chronycles, but not in all Poyntes rightly, as is to be ſeane in the Preface afore. In the meane Seaſon, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, eſcaped out of the *Tower* of *London* in the Night ‖, and ſo fledde into *Wales*, where as he continued more than iiii. Yeres after §.

Some Wryters haue thought this Eſcape to come by the ſayd Sir *Roger Acton*, and other Gentylmen, in Diſpleaſure of the Pryeſtes, and that to be the chefe Occaſion of their Deathes, whiche might well be; but *Walden* doth not ſo vtter it, whiche reigned the ſelfe ſame Tyme. In *January* next following **, was the afore-named Sir *Roger Acton*, Maſter *Iohan Browne*, Sir *Iohan Beuerley*, and Thirty-ſix more (of whom the more Part were Gentylmen of Byrthe) conuicted of Hereſy by the Biſhops, and condempned of Treaſon by the Temporalitie, and accordyng to the Acte were fyrſt hanged, and than brent in the ſayd Saint *Gyles-Felde*. In the ſame Yeare ††, alſo was one *Iohan Claydon*, a Skynner, and one *Rychard Turmin*, a Baker, both hanged and brent in *Smythfelde*, by that vertuous Act, beſydes that was done in al other Quarters of *Ingland*; whiche was no ſmall Nombre, if it were nowe throughly knowen.

The latter Impriſoning and Death of the Lord Cobham.

IN the Yere of our Lorde a. M. cccc. and xv ‡‡, dyed *Thomas Arundell*, which had bene Archbiſhop of *Caunterbury* more than xxxii. Yeres, to the great Deſtruction of Chryſten Beleue. Yet dyed not his prodigiouſe Tyrannye wyth hym, but ſucceeded with his Office in *Henry Chicheley*, and in a great Sort more of the ſpyghtfull Spiritualtee. For their Malyce was not yet ſatled agaynſt the good Lord *Cobham*. But they confedered with the Lord *Powys* (whiche was at that Tyme a great Gouuernour in *Wales*), feding him with lordely Giftes and Promiſes to accomplyſh theyr Deſyre. He at the laſt, thus monied with *Iudas* ‖‖, and outwardly pretending him great Amitie and Fauer, mooſt cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him, and in Concluſion ſo ſent him up to

* *Walden* ad *Martinum* Papam, lib. i. cap. 50. De Sacramentalibus, cap. 53. † *Walden*, *Fabianus*, *Io. Maior*, *Polidorus*. ‡ *Walden* ad *Martinum* & in Prologo de Sacramentis. ‖ About 28 *October* 1413, and on 10 *January* following a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Lord Mayor of *London*, for Apprehending him, &c. And, at the ſame Time, he was indicted for Treaſon, and in *Hilary* Term he was out-lawed for Treaſon. § *Fabianus*, *Polidorus*, in Chronicis. ** *Iohan Maior*, Lib. vi. cap. 9. Hiſtorie *Scotorum*. †† *Robertus Fabianus*, in Chronicis. ‡‡ According to the *Canterbury* Regiſter, it ſhould be 1413. And according to *Walſingham*, p. 386, and *Goodwin*'s *Hen.* V. p. 33, he died 20 *Feb.* 1414. ‖‖ *Math.* xxvi.

London,

London, where as he remayned a Moneth or two impryſoned again in the *Tower*. And after long Proceſſe they condempned him agayne of Hereſy and Treaſon, by Force of the aforenamed Acte; he rendering Thanks vnto God that he had ſo appointed him to ſuffre for his Names-ſake.

And, vpon the Daye appointed, he was brought out of the *Tower*, with hys Armes bound behynd him, hauing a very chereful Countenaunce. Than was he layd vpon an Hardle, as though he had bene a mooſt haynouſe Traitoure to the Crowne, and ſo drawne forth into Sainct *Giles-Felde*, where as they had ſet vp a newe Paire of Galowes. As he was comen to the Place of Execution, and was taken from the Hardle, he fell down deuoughtly vpon his Knees, deſyringe Almighty God to forgeue hys Ennemies. Than ſtode he vp, and beheld the Multitude, exhorting them, in mooſt godly Maner, to followe the Lawes of God, written in the Scryptures, and in any wyſe to beware of ſuch Teachers, as they ſee contrary to Chryſt in their Conuerſacion and Lyuing, wyth many other ſpeciall Councels. Than was he hanged vp there by the Middle in Chaynes of Yron, and ſo conſumed alyue in the Fyre, prayſing the Name of God ſo long as his Lyfe laſted. In the Ende, he commended his Sowle into the Handes of God, and ſo departed hens moſt Chryſtenly, his Body reſolued into Aſhes.

And this was done in the Yere of our Lord a. M. cccc. and xviij. which was the ſixt Yere of the Reygne of Kyng *Henry the Fift*, the People there preſent ſhewyng great Dolour. How the Pryeſtes that Tyme fared, blaſphemed, and curſed, requiring the People not to praye for hym, but to iudge hym dampned in Hell, for that he departed not in the Obedience of their Pope, it were to long to wryte. This terrrible Kinde of Death, with Galowes, Chaynes, and Fyre, appeareth not very precioufe in the Eyes of Men, that be carnall, no more than did the Death of Chryſt, whan he was hanged vp among Theues *. *The Rightuouſe ſemeth to dye* (ſayth the Wiſe Man †) *in the Sygbt of them whiche are vnwiſe, and their Ende is taken for very Deſtruction. Vngodly Foles thinketh theyr Lyues very Madnes, and theyr Paſſage hens without al Honour. But thogh they ſuffre Pain before Men* (ſayth he ‡) *yet is theyr Expectacion full of Immortalitee. They are accounted for the Chyldren of God, and haue their iuſt Portion among the Saincties. As Golde in the Furnace doth God trye his Electe, and as a moſt pleaſaunte brent Offering receiueth he them to Reſt* ‖. *The more harde the Paſſage be, the more gloryouſe ſhall they appeare in the latter Reſurreccion. Not that the Affliccions of this Lyfe are worthye of ſuch a Glory, but that it is Gods heauenly Pleaſure ſo to reward them* §. *Neuer are the Iudgementes and Wayes of Men lyke vnto the Iudgementes and Wayes of God, but contrary euermore, vnles they be taught of him* **. *In the later Tyme (ſayth the Lorde* vnto *Daniell) ſhall many be choſen, proued, and purified by Fyre; yet ſhall the Vngodly lyue wickedly ſtyll, and haue no Vnderſtanding, that is, of Faith.* By an Angell from Heauen was *Iohan* †† erneſtly commaunded to wryte, that *Bleſſed are the Dead, which hens departeth in the Lord.* Right *dere* (ſayth *Dauid* ‡‡) *in the Sygbt of God is the Death of his true Seruauntes.* Thus reſteth this valeaunt Chryſten Knight, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, vnder the Aulter of God (which is Ieſus Chryſt) among that godly Company, which, in the Kyngdome of Pacience, *ſuffred great Tribulacion, with the Death of their Bodies, for his faithfull Worde and Teſtimony; abiding there with them the Fullfylling of theyr whole Nombre, and the full Reſtauracion of his Electes* |||. The whiche he graunt in Effect, at this Tyme appointed, whiche is one God eternall. *Amen.*

The Concluſion.

BEſydes the Cauſes reherſed afore in the Preface, concerning the dreadful Death of thys mooſt Chryſten Knight, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, this is alſo rekened for one: In the Ende of the fyrſt Boke, which he put vp into the Parliament-houſe, agaynſt the Abuſions of the Clergye, in the Yere of our Lord, a. M.ccc.xcv. (which was alſo the xviij. Yere of King *Richard the Second*) were theſe vi. Verſes written, as a brefe Concluſion ſommary of the vniuerſall Contents therof.

* *Iohan* xix. † *Wiſd.* iii. ‡ Chap. v. ‖ Chap. iii. § *Heb.* xi. *Rom.* viij. ** *Eſayas* lv. *Hier.* xxxij. *Dan.* xij. †† *Apoc.* xiiij. ‡‡ *Pſalm* cxv. ||| *Apoc.* vi. i. vij. xx.

Plangunt

Plangunt Anglorum Gentes Crimen Sodomorum.
Paulus fert, horum ſunt Idola cauſa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati, Giezite Symone nati,
Nomine Prelati, hoc defenſare parati.
Qui Reges eſtis, populis quicunque preeſtis,
Qualiter his Geſtis Gladios prohibere poteſtis?

Though the Verſes be groſſe and vnperfight, according to the Time than, wherin all freſh Lyterature was clerelye extinguiſhed, yet is the Sentence of them lyvely, and of a freſh faithfull Spyrite, euen in the Zeale of *Helias* and *Phinees*, for Rebuke of Synne: And thus are they in the *Ingliſhe*:

Bewayle maye Inglande *the Synne of* Sodomites:
For Idolles and they are Grounde of all theyr Wo.
Of Symon Magus *a Secte of Ypocrites,*
Surnamed Prelates, are vp wyth them to go:
And, to vpholde them in all that they may do.
You that be Rulers, peculyarly ſelected,
How can ye ſuffre ſuch Miſcheues to go vncorrected?

Whan this Boke wolde not helpe towardes any Reformacion, but was laught to Scorne of the Biſhoppes, than were theſe Verſes copyed out by dyuerſe Menne, and ſet upon their Wyndows, Gates, and Dores, which were than knowen for obſtinate Ypocrites and fleſhly Lyuers; which made the Prelates madde. And thys is the great Inſurrectyon, that *Walden* complaineth of, vnto Pope *Marten the Fyft*; and after him, *Polydorus*, the Popes Collectour, with other Papiſtes more, wherin neuer a one Manne was hurt. I wolde maruell moche more of the Doublenes of *Thomas Walden*, beyng than the Kynges Confeſſour, if I did not know the vnſhamefaſt Nature of that lyeng Generation. In his fyrſt Epiſtel * vnto Pope *Martine*, and in the fyrſt Preface of hys fourth Boke *contra Wicleuiſtas*, he ſayth, that Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, with a greate Nombre of Heretikes, conſpyred againſt Kyng *Henry the Fyft*, in the fyrſt Yeare of his Reigne; and that he offered him, for euery Monke, Chanon, Fryer, and Popiſh Pryeſtes Head, within his Realme, a Gold Noble. And, cleane contrary vnto thys, he teſtifieth, in his Boke, called, *Faſciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij*, that he was, the ſelfe ſame Tyme, Yeare, Moneth, Weke, and Daye, a Priſoner within the *Tower* of *London*. How well theſe two Writtinges agre, I report me.

But thus comenly are innocent Men lyed vpon among theſe blaſphemouſe Bellygods. But he, that is eſſentially true of himſelf, hath promiſed †, at one Tyme or other, to clere his true Seruaunt, not by Lyes and Fables, but by his own pure Worde: *No Secret*, ſaith he ‡, *is ſo cloſe, but ones ſhall be opened; neyther is any Thyng ſo hidde, that ſhall not at the laſt be knowne clerely.* Thus hath Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* a triumphaunt Victory ouer his Ennemies by the Veritee, which he defended, all contrary to the blinde Worldes Expectacion; and they haue a fowle Ouerthrowe, being proued manyfeſt Murtherers, blind Beaſtes, Ypocrites, and Lyers, by the ſame. Such a ſwete Lord is God alwayes to thoſe that be his true Seruauntes, bleſſed be his holy Name therfore. Conferre the Cauſes of this godlye Mans Deathe with the Poyntes that *Thomas Becket* dyed for, and other Popiſh Martirs beſides, and ye ſhall fynd them farre different and vnlyke. *Thomas Becket* was ſlayne ‖ at *Caunterbury*, in his Prelates Aparell, in the Heade Churche, before the hygh Aulter, amonge religiouſe Monkes and Pryeſtes and in the holy Tyme of *Chryſtmas*, by his owne Seking; and all this is gloriouſe vnto worldly Iudgmentes. Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* was brent in Chaynes §, at *London*, in Saint *Giles-Felde*, vnder the Galowes, amonge the Laye People, and vpon the prophane Workyng Daye, at the Bysſhoppes Procurement. And all this is vnglorious, yea and very deſpiſeable vnto thoſe worldelye Eyes. What though Ieſus Chryſt his Maſter, afore hym, were handeled after a lyke Sorte? For he ** was crucified at *Hieruſalem*, without the Citee, and without the holy Synagoge, accurſed out of Churche, amonge the prophane Multitude, in the Middeſt of Theues, in the Place where as Theues and Murtherers were commonly hanged, and not vpon the feaſtful Day, but afore it, by the Bisſhoppes Procurement alſo. Now let vs conſider the Cauſes of both theyr Deathes, and try them both by the manifeſt Scryptures of the Goſpel, whiche of them

* Ad *Martinum* Papam. Et in Prefatione iv. Lib. contra *Wicleuiſtas*. † *Iohan* viij. ‡ *Matth.* x. *Luke* xij. ‖ *Stephanus Langton* in Vita *Thome*, lib. i. cap. 20. § *Walden*, *Io. Maior*, *Fabianus*. ** *Heb.* xiij. *Iohan* ix *Matth.* xxvij. *Iohan* xix. *Actes* iij.

ſhuld

ſhuld ſeme mooſt to the Glory of God, and whiche mooſt to the Glory of Men. *Thomas Becket* dyed vpon his own Seking onely *, for mainteyning the wanton Lybertyes and ſuperfluouſe Poſſeſſyons of the *Romyſh* Churche here wythin *Ingland*, which are both forbidden of Chryſt, and alſo condemned by the ſame Scryptures. *He, that forſaketh not all that he hath*, ſayth he, *can not be my Diſciple* †.

And, whan a Contencion befelle amonge the Apoſtles for the Superyoritee, he ſayde ‡ alſo vnto them, *The Kynges of the Worlde haue the Worldes Dominion with all Pompe and Riches belonging to the ſame; but you ſhall not be ſo.*

Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* dyed at the importune Sute of the Clergy, for calling upon a Chryſten Reformacion in that *Romiſhe* Church of theyrs, and for manfully ſtanding by the faithfull Teſtimonies of Ieſus, as all the aforeſayd Proceſſe declareth. And this is both allowed in the Goſpell, and alſo required of euery Chryſten Beleuer. *He that confeſſeth me, and my Worde before Men* (ſayth Chryſt ‖) *him will I confeſſe for myne, before my eternall Father. And he that ſhall denie me and my Veritee before Men, him will I alſo deny for mine, before my euerlaſting Father whiche is in Heauen.*

Thomas Becket, in the Tyme of his Death, commended himſelfe ** to the Patrones of his Church, whiche were two gilded Ymages of Sainct *Sauer* and Saint *Mary)* and the Cauſe of his Church unto Saint *Denis*, and had no more but his Pryeſtes Crown cut of (which is the Popes Leuery Mark) euen by the very Shauing, as his Story mencyoneth.

Syr *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, in the Tyme of his Death, commended his Sowle, with *Dauid*, *Chryſt*, and *Steuen*, into the Handes of God the eternall Father, and hys Cauſe to the rightful Iudgement of his Sonne Ieſus Chryſt, with Deſyre of mercifull Forgeuenes concerning his Ennemies, as became a faithfull Chryſtian, and had his whole Body conſumed in the Fyre. Now, pluck from youre Eyes the corrupted Spectacles of carnall or Popyſh Iudgementes, and do vpon them the cleare Light ye haue by the Spyrite of Chryſt: And that faithfully done, tell me whiche of theſe two ſemeth rather to be the Martir of Chryſt, and whiche the Popes Martir? *The Wayes of God* (ſayth *Eſay* ††) *are not the Wayes of Men.* But ſo farre as the Heauens are aboue the vile Earth, ſo farre do hys Judgments excede theyrs. *That whiche ſemeth high and glorioufe vnto Men* (ſayth Chryſt ‡‡) *is verye Abhominacion afore God.* By this may ye ſee that the precyouſe Spowſe, or immaculate Churche of Chryſt, is not a gorgiouſly painted, gentyll Woman, nor glorious glittering Mayden, but al hidden and unknowne to the worldly Infidels, whiche diſdaineth to ſeek her in the Scryptures.

Nothing is precious unto them, that ſhyneth not unto the Eye. A mooſt fyt Membre for Chryſtes miſtycall Body, is he that ſuffereth with the Heade therof. As this good Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell* did, when he was, with Chryſt, examined of the proude Biſhops, ſcorned of the Prieſtes, diſdayned of the Worlde, yll reported, mocked, hated, reuiled, accurſed, and ſo commytted vnto the Laye Judgement, to be condemned by them vnto mooſt ſhamful and cruell Death. Yea, ſo extremely malicious was the ſpyghtfull Spiritualtee agaynſt him, that they wolde not ſuffre his Body to be buried in their great Cytee or Holy Church (which is ſpiritually called *Sodoma* and *Ægyptus*) to make the Prophecy of Sainct *Iohans Apocalyps* ‖‖ truly to be veryfied vpon him, and to proue him Chryſtes Membre alltogether. They both reſolued his Body into Aſhes, and alſo made the Ryuer to carye them away, lyke as they did alſo with the Bones of *Iohan Wicleue* §§, leaſt any Thing therof ſhuld remayne, becauſe they wold alſo ſhewe themſelues lyke in Tyranny to *Iulianus Apoſtata*, that ſo vſed the Body of holy *Iohan Baptiſt* afore them. I ſhuld make a Comparyſon betwixt thys bleſſed Martir of Chryſt, Sir *Iohn Oldcaſtell*, and *Peter* of *Myllane*, with other of the Popes Martirs, which dyed for the Popes Power, Pardons, Pilgrymages, Ear-confeſſion, and other Popiſh Maters more eſtablyſhed in the Generall Counſell of *Lateran*, but it wolde axe too moch Tyme.

And as concerning the Kinde of his contemptuous Death or Martirdome: More vyle was not his Hanging vnder the Galowes in an

* *Heribertus Hoſcam* in Vita *Thome*. † *Luke* xiv. ‡ Chap. xxii. 2 *Peter* v.
‖ *Math.* x. *Mark* viii. *Luk* ix. ib. xii. ** *Benedic. de Burgo Petri, Ioannes Capgraue, Stefanus Langton*, lib. iii. cap. 18. †† *Eſay* lv. ‡‡ *Luke* xvi. ‖‖ *Apoc.* xi. §§ De Sacramentalibus, cap. lxxxvi. § 13. Faſciculus Zizaniorum.

Yron Chayne, than was the Hanging of his Lord Ieſus Chryſt vpon the Croſſe in the Tyme of his Death. Nor than was the Hanging of *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*, his holy Apoſtles, Biſhop *Simeon*, *Doroteus*, *Gorgonius*, *Alexander*, *Epipodius*, *Claudius*, *Aſterius*, *Menon*, *Nemeſius*, *Neſtor*, *Agricola*, *Iulia*, *Zoe*, the Wife of *Nicoſtratus*, with many other holy Martirs more. More odyouſe was not his Burning in the Fyre, than was the cruell Burning of *Barnabas* the Apoſtell, *Polycarpus*, the good Biſhop of *Smirna*, *Amancius*, *Agaton*, *Tiburcius*, *Petulius*, *Simphronius*, *Soſthenes*, *Victor*, *Dioſcorus*, *Eulogius*, *Fructuoſus*, *Caſtus*, *Aemilius*, *Fidencius*, *Hero*, *Hyreneus*, *Aphra*, *Hylaria*, *Apolonia*, *Anaſtaſia*, and many Hondreths more. Whan this ſtrong Witneſſe of the Lord was among the fat Bulles of *Baſan* *, and mooſt cruelly aſſaulted of them, he was thoroughly aſſertained in his Conſcience for that Conflyct of Fayth, to taſte his eternal Goodneſs in the laſting Lande of the Lyuing.

Yea, ſoche Tyme as he was reproued of his Ennemies, and forſaken of his Fryendes, in Maner of a broken Veſſel †, he toke a ſtrong Stomacke vnto him, as dyd the mightee *Machabees* ‡, and thought thus in his Minde, That, though thoſe ungratiouſe Tyrauntes ſhuld put him vnto Death, yet wolde the æternall Kyng (whiche is both *Reſurrection and Lyfe* ‖) *raiſe him up agayn in the Reſurrection of Life euerlaſting*, among them that hath dyed for his pure Lawes. Already hath he rayſed his Fame (which lay long dead) by the lyuing Spyrite of his Goſpell, for that he was a Miniſter therof. Which is a mooſt euident Token that he will hereafter, with his other myſticall Membres, rayſe him vp in perfight Glory. Whan the Goſpell laye dead, gloryous *Thomas Becket* was a Sainct, and *Iohan Oldcaſtell* a forgotten Heretike. But, nowe that the Lyght therof ſhyneth, we are lyke to ſee it farre otherwiſe. For proud *Becket* hath already hidden his Face §, and poor *Oldcaſtell* beginneth nowe to appeare very notable. Not all vnrightly did Saint *Auguſtin* ſpeak it, and other olde Doctours beſides, that many were worſhipped here in Earth for Saincts, whoſe wretched Soules are greuouſly cruciate in Hell.

Such Tyme as our mooſt worthy Soueurain, Kynge *Henry* the viii. now lyuing, after the mooſt goodly Example of Kynge *Ioſyas* **, viſited the Temples of his Realme, he perſeyued the ſinneful Shryne of this *Becket*, to be vnto his People a mooſt perniciouſe Euell, and therfore, in the Worde of the Lord, he vtterly, among other, deſtroyed it. If he had vpon that, and ſuch other abhominable Shrynes, brent thoſe Idolatrouſe Pryeſtes, which were (and are yet) theyr chefe Mainteiners, he had fulfilled the godly Hiſtory throughout. But that which was not than perfourmed, in Hope of their Amendment, may, by Chaunce, lyght upon them hereafter, whan no gentell Warning will ſeme to be regarded. I dout not at all, but his moſt noble Diſcretion perceyueth much more in that wycked Generacyon of the Popes Norryſhynge up, which alwayes hath maynteyned (and yet do) ſoche manyfeſt Errours, than he euer in his Lyfe yet uttered. The eternall Father rewarde his Grace for that clere Lyght of Helthe, which we poore Creaturs have receyued at his onlye Hande undre God, though yt be not all without the grevouſe Punyſhment of our Bodyes. By the Proceſſe whiche we have afore here uttered of Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, ye maye evydentlye ſee, that great is the Treaſure which the Lorde hath layed up for the Behove of them that hath truſted in him ††, wherewith now he maketh dumme the lyeing Lyppes of them that dyſdaynouſlye reported the Ryhtuouſe, to the Honour and Prayſe of his moſt gloryouſe Name. *Amen.*

Thus endeth the breſe Chronycle concernynge the Examynacyon and Death of the bleſſed Martir of *Chryſt*, Sir *Iohan Oldcaſtell*, the Lord *Cobham*, not canonyſed of the Pope, but in the precyouſe Bloude of his Lorde *Ieſus Chryſt*. Collected by *Iohan Bale*, and imprinted, *Anno Dom.* 1544. and vi. *Die Auguſti.*

* *Pſal.* xxii. *Amos* iv. † *Pſal.* xxx. ‡ 2 *Mach.* vii. ‖ *Iohan* xi. *ib.* vi. *Apo.* xx.
§ The Pilgrimages to his Shrine being forbidden, and his Bones, by the King's Order, burnt.
** 2 *Kings* xxiii. 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. †† *Pſa.* xxx. *Eccl.* i. *Wiſdi* v.

The

The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's Place, with the Care and Peril thereof, written by the Right Honourable *Robert*, late Earl of *Saliſbury*. With his excellent Inſtructions to the late Earl of *Bedford*, for the Government of *Barwick*. A Work worthy of Memory. *London*, printed in 1642. *Quarto*, containing ſeventeen Pages.

ALL Officers and Counſellors of Princes have a preſcribed Authority by Patent, by Cuſtom, or by Oath, the Secretary only excepted; but, to the Secretary, out of a Confidence and ſingular Affection, there is a Liberty to negotiate at Diſcretion at Home and Abroad, with Friends and Enemies, in all Matters of Speech and Intelligence.

All Servants of Princes deal upon ſtrong and wary Authority and Warrant in Diſburſements as Treaſurers, in Conference with Enemies as Generals, in Commiſſions in executing Offices by Patent and Inſtructions, and ſo in whatever elſe; only a Secretary hath no Warrant or Commiſſion, no, not in Matters of his own greateſt Particulars, but the Virtue and Word of his Sovereign.

For ſuch is the Multiplicity of Actions, and variable Motions and Intents of foreign Princes, and their daily Practices, and in ſo many Parts and Places, as Secretaries can never have any Commiſſion, ſo long and univerſal as to ſecure them.

So as a Secretary muſt either conceive the very Thought of a King, which is only proper to God, or a King muſt exerciſe the painful Office of a Secretary, which is contrary to Majeſty, and Liberty; or elſe a Prince muſt make Choice of ſuch a Servant of ſuch a Prince, as the Prince's Aſſurance muſt be his Confidence in the Secretary, and the Secretary's Life his Truſt in the Prince.

To deal now with the Prince, *tanquam infirmum futurum*, cannot be a Rule for a Secretary; for all that he hath to truſt to is quite the Contrary, which is, that his Prince will be *ſemper idem*.

All ſtrange Princes hate Secretaries, all Aſpirers, and all Conſpirers, becauſe they either kill thoſe Monſters in their Cradles, or elſe trace them out, where no Man can diſcern the Print of their Footing.

Furthermore, this is manifeſt, that all Men of War do malign them, except they will be at their Deſires.

Their Fellow-counſellors envy them, becauſe they have moſt eaſy and free Acceſs to Princes; and, whereſoever a Prince hath Cauſe to delay or deny to ſearch or puniſh, none ſo ſoon bear ſo much Burthen.

Kings are adviſed to obſerve theſe Things in a Secretary:

Firſt, That he be created by himſelf, and of his own Raiſing.

Secondly, That he match not in a factious Family.

And, *Laſtly*, That he hath reaſonable Capacity, and convenient Ability.

On the other Side, the Place of Secretary is dreadful, if he ſerve not a conſtant Prince; for he, that liveth by Truſt, ought to ſerve truly; ſo he that lives, at Mercy, ought to be careful in the Choice of his Maſter, that he be juſt & *de bona Natura*.

If Princes be not confident on thoſe, whom they have made Choice of, they ſhall ill truſt the Work of a ſtrange Hand; and, if the Rule hath failed in ſome of thoſe that have ſinned in Ingratitude to thoſe Princes, it is in thoſe of the higheſt Order, *Ero ſimilis Altiſſimo*.

But, for thoſe of private Quality, who have no other Conſiſtence, nor can ever look for

equal Bleſſedneſs, there the Jealouſy of a Prince hath never beheld Suſpect, but mere Contempt.

As long as any Matter, of what Weight ſoever, is handled only between the Prince and the Secretary, thoſe Counſels are compared to the mutual Affections of two Lovers, undiſcovered to their Friends.

When it cometh to be diſputed in Council, it is like the Conference of Parents, and Solemnization of Marriage; the firſt Matter, the ſecond Order; and, indeed, the one the Act, the other the Publication.

If there be then a Secretary, whoſe State can witneſs that he coveteth not for Profit; and if his careful Life and Death ſhall record it, that Love is his Object; if he deal leſs with other Men's Suits, whereby Secretaries gain, than ever any did; if he prefer his Majeſty, and deſpiſe his own.

If ſuch an one ſhould find that his Hope could not warrant him, no, not againſt the Slanders of thoſe wicked ones, whom he muſt uſe only, then, ſurely, that Secretary muſt reſolve, that the firſt Day of his Entry is the firſt Day of his Miſery; for, if he be not worthy of Truſt, he is leſs worthy of Life; and a Suſpicion of a Secretary is both a Tryal and Condemnation, and a Judgment.

Mr. Secretary's Anſwer to the Earl of Bedford.

SIR,

I AM ſorry, that I find in myſelf, that I am neither able to ſatisfy your Lordſhip's Requeſt, nor my own Deſires; and yet yourſelf, perchance, will better accept my Doings, than I ſhall, myſelf, allow them. Your Lordſhip would have me, by your Letters, give you Advice, for your Affairs and Service there. It cometh of your too much good Opinion of me, that your Lordſhip thinks me able thereunto, which, ſurely, I am not: And, though my Deſire be to do this, as you would; yet cannot I ſatisfy myſelf, as I would; and, if I ſhould ſpend any Words to declare my own Inability, your Lordſhip would not like them; and, to enterpriſe to do that which I know not, I am not therein like myſelf: Yet, notwithſtanding, I had rather pleaſe your Lordſhip with my Folly, than altogether myſelf with Silence. If I write fooliſhly, or unſeaſonably, the Lack is mine; but the Occaſion of my Fault is your Lordſhip's. I heard ſo good Report of your Doings, the beſt is, I can give you, to go forward, and countenance your own Example; and the next Advice thereunto is, that, when you ſee one Day coming, to amend the Day paſt; my Meaning is, to have you, in all your Actions, do, as all other natural Things do, and moſt plainly. Things growing, which daily, from Time to Time, do increaſe; whoſe Example, if a Man would follow, he ſhould, as his Body groweth in Age, ſo ſee his Wit with Knowledge, his Conditions with Virtues, ſhould amend; and, as we do live, we grow towards Death, by Moments of Time; ſo ſhould we grow towards Heaven, by Multiplying of Virtues, and good Gifts. You ſee, I am at the firſt Step in Divinity; and ſo might I ſeem, to many others of your Eſtate, to be of ſmall Diſcretion, to fall in Preaching to him, that muſt be occupied in Muſters, with looking to Fortifications, and ſuchlike worldly Affairs. But, my Lord, I know to whom I write; to him, who conſidereth between Things worldly, and heavenly; to him, that knoweth the Fear of God is the Beginning of Wiſdom; and, therewith, I end.

Now, to your external Care; where, certainly, God is ſerved, and pleaſed with them, that accompliſh the ſame to their Powers; and, if Wiſdom lack, they may aſk it of him, who hath the Treaſure of Wiſdom and Goodneſs. Your Lordſhip hath there a great Charge of Government; I know, you think yourſelf unmeet thereunto, eſpecially, in Knowledge; and, ſurely, to know that amendeth your Ability; for more Hurt comes of Men's Securities, and Preſumption of Wiſdom, than in Miſtruſt. It is a good Thing for you to bethink yourſelf of ſome Nobleman, whom you have either read or heard, whoſe Doings have been worthy of Commendations, in ſuch Service as this.

And to make a Pattern, and Example to yourſelf, daily in your Doings, practiſing the Imitation of him throughout all your Life; and, in this Point, may you chooſe many noble Properties, of your own natural, good Father, to follow; whereunto, Nature ſhall bend,

bend, and make you ſooneſt inclinable. If you have heard of any Nobleman famous in Juſtice; not being led by Affection on the one Side, or on the other; not being ſtrict, in Severeneſs of Law; it were good to follow him. If, alſo, you have heard the ſame to be merciful, to have had Compaſſion on others in Adverſity, and willing to end all Cauſes with Quietneſs and Charity; the Example will be good. You may alſo propound to yourſelf the Example, to follow ſuch a one, as hath Liberality in Expences, without Prodigality; remembering, that the Property of Virtue is, to continue in Well-doing; and, therefore, to hold the Mean is hard. As certainly, in theſe, or other like Virtues, you ſhall ſee the Fault on both Sides ſo nigh ſtanding to the Virtues, that, unleſs you keep yourſelf in your Doings very upright, it is eaſy to err on the one Side or the other: As for Example; in your Expences, if you keep not a Meaſure in your Giving, you ſhall fail on the one Side, and ſhall lack to give, when moſt gladly you would give: On the other Side, if you forbear to give, where you may, and when you ought, then do you, as the Scripture ſaith, *heap up Stones for your Grave.* The like is in the Virtue of Juſtice; wherein, it ſhall ſuffice to remember of one *Byas*, that, when he had given Judgment on one, wept himſelf; and, being aſked of the Cauſe, he ſaid, In Weeping I ſatisfied Nature, in my Sentence, the Law; his Pity was natural, and hindered not Juſtice; his Juſtice was lawful, and not unnatural. Thus I might ſpend your Lordſhip's Time, in Reading a long and weary Letter, if I would continue in that Moral Advertiſement; I will, therefore, draw more to Particulars of your Charge; and, as I gueſs thereby, more aptly to ſatisfy your Lordſhip's Requeſt. The Foundation of your Services there is your Commiſſion, and under Seal of Diſcharge; the Force thereof is the End of your Charge: Wherefore, you ſhall do well, by frequent Reading and Conſideration thereof, to underſtand it well, and keep it in Memory; for which Purpoſe, it ſhall be expedient to have ſome Conference with ſome learned Man in the Law, for the Behalf of the Law; and of ſome other diſcreet Men, for the Execution of the ſame. In like Caſe this know, as you ſee Time convenient, ſo may you perform the Commandments.

But, methinks, you will ſay, I took upon me the eaſieſt Parts of Advertiſement, that is, to do diſcreetly; but I ſhew you not how, but remit you to others; and then will you think, that I do, as one that may bid a ſick Man be whole, be quit, ſhake off your Sickneſs, but, how to do, he teacheth not.

Forſooth, my Lord, my Excuſe is two Ways; firſt, I know not your Commiſſion, and that you know is true; next, if I did know it, yet I have no ſuch Knowledge (eſpecially in Law) to inform you withal more particularly, than I do; but theſe, I think, content you not, for you will (according to your old Mirth) call this a Reaſon that cometh from *Colliweſton*; and, therefore, to keep you occupied with Scribbling, I will follow on with a Hotch-potch of Sentences.

In your Commiſſion, I think, many Things be committed to your Diſcretion, which maketh the Burthen greater, than if you had been expreſly commanded what to do. Therefore, muſt you needs conſider, what is meant by *Diſcretion*; which, as we term it in our Language, ſeemeth to be a Knowledge to diſcern and judge one Thing from another. And this Part, truly, is properly pertaining to Wiſdom; for, before a Man can diſcern, he muſt know it; and, he, that will perform this Part, muſt meaſure and judge of theſe Things; and therefore, before you ſhall conclude of any Thing of Weight, you muſt diſcern often thereupon; and, before you can do that, you muſt know the Thing that is diſcerned; and then, for the Election of theſe, it is very profitable, to imagine a Pair of Balances, and, in the one, to lay Reaſons on the one Side, and, in the other, to lay the Contrary, and then judge which is the heavieſt; I mean, which Balance hath the beſt Reaſons, not the moſt.

And, touching your own Perſon, ſee Things, pertaining thereto, be meet for the Place which you keep; neither too negligent, neither too curious; to the one of theſe peradventure you are more ſubject, than to the other, and, therefore, you muſt regard yourſelf the more.

Your Houſehold muſt be governed as it may be an Example of Virtue to others, and an Ornament to your Office; let your Officers have good ancient Rules for Order, and ſee they be not neglected; you muſt yourſelf ſo,

with the ſame, as your Servants may know you acquainted with their Doings; and yet not ſeem to Strangers, to meddle therewith. If you have Cauſe to blame your Officer, and have a Mind to keep him, do it ſecretly, that he may know his Fault, but not be known to the Servant underneath him; in any wiſe cauſe not Idleneſs to remain among your People; let not your Servants exceed in Apparel their Degree, for the Charge at length will be to your Purſe or Eſtimation; let them underſtand, that you love them beſt who live beſt in Order; them next, who live neareſt Order; and them nothing at all, who live far from Order; let them, which do well in your Houſe, feel both your Love and Reward.

At your Table, let no Matter of Princes Affairs, or Princes Regiments, be diſputed; nor of Religion; for Meat and Drink requireth meaner Talk; to keep Men occupied of the common Talk of the Country, or other honeſt merry Talks. *Laſtly*, note, let *Job* ſerve in his Degree, your Lordſhip can well enough, with a few Queſtions, ſet Men occupied in Talk.

For your Fare (your Lordſhip muſt give me Leave to be bold) I can very well like, that, in Reſpect of your Degree, your Service be both in Order, and Service honourable; and in Subſtance plenteous, and in Art curious; but, conſidering the Proneſs of this Age to Exceſs, I can beſt allow the firſt without the laſt: And in any wiſe whatſoever you ſhall like do in other Places, let not your Orders, belonging to your Eſtate (eſpecially in common Aſſemblies) at your Table be neglected; and, if your Table be alſo plenteous, it is alſo ſerviceable for the Poor; but the laſt, to have many Devices of counterfeit Meats, and alſo ſpiced, maketh Waſte in the Houſehold, gaineth little, giveth ill Example to be followed, and is not wholeſome to your Gueſts, and, in the End, ſerveth ſmall to Hoſpitality.

Now for the Uſage of Men there in thoſe Parts, as you find them at your Coming, ſo as little as you may ſeek to alter their Eſtate, (unleſs you ſee ſome Cauſe) let it not appear, you uſe any Man, with ſingular Affection, above the reſt, and yet you may uſe (indeed) as you ſee Cauſe, Men either for Wiſdom, or Credit, with reſpect of others Envies, not them whom you ſhall make Choice of.

In your Conſultations give every Man Leave to ſpeak, and bear with their Lacks, ſo that you make Choice of the beſt; do what you can, to make every one live according to his own Eſtate; the Gentlemen to live of their own without Reproach, and, if you ſee any young Gentlemen towards Waſting, confer with his Friends, for the Stay thereof; eſpecially, if his be of any Continuance; likewiſe ſee, that poor Men have their Right, not for Importunity of Clamour, but for Pity and Truth.

Touching the Lawyers of the Country, eſteem them of Learning, ſee they lack not too much Honeſty, but in no wiſe ſeem to favour theſe Demy-Lawyers, except you ſee Perfection of Honeſty, for in all Countries they have leaſt Skill, and do moſt Harm.

Do what you can, to make the Gentlemen accord amongſt themſelves; and to extinguiſh old Factions, either by ſome Device of Marrying, or by Redemption of Titles of Lands, or ſuch like Incumbrances, which commonly be the Seeds of Diſcord. For Termination of poor Men's Suits, remit them (as much as you may) to indifferent Arbitrators to end; do not intermeddle therewith yourſelf, for ſo ſhall your Labour be bottomleſs.

Whilſt you be in that Country (if you take any Servants) let them be Gentlemen's Sons, and, if you may, their Heirs, that, by their Education with you, they may know you and yours.

Set up Artillery, and neglect not the Game of Wreſtling; let there be frequent Games, as, Shooting, Running on Horſe and Foot, and Wreſtling; in my Country, have been uſed all Ways for ſuch Purpoſes; and in this Behalf I mean, not to have you induce new Devices in that Country, if they have others of their own. But ſome might aſk me this, Is this the true Uſe of Holy-days forſooth? Touching that Part of the Day, where the Civil Magiſtrate hath Power, I think it not much amiſs; but, for the Time the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter doth appoint to pray, and teach a Sermon, I think it not meet to be put to this Uſe. But therein I will not much diſpute, for it belongeth to Divinity, whereunto your Commiſſion extendeth not; for hereof the Biſhops and others have their Charge.

Surely, my Lord, it would be Time now to leave my Scribbling, leſt I ſhall be like the Singers, who are dainty to begin, and know not

not when to leave; I think your Lordſhip ſhall be weary of Reading, wherefore I will leave with a few Lines, like to my Beginning.

Your Doings here have deſerved Praiſe, ſee you continue your Diſtance; ſo far of your Acception here I mean, as I know. You were wont, and have profeſſed unto me, that is, to ſerve uprightly and truly, and to do therein as you can, and then may you be bold of Praiſe; and, if you miſs of that, yet, of no Diſhonour; for nothing, indeed, is honourable, but Well-doing: The Weal of your Country (I mean, the Quietneſs of ſuch, as you have Authority to govern) is your Mark, ſhoot thereat, guiding your Purpoſe with the Fear of God, and ſo ſhall you gain the Love of God and Man. If you do ſometime (as you ſee Cauſe) advertiſe the Queen's Majeſty of the good Eſtate of that Country, and of the Gentlemen there (ſo it be by ſhort Letters) referring, if you have any long Declaration of Things) to your Letters to the Privy-Council: If any Thing to be miſliked, or tedious to be advertiſed, procure others alſo to write thereof, and in no-wiſe write thereof alone: For, you know, fortunate Things are welcome from any Man, but, how the Contrary may come from you, you may doubt.

It is full Time for me to end my Folly, and your Lordſhip to end your Labour; beſeeching you, to make my Will, in ſatisfying your Requeſt, anſwer the other lack Fault: And, that I may be humbly remembered to my Lady, to whom I acknowledge much Duty, and am aſhamed of my ſmall Deſerving of her great Goodneſs to me wards.

From my poor Houſe at Wimbleton,

WILL. CECIL.

An Account of the Burial of King *Charles the Firſt*, and of *Oliver Cromwell*: In which it appears, how *Oliver*'s Friends contrived to ſecure his Body from future Diſgrace, and to expoſe the Corpſe of King *Charles* to be ſubſtituted in the Puniſhment and Ignominy deſigned for the Uſurper's Body. *MS.*

Amongſt other Papers, the following MS. *was carefully preſerved by my Lord* Oxford. *It contains an Extract from the Journal of the Houſe of Commons; which honourable Houſe, reſolving to diſgrace the Name of the late Uſurper* Oliver Cromwell, *as far as lay in their Power, ordered his Body to be taken up, and to be firſt hanged on the Gallows at* Tyburn, *and then to be burnt.*

This Order was purſued by the Serjeant of that honourable Houſe ſo far, as to find a Coffin with Oliver's *Name, and uſurped Titles, at the Eaſt-end of the middle Iſle of* Henry the Seventh's *Chapel, in* Weſtminſter-Abbey.

This, with an Account where the ſaid Inſcription is, or was, within a few Years ago, to be ſeen, is written in a very fair Hand.

Then, in two different Hands, there follows the moſt remarkable Account of a Counter-Interment *of the Arch-Traytor, as well as the Reaſon and Contrivance to ſecure his Body from that expected Ignominy, and to continue the Revenge of King* Charles's *Enemies,*

Enemies, even to the Diſgrace of ſubſtituting the Body of the beheaded King, in the Puniſhment intended by a juſtly enraged People, upon the dead Body of the Uſurper.

SOON after the Reſtoration, the then Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons was ordered, by the Houſe, to go with his Officers to St. *Peter*'s, *Weſtminſter*, and demand the Body of *Oliver Cromwell*, buried there, to be taken up, in order to be diſpoſed in the Manner the Houſe ſhould adjudge fitting.

Whereupon the ſaid Serjeant went, and, in the middle Iſle of *Henry the Seventh*'s Chapel, at the Eaſt-end, upon Taking up the Pavement, in a Vault, was found his Corpſe; in the Inſide of whoſe Coffin, and upon the Breaſt of the Corpſe, was laid a Copper-plate, finely gilt, incloſed in a thin Caſe of Lead, on the one Side whereof, were engraved the Arms of *England*, impaled with the Arms of *Oliver*; and, on the Reverſe, the following *Legenda*, *viz.*

Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, Natus 25.° *April.* 1599, *Inauguratus* 16.° *Dec.*ris 1653, *Mortuus* 3.tio *Sept.*ris, *Anno* 1658, *Hic Situs eſt.*

The ſaid Serjeant, believing the Plate to be Gold, took it pretendedly, as his Fee; and Mr. *Gifford*, of *Colcheſter*, who married the Serjeant's Daughter, has now the Plate, which, his Father-in-Law told him, he came by, in the Manner above related.

A Counter-Interment *of the aforeſaid Arch-Traytor, as averred, and ready to be depoſed (if Occaſion required) by Mr.* —— Barkſtead, *who daily frequents* Richard's *Coffee-Houſe, within* Temple-Bar, *being Son to* Barkſtead, *the Regicide, that was executed as ſuch, ſoon after the Reſtoration; the Son being, at the Time of the ſaid Arch-Traytor's Death, about the Age of fifteen Years.*

THAT the ſaid Regicide *Barkſtead*, being Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, and a great Confident of the Uſurper, did, among other ſuch Confidents, in the Time of the Uſurper's Sickneſs, deſire to know where he would be buried: To which, he anſwered, Where he had obtained the greateſt Victory and Glory, and as nigh the Spot as could be gueſſed, where the Heat of the Action was, *viz.* in the Field at *Naſeby*, *Co. Northampton*; which accordingly was thus performed: At Midnight (ſoon after his Death) being firſt embalmed, and wrapped in a leaden Coffin, he was, in a Hearſe, conveyed to the ſaid Field, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead*, by Order of his Father, attending cloſe to the Hearſe; and, being come to the Field, there found, about the Midſt of it, a Grave, dug about nine Feet deep, with the green Sod carefully laid on one Side, and the Mould on the other; in which, the Coffin being ſoon put, the Grave was inſtantly filled up, and the green Sod laid exactly flat upon it, Care being taken, that the ſurplus Mould was clean taken away.

Soon after, like Care was taken, that the ſaid Field was intirely ploughed up, and ſown three or four Years ſucceſſively with Wheat.

Several other material Circumſtances, relating to the ſaid Interment, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead* relates (too long to be here inſerted) and, particularly, after the Reſtoration, his Conference with the late (witty) Duke of *Buckingham*, &c.

Talking over this Account of *Barkſtead*'s, with the Reverend Mr. *Sm*——, of *Q*——, whoſe Father had long reſided in *Florence*, as a Merchant, and afterwards as Miniſter from King *Charles the Second*, and had been well acquainted with the Fugitives after the Reſtoration; he aſſured me, he had often heard the ſaid Account by other Hands: Thoſe Miſcreants always boaſting, that they had wrecked their Revenge againſt the Father, as far as human Foreſight could carry it, by beheading him, whilſt living, and making his beſt Friends

the

the Executors of the utmoſt Ignominies upon him, when dead. Aſking him the particular Meaning of the laſt Sentence, he ſaid, that *Oliver*, and his Friends, apprehending the Reſtoration of the *Stuart* Family; and that all imaginable Diſgrace, on that Turn, would be put upon his Body, as well as Memory; he contrived his own Burial, as averred by *Barkſtead*, having all the theatrical Honours of a pompous Funeral paid to an empty Coffin, into which, afterwards, was removed the Corpſe of the Martyr (which, by Lord *Clarendon's* own Account, had never truly, or certainly, been interred; and, after the Reſtoration, when moſt diligently ſought after, by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, at the Command of King *Charles the Second*, in order to a ſolemn Removal, could no where, in the Church where he was ſaid to have been buried, be found) that, if any Sentence ſhould be pronounced, as upon his Body, it might effectually fall upon that of the King. That, on that Order of the Commons, in King *Charles the Second's* Time, the Tomb was broken down, and the Body taken out of a Coffin ſo inſcribed, as mentioned in the Serjeant's Report, was from thence conveyed to *Tyburn*, and, to the utmoſt Joy and Triumph of that Crew of Miſcreants, hung publickly on the Gallows, amidſt an infinite Crowd of Spectators, almoſt infected with the Noiſomeneſs of the Stench. The Secret being only amongſt that abandoned few, there was no Doubt in the reſt of the People, but the Bodies, ſo expoſed, were the Bodies they were ſaid to be; had not ſome, whoſe Curioſity had brought them nearer to the Tree, obſerved, with Horror, the Remains of a Countenance they little had expected there; and that, on Tying the Cord, there was a ſtrong Seam about the Neck, by which the Head had been, as was ſuppoſed, immediately after the Decollation, faſtened again to the Body. This being whiſpered about, and the Numbers that came to the diſmal Sight hourly increaſing, Notice was immediately given of the Suſpicion to the attending Officer, who diſpatched a Meſſenger to Court, to acquaint them with the Rumour, and the ill Conſequences the Spreading or Examining into it further, might have. On which the Bodies were immediately ordered down, to be buried again, to prevent any Infection. Certain is it, they were not burnt, as in Prudence, for that pretended Reaſon, might have been expected; as well as in Juſtice, to have ſhewn the utmoſt Deteſtation for their Crimes, and the moſt laſting Mark of Infamy they could inflict upon them. This was the Account he gave. What Truth there is in it, is not ſo certain. Many Circumſtances make the Surmiſe not altogether improbable: As all thoſe Enthuſiaſts, to the laſt Moment of their Lives, ever gloried in the Truth of it.

The

The moſt lamentable and dreadful Thunder and Lightning in the County of *Norfolk*, and the City of *Norwich*, on *July* 20, being the *Lord's Day* in the Afternoon: The Whirlwind and thick Darkneſs, and moſt prodigious Hailſtones, which, being above five Inches about, did ſo violently batter down the Windows of the City, that Three-thouſand Pounds will hardly repair them. Diverſe Men and Women ſtruck dead. The Firing of ſome Towns, and whole Fields of Corn, by Lightning, which alſo deſtroyed the Birds of the Air, and Beaſts of the Field.

Together with another moſt violent Storm, which, happening on *Saturday* laſt in the ſame County, for almoſt thirty Miles together, performed the like terrible Effects. Atteſted by Ten-thouſand Witneſſes, who were either Spectators, or Partakers of the Loſs. Entered according to Order, the 31ſt of *July* 1656. *London*, printed by *R. I.* for *F. Grove* on *Snow-hill*, 1656. *Quarto*, containing five Pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, repreſenting *Jupiter* in the Clouds, with a Thunder-bolt in his Right Hand.

WE have had too many ſad Examples of the Anger of the Almighty, for our great and crying Sins. How long ſhall the Land mourn, and the Herbs of every Field wither for the Iniquity of them that dwell therein? ſaith the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Ch. xii. 4. whilſt we do ſin, and ſin, and perſevere in Sin; whilſt we continue deſpiſing the Miniſters and Ordinances of God *, whilſt we will not weep for our own Impieties: Behold, the Earth is become as Braſs, and the Clouds as Marble; whilſt, lulled in the Lap of Security, we wilfully do ſtop our Ears, and refuſe to hear the Words of the Preacher; heark! How God doth ſpeak in Thunder to us, and he ſpeaks to us on his own Day, to declare unto us how jealous he is of his Honour, which he will not have given to another; he will not be ſerved on his own Day by thoſe, whom he hath not called to his Work; by thoſe, who, with unwaſhed Hands, and Brains, as ſick of Ignorance, as

* Alluding to the State of Rebellion in which the Kingdom had then been almoſt ſixteen Years.

Preſump-

Preſumption, will thruſt themſelves into the Temple of God, and venture to expound the higheſt Myſteries *.

Certainly where the Ordinances of God have been moſt deſpiſed, there will his Judgements be moſt viſible; even the Birds and the Beaſts will be made ſenſible of his Diſpleaſure, as he hath declared by his Prophet. The Beaſts are conſumed with the Birds, *Jer.* xii. we need not travel far to give you an Example of this. The following Narration is as full of Truth as Wonder, and may ſerve to make our Hearts to melt, if they were not made of Marble.

On the Twentieth of *July* being the *Sabbath Day*, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, there was a great and ſudden Tempeſt in the City of *Norwich*, and the Country thereabouts; the Flaſhes of Lightning were moſt dreadful and violent, and the loud Claps from the Clouds did ſo amaze and affright the People, that they thought the Spheres came thundering down in Flames about their Ears. About an Hour afterwards, there appeared to the View of many a black Cloud of Smoke, like unto the Smoke of a Furnace, and ever and anon it did caſt forth Flames of Fire; it was attended with a white Cloud, which, ſailing along the Air, did ſeem to labour for all the Advantages of the Wind, to overtake the other; but, the black Cloud being firſt come, and covering the Face of the City, there aroſe a ſudden Whirlwind, which in the Streets of the City did raiſe ſuch a Duſt, that it was almoſt impoſſible for one Man to diſcern another but only at a little Diſtance; and, to increaſe this wonderful Darkneſs, the Clouds grew thicker and thicker, eſpecially at the South, and the South-weſt, when behold the Lightning from them did leap forth again, and the Thunder chid, and there followed ſuch a ratling Storm of ſtupendious Hail, that, being afterwards meaſured, the Hail-ſtones were found to be five Inches about, and ſome more; all the Glaſs-windows that were on the Weather-ſide of the City were beaten down.

Some Letters from *Norwich* do affirm, that Three-thouſand Pounds will not repair the Windows. This which I now ſpeak may in other Countries ſeem incredible, and ſo it might in our own alſo, were it not to be atteſted by above Ten-thouſand Witneſſes. And ſurely it is well worth the Obſervation of the beſt Philoſophers to take Notice, that thoſe Hail-ſtones (as they exceeded all others in their Bigneſs, ſo they were unlike them in their Form) for many of them were meer Pieces of flat Ice, and had not the leaſt Similitude of Roundneſs in them. But why ſhould we, in ſo great a Wonder, expect to be ſatisfied with Reaſon from Philoſophy? He only knows what they were, who in the Book of *Job* doth propound the Query as the Subject of our Admiration, and is pleaſed himſelf to acknowledge them to be of his own Armoury, *which is the Armoury of God.* It is to be admired beſides, that, in many of theſe Hail-ſtones, there was to be ſeen the Figure of an Eye, reſembling the Eye of a Man, and that ſo perfectly, as if it had been there engraved by the Hand of ſome ſkilful Artificer.

If your Eyes, poſſeſſed with theſe unuſual Spectacles, have yet the Leiſure to look into the Country, in Hope there to behold ſome more comfortable Objects, you will find in ſome Places whole Fields of Corn deſtroyed by the Lightning; you will behold the Tempeſt wreſtling with the Trees, and, having torn them up by the Roots, to lay them on their Backs with their Heels higher than their Heads; the Burrows could not protect the liſtening Conies, nor the Trees the Birds, but on the next Morning the Travellers found them dead in great Numbers on the Ground, and in ſome Places a Horſe, or a Cow, lying by them. The Lightning whirled through the whole Country, and, paſſing through ſome Houſes where the Windows were made one againſt the other, it was ſeen afterwards to run all along, and to lick the Ground; many Houſes were fired by it, and, had it not pleaſed God to ſend an extraordinary Shower of Rain, ſome Towns, that had taken Fire, had been undoubtedly deſtroyed. It ſtruck ſome Men and Women dead for the preſent, whom it pleaſed God to recover again to Life, to magnify his Mercies, and to declare his Wonders.

* In thoſe Days, the learned and ſtated Miniſtry was deprived; and every whimſical or hypocritical Mechanick aſſumed the Doctor's Chair; and, in Defiance to the Juſtice of God, who, for the like Uſurpation, viſibly puniſhed *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, dared to adminiſter God's Word and Sacraments to a deceived People.

This Relation is moſt true, and ſeriouſly we ought to lay it to our Hearts, for undoubtedly God there did ſpeak unto us all; you have read in the Goſpel, how our Saviour did check the vain Preſumption of thoſe Men, who thought themſelves more righteous than thoſe on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell. Though this Thunder and Lightning were in the County of *Norfolk*, yet we ought to fear that the firſt Exhalations did ariſe from this City *, where ſo much Pride, Oppreſſion, Hypocriſy, and Prophaneneſs do reign; let us therefore endeavour to humble ourſelves before the Almighty, leſt he ſtrike us with his forked Thunder, and there be none to deliver us; leſt our Houſes and our Bodies be humbled by Fire †, by the Hand of God; for, although he delights in Mercy, and his Mercies are ſpread over all his Works, yet to thoſe who preſume to overwit God, and do deſperately run on in their Impieties, *our God is a conſuming Fire.*

And becauſe we are ſlow to hear, although God himſelf is our Admoniſher; it hath pleaſed him to give us a ſecond Alarm in the ſame County on *Saturday* laſt, being the Twenty-ſixth of this preſent Month, where was again another Storm of Lightning and Thunder, which, paſſing almoſt thirty Miles, performed the like terrible Effects.

* *London.* † As it came to paſs ten Years after, when *London* was burnt.

An Elegy on the Death of Trade. By a Relation of the Deceaſed. *London*, printed in the Year 1698. *Quarto*, containing thirteen Pages.

A Worthy old Dame,
Mother *Trade* was her Name,
That had long lain in deſperate State,
Perceiving at laſt
That all Hopes were paſt,
Contentedly bends to her Fate.

And, ſince ſhe is gone,
For the good Deeds ſh'has done,
As 'tis common in ſuch like Caſes,
We can ſure do no leſs,
Than attend to her Hearſe,
With ſome Marks of Remorſe on our Faces.

There's her Grand-daughter, *Art*,
Hath almoſt broke her Heart,
For the Loſs of ſo faithful a Friend:
She ſits in her Chair,
In the Depth of Deſpair,
And ſeems to draw near to'ards her End.

Induſtry, her Siſter,
When ſhe left her, ſhe kiſs'd her,
And bid her for ever *Adieu*;
I muſt ſeek out a Place,
Where to alter the Caſe,
For here, I find, it will not do.

Her Couſin, *Invention*,
Seems too in Declenſion,
And ſits down by her, and cries,
Oh! What ſhall I do?
I have nought to purſue,
Except it be Forging of *Lyes*.

But what is ſtill worſe,
'Twould make a Man curſe,
Her Landlord has ſeiz'd all ſhe had;
He hath not allow'd
Her a Coffin and Shroud,
Good People, i'nt this very ſad?

But the *Beadle* is gone,
To ſee what can be done;
'Tis hard ſhe ſhould lie above Ground:
And yonder he comes,
A biting his Thumbs;
I'm afraid there's no Help to be found.

Then

Then come, Maſter *Beadle*,
Pray how look the People?
What means this mighty Dejection?
Why, Sir, the Folk look,
Like our Conſtable's Book,
That hath been theſe three Years in Collection.

I'm afraid, Maſter *Blue-coat*,
That you are no true Coat,
For all you look ſo preciſely;
Why ſure they will give,
Since they wou'dn't let her live,
Some ſmall Thing to bury her wiſely.

Come, come, you muſt out,
And try t'other Bout,
And, pray, put the Thing to the Godly.
What! Muſt the good Dame
Lie unbury'd? For Shame;
This all o'er the World will look odly.

Why, Sir, if you'd hear me,
You'd inſtantly clear me,
I've been with Abundance already;
As God knows my Heart,
I've acted my Part,
And was always to ſerve her moſt ready.

I have been with the *Merchant*,
Who, you know, is an arch one,
As alſo with the *Baker* and *Brewer*;
I have been with the *Banker*,
And with him that makes th'*Anchor*,
With the *Taylor*, and almoſt all that knew her.

Then Pardon my Paſſion,
'Twas my Zeal for my Nation,
That urg'd me a little too faſt:
Come, prithee, go on,
Let me know Man by Man,
What betwixt you and each of them paſs'd.

For the *Merchant* then, firſt,
When I told him he curs'd,
And ſwore he expected it long:
I'll be moving, ſays he,
No, Faith, they ſhall ſee
I'll ne'er ſtay to ſtarve with the Throng.

My Debts lay an Embargo,
Or I'd be my own Cargo,
And ſail to the Land of *Mogul*;
But, when a Man breaks,
His Veſſel then leaks,
And 'tis Danger to ſwim in the Hull.

But I'll ſell what I've got, Land,
And e'en go to *Scotland*,
I'll venture their Itch and their Lice;
'Tis better, you know,
Maſter *Beadle*, to go,
Than to ſtay here to be eat up with Mice.

And now, for to give,
I have nought, as I live,
I was never ſo poor in my Life;
The Times are ſo dead,
I can hardly get Bread
For myſelf, my Children, and Wife.

Next I went to the *Baker*,
And he was a *Quaker*,
But a little inclin'd to the *Papiſt*;
When I told him our Loſs,
He made on him a Croſs,
And ſwore and damn'd like an *Atheiſt*.

Says he, Friend, be gone,
For Money I've none,
Go, prithee don't trouble my Shop;
Don't tell me o'the Dead,
I muſt live by my Bread,
And ſo I was forc'd for to 'lope.

When I came out o'the Door,
Says I, you Son of a Whore,
By your *Foreſtalling*, *Regrating*, and *Cheating*,
You have got an Eſtate,
And that makes you prate,
Take Notice I owe you a Beating.

I went hence to the *Brewer*,
And there I thought ſure
I ſhould meet with a little Relief;
But, Faith, when I come,
He look'd ſo damn'd grum,
I ſaid nothing, but ſtood like a Thief.

It ſeems 'twas the Day
He was doom'd to go pay,
Upon Ale and Beer, the Exciſe:
Betwixt Taxes and Malt,
Says he, I don't get Salt,
And ſo ſhould lay down, were I wiſe.

At length I grew bold,
And went to him, and told
The Long and Short of the Thing;
His Reply was, Don't teaſe me,
Pray Friend, I'd be eaſy,
I muſt give not to her, but the King.

Then next with the *Banker*
I ſoon caſt my Anchor,
And told him the State of the Dame;
His Anſwer was ſhort,
All he had lay at Court,
And bid me return whence I came.

To th' *Anchor-ſmith* next,
Whom I found ſadly vex'd,
At the News of a Merchant juſt broke;
I aſk'd him for ſomething,
Who ſtood like a dumb Thing,
At laſt ſcratch'd his Head, and thus ſpoke:

Friend, did you but know,
You'd ne'er preſs me ſo,
And out he lugs a long Scroul;
As God is to ſave me,
'Twixt Merchants and Navy,
I'm utterly ruin'd by my Soul.

Thence I trudg'd to the *Taylor*,
That Wretch did bewail her,
But ſwore he had never a Souſe;
If I had it, ſaid he,
You ſhou'd have ſomething of me,
But, Faith, I'm ſcarce worth a Louſe.

A Pox take all the Beaus,
They muſt have their new Cloaths;
I abhor thoſe Fools in the Faſhion:
Your Knights, 'Squires, and Lords,
That won't keep their Words.
By Heavens, wou'd there was none in the Nation.

I went next to the *Drapers*,
Found their Boys cutting Capers,
With Abundance of Fiddles and Flutes;
But, when I aſk'd them for Money.
They ſtood ſtaring upon me,
As though they'd been ſo many Mutes.

Said I, Where's your Maſter?
So I told the Diſaſter;
To which anſwers one of the wiſeſt,
Sir, he, ſeldom comes here,
If he does, he with Beer,
In a dreadful Manner, diſguis'd is.

From the *Draper* of *Linnen*,
(Which they *ſell*, and then *ſin* in)
I went to their Brother of *Wooll:*
But he gave me a Joke,
And ſaid that his Poke
Was as empty as his Skull.

To the next that I went,
Was old Sir *Cent. per Cent.* *
That was ſoundly enrich'd by her Art;
His Reply was in ſhort,
I have found better Sport,
And don't value her Death of a Fart.

Being thus in Quandary,
I met *Apothecary*,
And told him the Full of the Matter;
He call'd me aſide,
And aſk'd, when ſhe dy'd,
And withal, what Doctors came at her.

I'm afraid, with their Bliſters,
Their Purges and Clyſters,
And Iſſues in every Part,
They weaken'd her ſo much,
She could not ſtand the Touch,
I'm afraid on't with all my Heart.

If her Head had been ſhav'd,
She might have been ſav'd,
Had ſhe taken a Vomit withal;
But, if ſhe's dead, 'tis in vain
Any more to complain,
Here's a Couple of Pence, 'tis my All.

I march'd next to the *Preſſers*,
And from him to the *Mercers*,
Where the *Foreman* ſtood combing his Wig;
At the Fur-end o'th'Shop,
The Lads were whipping a Top,
In the Middle one dancing a Jig.

* An Uſurer.

You

You muſt know this ſpruce Cit
Laid a Claim to ſome Wit,
And, to ſhew it, took a Wife for her Beauty;
But I ſaw by his Face,
There was ſomething i'th'Caſe,
I'm afraid ſhe'd late been on Duty.

Well, without long Petition,
I told the Condition,
He gave me his Anſwer in brief:
I lament the good Dame,
And ſpeak it with Shame,
But have nothing to give for Relief.

Being deviliſhly vex'd,
To a Wretch I went next,
That was ſelling of Buttons and Thread;
But, had you been there,
You'd have ſaid, I dare ſwear,
He was more fit to be ty'd in his Bed.

When I told him, Mother *Trade*
Was gone to the Shade,
He ſwore a great Oath, why do'u name her,
I have juſt bought a Horſe,
And I'll out for a Purſe,
I'd almoſt venture Hanging to ſhame her.

I thought 'twas no Boot,
To ſay more to the Brute,
And ſo to the *Saddler* I pack,
Where I found him a Swearing,
Stamping, Grinning, and Staring,
He had ſcarce got *One* to his Back.

Says he, Theſe Commanders,
By their Warring in *Flanders*,
Have ſo curſedly run in my Debt,
They've ſcarce left me a Farthing,
To keep me from Starving,
Prithee, Friend, don't urge me to fret.

I went then to the *Grocers*,
To the *Braſiers* and *Throwſters*,
To the *Binders* and *Sellers* of *Books*;
But, for the Succeſs,
I could preſently gueſs,
By their Goods in their Shops, and their Looks.

I went next to the *Black-ſmith*,
The *Silver* and *Jack-ſmith*,
And ſo called on a *Perfumer*;
But he, like a Rogue,
Though the chief Trade in Vogue,
Bid the Devil in Hell conſume her.

I went to the *Printer*,
The *Victualler* and *Vintner*,
But, there finding nothing but Chalk,
To the *Weavers* I went,
But, being near Day of Rent,
They were all mov'd, their Landlords to baulk.

But, Sir, 'tis too long
To repeat the whole Throng,
I have been with moſt Trades in the City;
And ſaid what I cou'd,
But 'twould all do no Good,
They're too poor to be wrought into Pity.

Having finiſh'd my Range,
From *Temple-Bar* to the *'Change*,
I thought of a new Expedition;
I was reſolved to go,
As far as *Soho* *,
And try of *French* and *Dutch* the Condition.

And yet, by the Way,
I made a ſhort Stay
At the *Temple*, if you know the Place, Sir;
On a *Lawyer* I call'd,
That oft Client had maul'd,
And told him the State of my Caſe, Sir.

He aſk'd me, from whence
I had that Impudence,
To expect any Goodneſs from him;
Says he, Sirrah, you know,
We have nothing to do,
But to cheat, drink, whore, and go trim.

Then, Maſter *Attorney*,
Since it don't concern ye,
I'll go to the *Jobber* of *Stocks*;
But he'd jobb'd ſo long,
As I found by his Song,
That he could give her nought but the Pox.

* The *French* Refugees and *Dutch*, that came over in King *William*'s Reign, chiefly ſettled about *Soho*-ſquare.

I went

I went next to the *Prieſt*,
But he ſwore, 'twas in Jeſt
To aſk any Charity there;
For he'd many Children to get,
With much Coſt, Pains, and Sweat,
Beſides ſomething for Puddings and Beer.

And now for *Monſieur* *,
Who, before I came near,
I ſuppoſe had ſmelt out the Matter;
He makes two or three Cringes,
As if he hung upon Hinges,
And thus he began for to flatter.

Begar, me and *Minheer*,
Bin very ſorry to hear,
Of de Death of de *Engliſh* Trade;
Dis be one good Nation,
Upon my Salvation,
As ever me tinke dat God made.

Here I put him in Mind
Of what I deſign'd,
And he very briſkly reply'd:
De *French* and de *Dutch*,
Dat love her ſo much,
Will take Care dat ſhe ſhall be ſupply'd.

The *Frenchman*, *Begar*,
Will take very good Care,
To lay her ſo deep ſhe ſhan't riſe;
For, if once ſhe ſhou'd,
Dat wou'd be no very good,
If de *Engliſh* ſhould open their Eyes.

The *Beadle* here ends
The Tale he intends,
And ſo we march'd on to the Grave;
But, when we came nigh,
There was ſuch an Outcry,
Good Lord! how the People did rave.

There was *Gun-ſmith*, and *Cutlers*,
And *Founders*, and *Suttlers*,
And *Coach-makers* a great many;
There were *Coblers*, and *Tinkers*,
Thoſe honeſt Ale-drinkers,
And *Shoe-makers* too more than any.

There were ſome of all Trades,
Even *Rogues*, *Thieves*, and *Jades*.
All howling and yelping about her;
Such Throwing away Snot,
Drivel, Piſs, and what not,
That, in ſhort, I wiſh'd myſelf out, Sir.

Had you been next,
When Maſter *Spin-text*
Began to hold forth to the People,
You'd have ſwore that the Jar
Had been louder by far
Than that 'twixt the *'Change* and *Bow-ſteeple*.

And then for the Sound,
When they put her i'th'Ground,
What Mortal was able to bear it?
For my Part, I confeſs,
I got out of the Preſs,
And left thoſe, that lik'd it, to hear it.

But now, to conclude,
I think, 'twou'd be rude,
Without ſaying ſomething o'th'Dame;
In ſhort, we ſhall miſs her,
But you know how 'tis, Sir,
And let thoſe that deſerve't have the Blame.

* See the foregoing Note.

A Letter

A Letter of Advice to a Friend, upon the Modern Argument of the Lawfulneſs of Simple Fornication, Half-Adultery, and Polygamy. Printed 1696. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

July 17, 1696.

SIR,

THE Diſcourſe, which happened in our Company laſt Night, has obliged me to write this Letter to you. I am aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch Paradoxes of Iniquity ſet up, and to prevail ſo unreaſonably among Men who think themſelves the greateſt Maſters of Reaſon. To think *Polygamy* and *Fornication* lawful; nay, as ſome have maintained (for there is no Stop in Wickedneſs) even *Adultery* too.

There is nothing in this Matter; but Men, having their Appetites unbridled, by any Reſtraint or Diſcipline of Religion, have given them a Looſe, are reſolved to purſue whitherſoever they go; and invent the beſt Arguments they can to defend them. Nay, ſome come at laſt to believe what they have at firſt offered in Jeſt, and to try what it would do. And it is a juſt Judgment, and often threatened by God, to give thoſe up to follow their own Imaginations, who have no Pleaſure in his Ways; but, inſtead of loving them, and ſetting themſelves, with the full Force and Strength of their Minds, carefully and diligently to follow them; and to take Pleaſure in them; do, on the contrary, delight to rally them; and to hear Arguments ſet up againſt them, which is a ſure Intimation of a Diſlike of them, and conſequently a Contempt of him who enjoined them; nay, a Hatred of him; for we cannot love him, and hate his Laws. We never ſaw him, and know him only by his Laws, and that Light of himſelf, which he has given us therein. Therefore, when we would tranſgreſs the plain Letter of the Law, as all the World has ever underſtood it, we can never be ſure but that we are in the diſmal Number, and under the heavy Curſe of the Haters of God, unleſs we can bring an Authority which will outbalance that upon which the Letter of the Law does ſtand. Now all the World has hitherto underſtood that both *Fornication* and *Adultery* are forbidden under the *Goſpel*. And what is it which our modern Wits have to oppoſe to this? Why, (forſooth!) as you have heard ſome of them ſay, that the ſame Word, in *Greek*, ſignifies *Adultery* and *Fornication*, which is a great Miſtake, otherwiſe than as it is in *Engliſh*, and in all Languages. There are general Words which comprehend both, as *Whoredom*, *Uncleanneſs*, and the like. But there are likewiſe particular Words, which diſtinguiſh the particular Species of theſe from one another; and you have theſe reckoned up diſtinctly, *Gal.* v. 19, *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Uncleanneſs*, *Laſciviouſneſs*. And the Words *Adultery* and *Fornication* are as much diſtinguiſhed in the *Greek* as in the *Engliſh*; μοιχεία is *Adultery*, and πορνία is *Fornication*. And this poor and falſe Criticiſm is ſufficient to carry thoſe, who have ſtrong Inclinations, to the Hazard of their Souls, againſt the received and current Teſtimony of the whole World; whereas they would not venture a Penny againſt a Crown, were there half that Odds againſt them.

Let me next recollect to you the Arguments they brought for their pretended Opinion from Reaſon. I call it *pretended* Opinion, becauſe, though Men endeavour to amuſe themſelves, that they be not ſtopped in the hot Purſuit of their Luſts, yet I cannot believe, that, in cool Thoughts, any, who has ever learned the firſt Principles of Chriſtianity, can perſuade himſelf (eſpecially upon a Sick-bed) that any *Fornication* and *Uncleanneſs* can be allowed in the Goſpel, which requires the utmoſt Purity, not only of the *Eye*, but of the *Heart*. However, let us hear their Reaſons. They urge from *Juſtice*, that there is no *Wrong* to any

any *third* Perſon, where both the Parties are *ſingle*.

But this Argument will have no Effect, unleſs they can annul the Commands of God, which forbid it: Becauſe we are bound, and that in the ſtricteſt *Juſtice*, to obey God's Commands, even in Things which are indifferent in their own Nature. It was Death to neglect *Circumciſion*, and other legal Inſtitutions. God ſought to kill *Moſes* himſelf, for neglecting to circumciſe his Son, *Exod.* iv. 24.

2. The Argument is falſe, that that there is no Wrong done to any *third* Perſon in *Fornication:* For it is a great Wrong to the *Parents*, *Relations*, and whole *Family*. Let any Man judge of this, by the Reſentment he would have againſt any who ſhould debauch his *Mother*, *Daughter*, or *Siſter*, and againſt them ſo debauched.

3. If there was no Wrong to any *other*, yet, if it be a *Sin*, it is the greateſt Wrong to the Perſon and themſelves, to damn their *Souls*. And it is the higheſt *Injuſtice*, as to this World; it ruins their *Reputation*, and this, eſpecially in *Women*, is not only a *Shame* (if they ſhould be content to bear with that) but it is a real *Loſs*, and Hindrance of their *Fortunes*; and, though it ſhould not be known, it is a great *Injuſtice* to the Man who ſhall marry ſuch a Woman. If any Man think little of this, let them conſider how they would take it to marry another Man's *Whore*; and let them do as they would be done to. But there is yet a greater *Injuſtice*, and that is, to the Perſon herſelf; for ſhe, that is once debauched, is laid open to the Temptations of others; and, when forſaken by her firſt Lover, ſeldom returns to her Virgin Modeſty, but ſeeks out, or is found by ſome other; and often goes on to common Proſtitution; all which is, in *Juſtice*, chargeable upon her firſt Corrupter. And if, as many believe, the Reaſon, why *Dives* deſired the Converſion of his Brethren, was not *Charity* to their *Souls* (for that is not found in Hell) but becauſe his Puniſhments were increaſed to the ſame Degree that his evil Example did ſpread upon Earth, by which we muſt ſuppoſe his Brethren and neareſt Acquaintance to be chiefly infected, this will be a terrible Conſideration to thoſe who do corrupt others.

What I have ſaid, as to *Fornication*, that is betwixt two *ſingle* Perſons, will operate more ſtrongly againſt that new Notion of *Adultery* which you heard advanced, *viz.* That *Adulterium* is *quaſi*, *ad alterius Thorum*, i. e. to go to *another's* Bed; and therefore that, betwixt a *ſingle* and a *married* Perſon, it is *Adultery* only in the *ſingle* Perſon, who invades the Bed of *another*.

But this poor *Quibble*, upon the *Latin* Word, *Adulterium*, is loſt in the *Greek* Original of the *Text*, μοιχεία. But, as to the Reaſon of the Thing, if the *ſingle* Perſon *invades*, the *Married* does *defile* and *betray* the Bed of another; and moreover adds the Breach of the ſolemn *Vow* to *God*, which is enacted in the Office of Matrimony. Beſides, if one be guilty, both muſt; becauſe it is a Sin to be acceſſary to the Sin of another.

Wretched are theſe Shifts, which Men, bent to their own Deſtruction, have found out to delude themſelves! But they will ſtand them in no Stead at the Bar of the great Tribunal; no nor qualify their deſponding Conſciences upon their Death-bed; upon which Men have a Notion of ſinful Pleaſures, when they are to be for ever ſeparated from them, very different from that which they had, while they were in the Purſuit of them; and thoſe Arguments, which then appeared favourable to the Gratification of their Luſts, will now be ſeen in their true Colours, to be nothing but Deceit and fatal Deluſion; like Promiſes which are ſaid to be made to *Witches* by their *Familiars*, which are not diſcovered, till their Death, to have a double Meaning; a *falſe* one to delude them with Hopes while they lived; but the *true* one always verified in their Deſtruction, when it is too late to prevent it.

When Men ſin out of human Infirmity, there is a Sting of Conſcience always remains; which, by the Bleſſing of God, may ſome Time or other reclaim them; though it is the moſt extreme Danger and Madneſs, to go on in our Sins truſting to this; for, when Habits are grown ſtrong, it is the utmoſt Difficulty to return from them. *Can the* Ethiopian *change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots? Then may ye alſo do Good, that are accuſtomed to do Evil*, Jer. xiii. 23.

But ſome, to get rid of that terrible Monitor, a *wounded Conſcience* (when they are reſolved not to part with their Vices) do ſtudy and greedily catch at Arguments, to alter the Nature of their Sin (which cannot be altered) and ſo come at laſt to perſuade themſelves that they are perſuaded of the *Lawfulneſs*, at leaſt

Tolerableneſs

Tolerableneſs of a *Darling* Sin; which therefore they indulge, if not without all Reluctance, yet with leſs than they had before; and therefore think this a happy Conqueſt.

But alas! it is a miſerable one over themſelves; and their Condition then is moſt deſperate, for this is a Corrupting of their *Principles*; and there is no Repenting or Returning from that Sin, which they think not to be a Sin, or can find Excuſes for it, ſuch as, for the preſent, ſhall ſatisfy them; at leaſt ſtop the Mouth of a clamorous Conſcience. *Balaam* ſought ſuch an Excuſe, and he found it; and *He that ſeeks ſhall find* in this wicked Senſe, as well as in the contrary Senſe of which our Saviour ſpoke it.

And now let me reaſon a little with you upon the Merits of this Cauſe: *God* is a *Spirit*, and therefore *Spirit* is more *real*, more *ſubſtantial* than *Body*; and the true Pleaſure is indeed but *ſpiritual*, in that low Degree, by which our *Spirit* or *Soul* partakes of Pleaſure by the Mediation of the *Body*; or the *Body* only by the Powers of the *Soul*, which enliven and actuate it; and from which it receives its *Senſation*; and therefore, when our *Soul* is gone, the *Body* is no longer ſenſible either of *Pleaſure* or *Pain*; becauſe the *Soul* acts no more by it. But thoſe pure *Souls*, which act without the Incumbrance of *Bodies*, have a Perception much more quick and delicate, than can be conveyed by ſuch groſs and elementary Bodies, as ours are rendered ſince the Fall. And therefore the Happineſs, which is laid up for us, is to be freed from the dull and terreſtrial Bodies; and to have *ſpiritual* Bodies given to us, faſhioned like unto Chriſt's glorious Body. This is our utmoſt Happineſs, and thither all our Endeavours ſhould tend. And this is the great End of our Religion, to wean us from the Body; to fit and prepare us for the *ſpiritual* State; for we muſt be, in ſome Sort, made like unto it before we enter into it; and that is to be done, while we are in this Life. Now, of all Sins, thoſe of the *Fleſh* are the moſt oppoſite to the *ſpiritual* Enjoyment, and therefore the *Fleſh* is to be kept under, even in our *lawful* Allowances; we may ſin by Exceſs in them; how much leſs then are *forbidden* Pleaſures to be allowed of? For all theſe do proceed from an *inordinate* Affection; which of itſelf is a *Sin*. Therefore, taking this Matter from the Bottom, you ſee the Reaſon of the ſevere Prohibitions againſt the Sins of the *Fleſh*; they are utterly inconſiſtent with a *ſpiritual* Eſtate; they do, the moſt of all other Sins, incapacitate us from the *ſpiritual* Delight; they put us into a Frame quite oppoſite to it; and that is, to *God*, whom the *pure* Hearts and Minds do only ſee (*Matth.* v. 8.) for he is *ſpiritually* diſcerned. Therefore it is ſaid, *Gal.* v. 17. *That the Fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit againſt the Fleſh; and theſe are contrary the one to the other.* And 1 Pet. ii. 11. *Dearly beloved, I beſeech you, as Strangers and Pilgrims, abſtain from fleſhly Luſts, which war againſt the Soul.* Obſerve they *war* againſt the *Soul*; and the Reaſon why we ſhould ſubdue them is, becauſe we are *Strangers* and *Pilgrims*, that is, in this World; our Reſt, our Enjoyment, is not here; but we are ordained to be made Partakers of the *Divine* Nature, but this ſhall be only to thoſe *who have eſcaped the Corruption that is in the World through Luſt*, 2 Pet. i. 4. That is, either thoſe who have not been guilty of it; or who have ſincerely repented, and returned from it; as *Mary Magdalen*, out of whom *Chriſt* caſt *ſeven Devils*, Mar. xvi. 9. There are *Evil Spirits* (believe it) which poſſeſs thoſe who give themſelves up to *Uncleanneſs*; and theſe muſt be diſpoſſeſſed before the *Holy Spirit* of *God* will enter; which will never deſcend to a *foul* and *polluted Soul*. This is the great Argument uſed, 1 *Cor.* vi. That our *Bodies* are the *Temples* of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and *Chap.* iii. 17. *If any Man defile the Temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.* We are *Members* of *Chriſt, ſhall I then take the Members of Chriſt, and make them the Members of an Harlot?* This Conſideration is dreadful! *The Body is not for Fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the Body.* Here is great Honour given to our Bodies; the Lord has reſerved them for himſelf, and himſelf for them. This is a great Myſtery, and ſhould ſtrike us with Aſtoniſhment! And from hence it may be argued, that, when we abuſe our Bodies, we commit *Adultery* even againſt *God*; who is *married* to us, *Jer* iii. 14. And, to ſhew the Hatefulneſs of this Sin, *Idolatry* is all along through the *Prophets* called going a *Whoring* from the *Lord*, committing *Adultery* againſt him. And, as this is moſt provoking to God, ſo it comes neareſt to ourſelves, it affects us moſt of any other Sin. *Every Sin that a Man doeth is without the Body; but he, that committeth Fornication, ſinneth againſt his own Body.* It is like Putting Hand on one's ſelf, Aſſaulting of our own *Bodies*. And God hath puniſhed this Sin ſeverely, in *Sampſon*, in *David*, in *Solomon*; the Greateſt, the Wiſeſt,

Wiſeſt, the Braveſt of Men. It was this Sin of *Luſt*, for which the World was drowned, *Sodom* burned, and the *Canaanites* utterly deſtroyed, *Lev.* xviii. 27. God hath poured greater Vengeance upon no Sort of Sin. Many late Examples might be given; King *James* I, in his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον to Prince *Henry*, particularly obſerves that this Sin is often puniſhed with Want of lawful Iſſue, or the Death of thoſe we have; and he gives his Grandfather King *James* V. for an Inſtance, who was much ſubject to Incontinency, and loſt both his Sons moſt unfortunately, and left his Crown to an Infant Daughter. And, on the other Hand, he obſerves how God had bleſſed himſelf with a greater Gift of Continency, and a numerous Iſſue. As he did in both Reſpects to his Son King *Charles* I. But King *Charles* II. had no lawful Iſſue; and his Unlawful was a Grief of Heart to him, joining with the ſeditious Party againſt him. How many noble Families in *England* might be brought as Inſtances, to confirm this Obſervation, whoſe Honours are fallen, or gone into collateral Families, for Want of lawful Heirs, from the moſt remarkable Corrupters of the Marriage-Bed? But I will not take up Time in this. I refer you, for the Heinouſneſs of this Sin, and God's Puniſhments upon it, to the *Homily* againſt *Adultery*, and *The Whole Duty of Man*, upon this Head.

I ſhall only obſerve, that there is a Kind of Evil Spirits, as our *Saviour* tells us, which will not be got out but by *Prayer* and *Faſting*; and certainly this of *Luſt* is one of that Kind. For, while we pamper our Body to that Degree, that it is grievous to us to deny it a Meal of Meat; when ſhall we ſubdue it, and bring it under, that it may ſerve us, but not maſter us; not overcome our Reaſon, to lay aſide the Care of our *Soul*, which is *eternal*, to gratify its *beaſtly Deſires*, which are but for a *Moment?* But the *Guilt* never *dies*, tho' the *Body* be laid in the *Duſt*. How *fooliſh* then, how *dreadful*, how *ſottiſh* is it to neglect the *eternal Welfare* both of *Soul* and *Body*, for nothing elſe but to give the Body a little Swing now after *childiſh* and *tranſitory Follies!* And how *reaſonable* is it, how *manly*, how *Chriſtian*, to keep it under a fit Diſcipline; to *feed* but not to *pamper* it; not to deſtroy it, but to hinder it from deſtroying itſelf, and us, that is, our *Soul* with it! *Whoredom, and Wine, and new Wine take away the Heart*, Hoſ. iv. 11. they incapacitate it from ſerious Conſideration, or any Buſineſs that requires *Thought*, though even of this World; how much more then of *ſpiritual* Things! Theſe are ſo oppoſite, that they cannot come into the ſame Mind together.

And if a Man would be juſtly laughed at, and deſpiſed, who could not leave his *Whore*, or his *Bottle*, to ſave his *Eſtate*, or any worldly Matter of great Moment; or to ſerve his *Friend*, in a Point of *Honour:* If the Pleaſures of the *Body* muſt be ſacrificed to ſuch Conſiderations as theſe; is it then ſo monſtrouſly unreaſonable that they ſhould give Place, but a little, to Matters of *eternal* Moment! If we venture the *Health* of our *Bodies*, to ſit up whole Nights upon *Buſineſs*; or it may be *Goodfellowſhip*, *Cards* or *Dice*; Reading *Plays*, or a *Romance*; with what Face can we pretend our *Health*, as an Excuſe againſt *Watching* one Night, or but Part of one, in *Divine* Exerciſes, to *trim our Lamps*, and fit us for the *Coming* of the *Lord!* No, then we cannot keep our Eyes from Cloſing; and we grow *ſick*, that is, *weary* of that Employment. And the Reaſon is, *Senſuality* takes away the Reliſh of *Divine* Things; which cannot be apprehended but by a *ſtrong* and *ſettled* Thought: And, of all Things, *Senſuality* does moſt weaken the Mind, enervates, and takes all Strength from it. *How weak is thine Heart, ſaith the Lord God, ſeeing thou doſt all theſe Things, the Work of an imperious whoriſh Woman?* Ezek. xvi. 30. See a further Deſcription of this, *Prov.* vii. And then read an Account of that which is oppoſite to it, the true *Wiſdom*, in the viiith Chapter. St. *Paul* ſaid, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *I run, not as uncertainly; ſo fight I, not as one that beateth the Air; but I keep under my Body, and bring it into Subjection; leſt that by any Means, when I have preached to others, I myſelf ſhould be a Caſt-away.* You ſee, he eſteems it but an *uncertain Fighting*, and *Beating of the Air*, to uſe all other Exerciſes of Religion, if we add not that of Mortifying the *Body*; and that, without this, he himſelf, notwithſtanding of his great *Labours* in *Preaching*, his *Travels* and *Perſecutions*, would be in Danger of being a *Caſt-away*. And if *he* needed it, who can excuſe himſelf? *He*, who was (one would think) in a continued State of Mortification: For, *even unto this preſent Hour* (ſays he, 1 *Cor.* iv. 11.) *We both hunger and thirſt, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain Dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own Hands*, &c.

&c. And yet to hear Men excuſe themſelves, from *Faſting* one *Day* in a *Week*, who live in Plenty and Eaſe; if that was all; but who plead the *Vigour* of their *Body*, and *Strength* of their *Conſtitution*, as an Excuſe for gratifying their *Luſts*; which, by theſe Means, grow too ſtrong for them! And therefore there is no Hopes of perſuading any Man by Reaſon, to forſake his *Luſts*, unleſs he will firſt conſent to mortify his *Body*. The leaſt Meaſure can be adviſed are all the *Faſts* of the *Church*; and let each Man's Zeal add to theſe, as he ſees Cauſe: Without this, your *Luſts* will never give you Leave to be heard; but keep you in perpetual Hurry, and Want of Thought. This is the *deaf Adder* that ſtoppeth your Ears, and her own, againſt the Voice of the *Charmer*. It is not *Words* will do it; this is a more *ſtubborn Devil*. We muſt ſet too our whole *Strength*, and all our *Application*, and *faſt*, and *pray*, and beg *God's Aſſiſtance*; we fight for our *Souls!* We muſt not do it *indifferently*; and we muſt not be diſcouraged, if we do not preſently *prevail*. God may think fit to try us, and to ſhew us the Danger, we were in, and the Bitterneſs of Sin, by the Difficulty of returning from it, and overcoming long Habits; and to let us ſee our own Weakneſs, that we have no Power of our ſelves, to help ourſelves; and thence to teach us to put our whole Truſt in him; and apply diligently unto him, by eatneſt *Prayer*, and a careful Attendance upon all his holy *Ordinances*: And then he will not fail us; we ſhall *preſently* perceive that we have *gained Ground* of our Enemy, and we ſhall *overcome* in the *End*. We have gone a great Length, when we are brought ſeriouſly to reckon our *Luſt* as our *Enemy*: For then we ſhall begin to ſtand upon our Guard againſt it; and never till then can we deny it any Thing, but follow its Impetuoſity, *as a Horſe ruſheth to the Battle*; and violently purſue our own Deſtruction; and Nothing can ſtop us, but a *Stronger* than this *ſtrong Man*; an higher Reliſh of *Divine* than of *ſenſual* Things: Till when, *ſenſual* Things muſt prevail: And this true Knowledge of *heavenly* Pleaſure is obtained in *Faſting* and *Retirement*. Then it is that God works with us, when we are at Leiſure to hear him; and ſhall we deny him ſuch an Opportunity?

All this may ſeem an Excurſion, and Leaving of the Argument; but it is not. Their Arguments for this Sin are eaſily anſwered; and I have, in few Words, anſwered them, for more needed not; but that which they moſt want is to be *ſtirred up*, and *ſhaken* out of their *Lethargy*. If once they come to *conſider*, their *Converſion* is half effected; towards which, I can only add my Prayers to what I have ſaid in the ſmall Compaſs to which I confine myſelf. And I will now go on to conſider the other Point, which you heard diſcourſed of, that is, *Polygamy*.

This is bottomed upon the ſame looſe Principles as the other; to give the Range to our Luſts, and let them endure no Limits. But it has more Pretence than the other; becauſe God did diſpenſe with it, as with *Arbitrary Divorces*, in many Ages of the World. But our *Bleſſed Saviour* reduces both back again to the original Inſtitution, *Matth.* xix. from *Verſe* 3, to the 10th. *From the Beginning* (ſays he) *it was not ſo*. How was it then? God at the Beginning made only *One* Male, and *One* Female. And, *for this Cauſe, a Man ſhall leave Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife; and they twain ſhall be one Fleſh*. They *Twain*, here, were but *Two*; this was the original Inſtitution; and this is applied to the Myſtical Marriage betwixt *Chriſt* and his *Church*; even as to the Number *Two*, and no more. *Eph.* v. 31, 32. *They two ſhall be one Fleſh. This is a great Myſtery; but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the Church*. This Parallel is made up by *Two*, being joined in *One*; but not in *One* being joined to *Many*; it can hardly be ſaid to be *One* with *Many*. There is a *Rivalſhip* of the *Many* to that *One*, and there is a *Diſperſion* of the Love of the *One* among *Many*; and they cannot *All* partake of the *One* alike. This is no perfect Union; like the Union of *One* and *One*, which is a full perfect Union; and a true Emblem of the Union betwixt *Chriſt* and the *Church*: *My Love, my Undefiled is but one?* Cant. vi. 9.

The firſt who broke in upon the original Conſtitution was *Lamech*, of the Poſterity of *Cain*, who took *Two* Wives, *Gen.* iv. 19. But we find not that it prevailed in the Poſterity of *Seth*; for, at the *Flood*, *Noah*, and his three *Sons*, had but *each* of them *One* Wife, who made up the *Eight* Perſons in the Ark.

And even when *Polygamy* was moſt in Uſe it was thought, though (in Strictneſs) *lawful*, becauſe then *diſpenſed* with, yet an *imperfect*, a *miſerable*, and *inconvenient* State. Therefore

Laban adjures *Jacob* thus, *Gen* xxxi. 50. *If thou ſhalt afflict my Daughtere, or if thou ſhalt take other Wives beſides my Daughters,* ——— *God is Witneſs*, &c. And *Lev.* xviii. 18. It is written, *Thou ſhalt not take a Wife to her Siſter*, or, as our *Margent* reads it, *One Wife to another.* This was a more perfect State, though the other, *for the Hardneſs of their Hearts*, was diſpenſed with, till *Chriſt* came to reſtore all Things, who gives a plain Rule, *Mark* x. 11. againſt *Polygamy*, when he made it *Adultery* to put away one Wife, and marry another. For, if *Polygamy* be lawful, how comes it to be *Adultery* to marry another Wife, whether he put away the Firſt or not? To put away a Wife unjuſtly, is a Crime; but it is not *Adultery*; the *Adultery* is the *Marrying* of another, while the firſt Wife is alive.

Let every Man have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Huſband, 1 Cor vii. 2. and the Reaſon given for it, *ver.* 2, 3, and 5, is only applicable to *Monogamy*. If it be ſaid, that that was for the Time to come; but did it diſſolve the *Polygamies* before contracted? I ſuppoſe not; ſo that, if a Man, who had ſeveral Wives, were converted to the Chriſtian Religion, it did not divorce from them all, or from all of them but one; but that he might keep thoſe Wives which he married before his Converſion; yet ſuch a Man ſhould not be preferred to any Office in the *Miniſterial* Function, and this I take to be no improbable Conſtruction of thoſe Commands, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. and 12, that *Biſhops* and *Deacons* muſt be the *Huſbands of one Wife*, that is, though *Polygamy* did not incapacitate a Man to become a *Chriſtian*, yet it did to be a *Clergyman*; at leaſt it was ſo thought expedient by the *Apoſtle*.

And from the Apoſtles Times, to this Day, there is no one Doctrine of *Chriſtianity*, which has deſcended by a more univerſal Conſent, and uninterrupted Tradition, than this of *Monogamy*, *Polygamy* having never been allowed in any *Chriſtian* Church, or Nation: And yet againſt the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, as underſtood and practiſed by the *Apoſtles*, and the *Church* of that *Age*, and all the *Ages* ſince, our thin *Beaux* would oppoſe their little *Criticiſms*; and cover themſelves with *Cobwebs*; who one Day, if they repent not, will call to the Hills and Mountains to fall upon them, and hide them from their *Judge*, and their *Guilt*. *Who now, being paſt Feeling, have given themſelves over unto Laſciviouſneſs, to work all Uncleanneſs with Greedineſs. But ye have not ſo learned of Chriſt*, Eph. iv. 19. *For*, Chap. v. 5, *this ye know, that no Whoremonger* (πόρνος it is, not only μοιχὸς Adulterer) *nor unclean Perſon hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Chriſt, and of God. Let no Man deceive you with vain Words; for becauſe of theſe Things cometh the Wrath of God upon the Children of Diſobedience.*

Bacchus

Bacchvs Bovntie: Deſcribing the debonaire Deitie of his bountifull Godhead, in the Royall Obſeruance of his great Feaſt of *Penticoſt.* Neceſſarie to be read and marked of all, for the Eſchuing of like Enormities.

Fœcundi calices, quem non fecere diſertum?

By *Philip Foulface* of *Ale-foord*, Student in good Felloſhip. Printed at *London*, for *Henry Kyrkham*, and are to be ſolde at his Shop, at the little *North-dore* of *Paules* Church, at the Signe of the *Black-boy*. 1593, *Quarto in black Letter*, containing three Sheets.

The Intention of this Pamphlet was to expoſe the Sin of Drunkenneſs and the Folly and Danger of thoſe who give themſelves up to that chargeable, ſilly, and Health-deſtroying Vice. A Vice, in which a Man takes the utmoſt Pains to drown his own Reaſon, to commence a Fool, the Object of a ſober Man's Reſentment and Reproach, and to ruin both his own Eſtate and Conſtitution. And it plainly demonſtrates, that Drunkenneſs is not the peculiar Vice of the preſent Age, as ſome pretend, but that ſtrong Liquor was both as intoxicating, and as much abuſed in the Reign of Queen Eliſabeth, *as in our Days: Otherwiſe it could not have given Occaſion to the ſevere Satyr of this ancient Treatiſe; which, I apprehend, may be as uſeful now to be publiſhed, as it was thought neceſſary to forewarn the Temptations, as to anatomiſe the Vice, by its reputed Author Mr.* Philip Foulface, *who, it appears, was a Miracle of his Age, for as much as he was a reformed Drunkard; and, though he could not rub the Ale-wife's Score out of his carbuncled Face, was reſolved to be no more enſnared with the Goodneſs of her Ale.*

To the right worthie and renowined Roiſter, Sir Richard Swaſh, *Lord and Maſter on Mount* Maluorn, *cheefe Controller on* Saliſburie-plaine, *Keeper of Accounts in the Cart-way, cheefe Foreſter in the Foreſt of* Dalamere, *high Generall of the Downes, Baron of* Birlip-hill, *Sergeant of the Shoares and Sea-ſide, and Vicar of the Vallies: Your dayly Orator,* Philip Foulface, *wiſheth*

wiſheth all Health, Wealth, Might, long Life, and proſperous Succeſſe, in all your Affaires and Enterpriſes where ſo euer.

WHen *Iupiter*'s Head was great with Childe, and the Time of Trauaile nere at Hand: He ſkorning to complaine, yet put to his Shiftes, was faine to ſend for *Vulcan the Smith*, to craſe his Crowne with a downedriuing Blow; not only to cauſe the Swelling to ceaſe, but alſo to prouide Paſſage for the Birth of his Babe. Which Thing when *Vulcan* had performed, in giuing him a ſound Pat on the Pate, out ſtarts *Pallas* at the Opening of his Head, and danced before him ſo Maiden-like, that the preſent Sight, ſo pleaſant, expelled all former Paines in the Birth. Euen ſo (moſt worthie Sir) when the confuſed Chaos of this Matter following was firſt Inhabitant in my witleſſe Head: then feared I no ſuch Swellings, as ſince I did feele, nor regarded thoſe Throwes, which now are ouerpaſt. Neuertheleſſe, when my Braines fell to their Buſines, and began to beate as though my Head had been ready to burſt, diſdaining withall the Help of Mother *Crackfart* the Midwife; *Iuno Lucina* was as deafe as a Diſhclout, ſo that *Volens Nolens* I betooke myſelfe to the Hearbe *Hellebore*, whoſe pleaſant Operation produced ſo preſent a Purgation, that forthwith there followed a moſt ſpeedie Deliuerance, excluding Cares, renuing Ioy. This young Impe thus borne, being brought to the Font, was named *Bacchvs Bovnty*. Which *Bovnty* I willingly offer vnto your Worthines; doubting not at all, but that you will highly accept of him; not only becauſe he is a bonny Boy, and the Gift of a Welwiller: But alſo becauſe he was begot by *Bacchvs*, your welbeloued Friend; conceaued by me, and nouriſhed euer ſince with the Iuice of the Grape. From *Ale-foorde*, this Ninth of *December*, *Anno Dom.* 1592.

Bounden to your Bignes,

Philip Foulface.

Philip Foulface to the courteous Reader.

SO many Men (ſome ſay) ſo many Mindes,
The braueſt Gnatho *cannot but offend:*
Mens Mindes doe wauer like vnconſtant Windes,
Hard then ſometimes to pleaſe our deareſt Friend.
Some hungrie Curre may bark aboue the reſt,
But pleaſe, or diſpleaſe, I haue done my beſt.

He, that delights to heare of mortall Warres,
Is too auſtere to reade this little Booke:
But he that ioyes to heare of good Ale Iarres,
I licence him with Leaue, herein to looke.
Here (gentle Reader) maieſt thou finde great Sport
To eaſe thy Cares, if hither thou reſort.

And

And welcome all, which reade and meane none Ill,
No further Ill than I, and welcome all:
A mery Minde to Mirth enclineth ſtill,
If waightie Cauſes doe not backward call.
Be mery then: Reade here, and doe not ſpare,
And welcome ſtill: Here is no better Fare.

Philip Foulface.

Quint. *Allicit externas præſuaui nectare gentes.*

Polit. ——— *non Mollia pleno*
——— *Deſunt vina cado.*

THE groutheaded *Græcians*, eſpeciallie the annointed *Achiues*, I meane the *Beziladiſtes*, thoſe deuout Doctors of *Lob Libers* Canne; theſe (I ſay) with their knight-like Crue, thought it an high Aſſumption to be as Fathers in a frolicke Feaſte, or as baſe borne Brothers, in bickering with the Broth of bountifull *Bacchvs*. Which coppernoſed Crue, the Knuckle-debunions of *Rome*, ſo aſſaulted with a freſh Canuazado the Citie of *Vinoſa*, that the Alarum of the *Romans* brake *Nectars* Necke, Head, and Shoulders; inſomuch that *Veſta* in great Outrage ruſhed out of a Rocke, and dedicated to ſweet Father *Bacchvs* as Crimſon a Colour as was then ſeene in her peereles Peticote, moſt fragrantlie fuming vp vnto *Bacchvs*; and likewiſe into the Noſtrills of all his noſled Nouiſes whereſoeuer.

This newfound Sacrifice, in this Sort offered to this burſten-bellied God, lent ſuch a ſweet Scent to the reſt of the Gods and Goddeſſes, eſpecially to platter-faced *Jupiter*, that preſently he appeaſed their Furie, mitigated the afore offered Iniurie, renewed *Nectar* to former Iollitie, and ſent out *Mercurie* as Ambaſſadour, to parle with *Neptune*, Rector of the Seas; that *Triton*, his truſtie Trumpeter, ſhould ſound along from Shoare to Shoare throughout the whole Worlde the bleſſed Bountie of *Bacchvs*.

Mercury diſcharging himſelfe, and *Triton* by Commaundement of his King, tied to the aforeſaid Chardge, with clattering Clang he thundred out ſuch ioyfull Newes, that not only Mount *Ætna* yeelded forth fierie Flames in Signification of ſodaine Ioyes: But alſo *Olympus* merily mounted, in Hope that *Permeſſus*, that pleaſant Spring, ſhould bee ſomewhat tainted, with the ſweet Taſte of ſo louely a Liquor.

The decreed Tidings of *Iupiter* are Worde by Worde in Effect, as followe:

Paſſe, *Mercury*, to *Neptunes* briniſh Bowers,
My Wiſh, my Will, in Haſt to him vnfolde;
Let *Triton* ſcale thoſe hieſt fleeting Towers,
In *Bacchvs* Praiſe let all his Tale be tolde.
Let him commaund, the Curiſts change their Liues,
In vaine ſtriues he, with *Bacchus* Brood which ſtriues.

The *Bacchanals* henceforth ſhall beare the Sway,
With Help of Hypocrites they ſhall doe well;
This Gift I giue, it ſhall be as I ſay,
Their Forwardnes in Fraies ſhall beare the Bell.
I giue them Right to ſweare it out with Wordes,
I giue them Might to ſwaſh it out with Swordes.

I will that theſe the auncient Order holde,
Th'Order of Knighthood neuer to decay:
The greateſt Soakers ſhal be leaſt controulde,
Each *Tyro* ſhall of *Nectar* make his Pray:
And whoſe Conceipts God *Bacchvs* deemes the beſt
Shall haue a rich Reward aboue the reſt.

Come, *Ganimedes*, come with chryſtal Cups,
Some nappie *Nectar* bring me here in Place;
Accurſt be he which *Nectar* only ſups,
And turns not ouer Pot by Pot apace.
Accurſt be he which after *Ceres* gapes,
And ſhunnes to ſucke the ſugred Sappe of Grapes.

In

In Griefe liue they with Carkes of Cares oppreſt,
Which leaue their Liquor and away depart,
Till *Bacchus* haue them crowned with his Creſt,
Whoſe Force expelles all Sorrowes from the Hart.
With *Viuat Bacchvs*, let the *Ocean* ring,
The ſame let *Africk*, *Aſia*, and *Europe* ſing.

Now *Eccho*, the babbling Nymph, at the Sound of *Triton*, hauing Intelligence hereof, reſounded this Decree ſo mightilie towards the Maine, that it eaſily entred into the Hearing of all the Inhabitants in euery Hauen. And euen as, at the Bellowing of the bonnie white Bul, the ardent Heates of *Paſiphae* were more and more increaſed; in ſo much that one Horn of his Head was more precious in her preciſe Imagination, than all her former Sacrifices dedicated as Dainties to delectable *Diana*: Euen ſo as ſoone as the Bruite of moſt bountifull *Bacchus* was blazed abroad, *Tom Typſay*, an *Engliſh* Tapſter, wel-nere choaked with a marueilous drie Heat, which he of late had got by lifting ouerlong at old Mother *Redcaps**; this *Tom Typſay*, I ſay, with a wel tried Tankard trailing at his Tail: The more he thought of *Bacchvs* Bountie, the more he deſired to try the Experience: And, the further he laboured after his Liking, the longer he luſted after his Liquor; wiſhing, at euery Foote, the worthie Preſence of ſo gracious a God.

Thus *Tom Typſay*, not only in Hope to tipple with the beſt, but truſting to merite a further Rewarde, fell flat downe on both his Maribones, holding up his Hands on hie towardes the Heauens, and made his Oriſon to the renowned God *Bacchvs*, as hereafter followeth:

BOnny *Bacchvs*, God of Wines,
Cheefe Maintainer of our Vines,
Sucker the Soule, in Greefe which pines;
Water to drinke, I hold not good,
Thy Juice, Oh *Bacchvs*, breeds beſt Blood.
Nectar (good *Bacchvs*) *Nectar* ſend,
Braue *Bacchvs*, do thy Bounty lend:
Vnto *Tom Typſey* ſtand a Frend,
And ſo thy Fame ſhall neuer ende.
Nectar, ſweet *Nectar*, is my Wiſh,
Behold my Tankard, and my Diſh.
As for my Plate, I haue it ſolde,
And for pure Broath my Money tolde;
Yet once againe let me beholde,
Euery Morning warme or colde,
Nappie Liquor, ſtout and bolde,
Commended and boaſted,
In a Pot trimly toaſted,
The Pots Feet finely roaſted
In a worthie Fire.
And firſt of all for my Part,
To beſiege and ſacke the Quarte,
Till it warme me well at Hart,
And then doe it feele.
Sincke downe into my Heele:
And ſo next to take the Paines
To paſſe vpward through the Vaines,
And ſoake withall into theſe Braines,
Which witles now, alas! remaines
For Want of good Liquor.

Scarſe had he ended this his petitory Prattle, but *Bacchvs*, as willing to lend him a long Eare to heare, as hee to open a wide Mouth to aſke; and as deſirous to fetch him in for a Footman, as to turne him off his Truſſe; and as ready to feed him as fat as a Foole, as to teach him the Tricke to ſhue the Gooſe, preſently he rouſed vp his moiſty Head, and from a muddie Muſe ſo cleered vp his Cherilike Countenance, that the Maieſtie of his Noſe ſeemed as the Beames of the Sunne ſhining along throughout the Coaſtes of *Archadie*. But, miſſing the Sight of him whom he lately heard, forthwith he tumbled upon his Tunne, and ſtanding Bolt vpright, through the merueilous Influence which to him was imparted by *Euriopazeus*; he ſaw *Tom Typſay* in an exceeding Quandary, inſomuch that *Bacchus*, for very Pittie, through the Might of his Deitie, ſo curiouſly ſoared through the airie Region, that in a Moment he deſcried this perplexed Tapſter, and drawing nere him, he hailed him after this Maner:

Whereas (my Friend) thy Groans are ſo great and grieuous, that they haue aſcended the hieſt Cloudes, which cry out, in thy Behalfe, for my accuſtomed Clemency, and pierced withall into my bountifull Tunne, which now, troubled with the Sharpnes of thy Speech, threates out a Danger to her former Swauitie: Behold, *Bacchvs*, *Bacchvs*, I ſay, thy

* At the Sign of *Old Mother Redcap*, in *Highgate* Road, formerly much noted for good Ale.

beſt

beſt beloued God, ready preſt to performe what thou art willing to demaunde.

Say on therefore boldly, and fear not; and withall know this, that *Bacchvs* hath not only a Care to keep his Clients in Safety, but great Cauſe (no Doubt) to preſerue them in Felicity: For who is he that hath euer heard, much leſſe ſeene, that any of the Gods, at any Time, ſo tendred the Welfare of their Suppliants, as from Age to Age, both dayly and hourely, hath been ſeene in me. The Tyranny of *Iupiter* is teſtified by his threatning Thunderbolte; the Malice of *Mars* is expreſſed by his bloody Blade; the Outrage of *Pallas* is diſſembled by the Booke, but euidently perceiued by the piercing Launce; the Broyles of *Pan* are performed by the Crooke; the Fury of *Syluanus* is known by the Clubbe; the diſmal Decrees of *Diana* are noted by her Dartes; and, to be briefe, all the other Gods and Goddeſſes, *Hercules* like, are cloyed with ſuch cholericke Clubbes, that their Mouthes taſte nothing ſauing Wordes of Wrath, and their Deeds ſeem vndecent, unleſſe they ſmel of Reuenge.

But *Bacchvs*, that braue God, whom thou ſeeſt here preſent, abhorreth that his Wightes ſhould bee wearied with the Waight of ſuch vnweildie Weapons. No, no; I beare (as thou maieſt ſee) a beautifull Braunch of goodly Grapes, in Token of Joy and Gladnes: Whereas the Terrour of other Gods, to the Griefe of many, doth prognoſticate Sorrow and Sadnes.

Now therefore, Tapſter, if thou wilt be as ready to make Trial of my Bovntie, as I willing to inuite thee to my Banquet, beholde, *Whitſon-weeke* is neere at Hand, then are my Feaſts called *Bacchanalia* *; then reſort together the whole Band of *Bacchvs* in their chiefeſt Brauerie, amongſt whome, if it ſo pleaſe thee, thou ſhalt be entertained as a Gueſt moſt welcome to *Bacchvs*.

Tom Typſay hearing ſo courteous a Diſcourſe, as a Man marueilouſly amazed for Joy, ſtood a long Time ſtaring in *Bacchvs* Face, not able, poore Soule, as then, to make a Reply. But *Bacchvs*, a perfect Phiſitian, willing to preſerue his Patient in ſo pitifull a Plight, reuiued his Spirites with the ſweet Moyſture of his Tunne, and refreſhed his Braines with the Iuice of his Grapes. Hereat *Tom Typſay*, awaking as it were from a drouſie Slumber, yeelded to his God, *Bacchvs*, a Tub full of Thankes, and promiſed at the Time appointed to bee there with the firſt. Yet, becauſe hee knew not the Place, hee demanded of him thus:

Sith your Worſhip's Godhead hath vouchſafed to commaund my Companie to ſo famous a Feaſt; let it not diſpleaſe your Maieſtie to put me in Memorie of the Place; elſe, *by the Maſſe* †, I promiſe you, I feare mee, I ſhall neuer finde out your Honours Houſe: I pray you, Sir, how do you call it?

To reſolue this Doubt, quoth *Bacchvs*, vnderſtand therefore, that my Manſion-houſe is called *Alepotto*, ſcituate on the South-ſide of *Quaffington*, enquire for mee at the Signe of the *Scarlet Noſe*, and from thence ſhalt thou bee ſet aright into *Beerebury-lane*, ſo that, being there, thou canſt not miſſe to finde out my Palace, for thou ſhalt plainely ſee it before thine Eyes.

Hereat *Tom Typſay* made a long Legge, vowing to be there without Faile; and *Bacchvs*, willing to diſmiſſe him, bleſſed the Tapſters Tankard with Part of his Bovntie, and thereupon departed.

Thus the Tapſter in great Haſte hies him Home as mery as any Hare in the Moneth of *March*. For whereas, before this ſo comfortable a Conference, he was ſo lazie, that euery Foote ſeemed to haue a leaden Heele; euerie Legge in ſuch a Quandarie, as though they had tooke ſome new Acquaintance with the Goute; yea his very Head ſo heauie, as if it had beene harneſſed in an Horſe-Nightcap; and his whole Bodie ſo diſtempered, as though he had beene prickt to the very Heart with a Belclapper. Beholde, nowe the Caſe is altred, and hee is altogether become another Man; for now he is as nimble as a Dogs Taile, as couragious as a Butterflie, and as merrie at the Heart as the beſt Pair of Bagpipes in all the Countrey.

But as Times are altred, ſo diuers Accidents are inferred. Happie was *Midas*, when it was graunted unto him, that all which hee touched ſhould bee Golde: But ſoone haples againe,

* i. e. *drunken Feaſts*; and truly whoever obſerves the Rioting of the *London*-Youth at *Whitſontide*, at *Greenwich* or *Wandſworth*, &c. will be ſoon convinced, that *Bacchus* ſtill keeps his *Pentecoſt* at *London*.

† An old Popiſh Oath.

when his Meate was metamorphoſed into Metall, and he with his Wiſh ready to ſtarue. Glad was *Acteon* at the Sight of *Diana*, when ſhee bathed herſelfe amongſt her Nimphes; but luckles was his Lot, when ſhortly after hee became himſelfe a preſent Pray to bee devoured of his owne Dogs. And ioyfull was *Tom Typſay* in Remembraunce of the Bovntie of his God *Bacchvs*; but ſorrowfull, alas! at his Returne, when firſt he came within the Viewe of his Wife: For ſhee, as is the Maner of all headie Huſwiues, whoſe Tongues * are more ready to raue, than their Hands to worke, not ſticking one Iot to teache him a newe Leſſon, tooke him roundly by the Topping, and welcomed him Home after this Maner.

Ah, ah, Sirra! I ſee by Aſtronomie that the Moone is euen now at Full, and the Signe ſettled juſt in the Noſe; in ſo much that, as by all Mathematicall Probabilities I doe conjecture, Backe and Bellie may this Yeare both goe bare, ſo that there be no Want of Harnes for the Head. Well, well, I need not to tel thee what thou art, the Gilding of thy Noſe ſufficiently bewraies thy good Behauiour. In ſo much that either *Luna* hath come downe alone, and, in taking thee for her olde *Endimion*, hath made thee her newe Moone Face; or, as thy Tottering too and fro doth plainely teſtifie, thou haſt had ſome long Tariance at *Simon Soakers* Houſe, the Coppernoſe Smith, your euer aſſured Friend. But one Thing aſſure thee, for ſo I am certainely perſwaded, that as the Diuell hath already dubbed thee for a Drunkard; ſo hereafter one Time or other, but neuer too late, *Don Tyburne* will inuite thee to a liueles Feaſt, and teach thee the croſſe Caper in a Halfepennie Halter. And thus in a fuſtian Fume ſhe flung away.

If true it be, as many report, that a curſt Queanes Tongue is as ſharpe as a Razor; Experience then proueth, that this poore Shaueling needed no better a Barber. Howeuer it be, I will referre it to their Rehearſall, which haue had their Crownes ſmoothed as well with a Crabtree Combe, as thoſe which haue tried the Sharpnes of the Siſers.

But euen as the Clap of the Thunder, the greater it is, the ſooner it ceaſeth; and the Blaſtes of *Boreas*, the more furious they are, the leſſe While is their Continuance; ſo likewiſe, a Womans Mouth, the more full it is of Wordes, the leſſe it is of Force, and ſooner it waſteth into Winde. The Falling out of Louers is the Renewing of Loue, and the Bitternes of the Tongue is eaſely ſeaſoned with the Sweetneſs of the Lippes; for what with pleaſing Speeches, ſweete Conceipts, the Clinking of the Pot, and the Drinking of new *Nectar*, theſe two ſweete Soules became both as one, and the Heate of their former Furies were frozen vp as it were into a Lake of euerlaſting Loue.

Thus whiles this Couple continued in ſolacing themſelues to their Hearts Content, behold *Whitſontide* drew on; and to be briefe, away they both do walke to the Banquet; but, becauſe theſe Gueſtes were wrapped vp in their chiefeſt Roabes, it will not be amiſſe to deſcribe them in their cheefeſt Brauery, as they paſſed along on their Journey.

THe Tapſters Hat was all in blew,
Beſeeming well his Nut-browne Hiew:
His Noſe was ruddy, as I weene
And bending as the Faucons beene.
His thin-ſet Heire along did ſit,
Which repreſents a Woodcocks Wit;
Yet bald withall was *Typſay* found,
With Eares Side hanging like a Hound.
His Eyes mere fiery on each Side,
His Mouth was open, gaping wide;
His Lippes great as a Cable-rope,
His Teeth white, as waſht in Sope.
A briſtled Beard did flower his Cheekes,
His Breath was ſweete, as vnſet Leekes.
Vpon his Chinne a Wart did grow,
Bacchvs thereby might well him know.
About his Neck he wore a Ruffe,
A Quarter long, which was enuffe.
His Iacket grey, well fac'd with Furre,
His Voyce was like a barking Curre.
His Shoulders did like Horſeloues ſtand,
As Pillers to vphold his Band.
His Back was ridged like a Boare,
His Belly like a Tunne before.
There hangs a Tap betweene his Legs,
From whence he turneth foorth his Dregs.
On either Hand was placed a Cuffe,
And brauely was he breecht in Buffe.
His Leggs they were ſo crooked ſeene,
A yoked Hog might run betweene.
One Foot was of the largeſt Sice,
The other clubbed Crabtree wiſe.

* See the *Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue*, on Page 167.

And

And heere deſcribed is the Gueſt,
Which *Bacchvs* bad vnto his Feaſt.

Now, as concerning the coſtly Attire of the Tapſters Wife, becauſe I am in Haſte at this Time, I am rather willing to ſlip ouer ſo cumberſome a Matter with Silence, than to trouble idle Heads with Matters of ſo great Importance.

As they thus traueled togeather, at length they obteined their long deſired Hauen, and entered into the Pallace of good *Bacchvs*, where they were ſo worthilie entertayned, that that the Sunne in his Midday Spheare, ſhining out moſt brightlie, doth ſcarce halfe repreſent ſuch Glorie, as was, by Report, ſeene in this Feaſt. For whereas commonly now a Daies, we either inuite them of our Acquaintance, or ſuch whoſe newfound Friendſhip may be as Meanes to cure olde Soares; this mightie God, *Bacchvs*, to the Wonder of the Worlde, inuiteth not onely ſuch as bee his Familiars, but Men altogether vnknowne, as well the Poore as the Riche.

See then the Goodnes of this ſo gracious a God, al yee, which in the drieſt Drought of Summer, had rather ſhroude your Throates with a Handfull of Hemp, than with the Expence of an odde *Crinclepouch* *, waſh yourſelues within and without, and make yourſelues as mery as Dawes; yea learne yee Niggards at God *Bacchvs* to bee liuely; whoſe eſpeciall Fauor ſpreads, out itſelfe ſo far, that euery Nation doth magnifie his Name, euery Countrey ſpeakes in his Commendation, and all People paint him out with Pen and Penſill, in ſo much, that *Iupiter* himſelfe doth wonder at his Worthines.

But, to returne from whence I came: Their Entertaynment, I ſay, was ſuch, that they rather thought themſelues tranſported into *Paradice*, that Place of Pleaſure, than remayning in any earthly Habitation; for there they ſaw a royal Reſort, as well of all Lands and Languages, as of all Degrees and Callings whatſoeuer.

There was *Ganimedes* ſent from *Iupiter*, to imploy his Seruice at *Bacchus* Table; there was halting *Hebe* ſent from *Iuno* to furniſh this Feaſt with all Solemnitie. There was *Sylenus*, a ſtately Seruitour, waiting at euery Winke, and preuenting euery Want. Yea, ſuch was the Bovnty of *Bacchvs*, that he ſent downe to *Plutus*, Prince of Hell, and craued the Company of diuers of his Acquaintance, which *Plutus* performed accordingly.

Thither rode great *Alexander* vpon the Back of prauncing *Bucephalus*, brauely accompanied with *Sardanapalus*, King of *Aſſiria*, Queene *Semiramis*, and *Ninus* her Sonne, firſt Founders of *Babilon*.

After theſe came *Claudius Tiberius*, the *Romaine* Emperour, who, for the Zeale hee had to the Vintree, was merely termed *Caldius Biberius mero*: With him came *Calgula*, *Nero*, and *Heliogabalus*, *Anthonie*, *Cleopatra*, and ſuch like.

After theſe againe came ſtumbling in blind *Homer*, the *Grecian* Poet, and with him came *Ariſtophanes*, *Menander*, and others; and along with theſe came *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ouid*, olde Father *Eunius*, *Geffery*, *Chaucer*, *Lydgate*, *Anthony Skelton*, *Will. Elderton*, with infinite mo, whoſe ſeueral Names to rehearſe were no les Labour, than to make a Mouſe to piſſe ouer *Poules*, or a Louſe to leap ouer the high Tops of *Maluerne* Hills.

Moreouer, after theſe came young *Cicero*, who, for the large Looſe that he had in turning downe his Liquor, was called *Bicongius*; with him came the blockheaded *Balatronus*, and *Vibidius*, *Mecenas* Trencher-mates, and that old Huddle and Twang *Ariſtodemus*, the Shadow of Saint *Socrates*.

And *Proſerpina*, the infernal Queene, willing to honour *Bacchvs* in what ſhe might, releaſeth *Tantalus* out of the Riuer, cauſeth *Syſiphus* to ceaſe from his tumbling Taſke, ſets *Ixion* free from his Torture, calls downe *Prometheus*, and compels the Vultures, deuouring his Heart, to ceaſe from their Pray; and, for the Time only that *Bacchvs* Feaſt continueth, ſhe doth licence them al to depart.

Glad were they to be releaſed, tho' but for a Time, and glad was *Bacchvs* that it was his Lot to welcome ſuch willing Gueſtes.

As *Bacchvs* was thus moſt buſie amongſt his Friends, behold a reuerend Route reſorted towardſt his Court with a Trumpet before them, founding moſt melodiouſly in Token of great Joy, for that they were ſo nere the pleaſant Paradice of God *Bacchvs*. Who they

* Six-pence.

were, from whence they came, and in what Maner they appeared in Preſence, followeth as thus:

Firſt of all came *Dauid Drie-throat*, from *Leſbona* in *Portugale*; in his Hand he held a Pecce well fild with Wine of *Canary*, which with Cap and Knee he preſented to God *Bacchvs*, and gave Place to the reſt.

Secondly, came *Alexander Addlehead*, from *Dun Baur*, a *Scot*, who offered to his God a Dozen of red Herrings, to ſeaſon his Mouth, before he ſate downe to taſte his Liquor.

Thirdly, there ſkipt in a *Spaniard*, of the City of *Logronio*, named *Blayner Bloblip*, who gratifying his God with two Limons, and an Orange Pill, with a moſt lowly Legge he lept aſide.

Fourthly, came wallowing in a *Germane*, borne in *Mentz*, his Name was *Gotfrey Grouthead*; with him he brought a Wallet full of Woodcocks Heads; the Braines thereof, tempered with other Sauce, is a paſſing Preſeruatiue againſt the Ale-paſſion, or Paine in the Pate.

Fifthly, came poſting in one *Peers Spendall* from *Brunduſium*, an *Italian* Frier, with a Pot full of holy Water, ſprinkling to and fro, and round about him, to driue away the Diuell, leaſt hee ſhould chaunce to come inuiſible and deceaue them of their Drinke.

The *Sixth* was one *Frauncis Franckfellow*, a *Corinthian*, in the Coaſts of *Achaia*; with him he brought a Box of Oyle, that *Bacchus* therewith might baſte his Belly, when it was ready to crack, with licking up ouerlauiſhly the ſmall Crums that tumbled out of his Tunne.

The *Seuenth* was one *Simon Swil-kan*; he came from *Colops*, a Citie in *Africa*, and preſented to *Bacchvs* a Buttock of Bacon; which, broyled on the Coals, and ſo eaten, will ſet a Man on longing for his Liquor before Sunneſhine, bee the Morning never ſo moyſty.

The *Eighth* was of *Capſa*, a Towne well known in *Numidia*; his Name was *Geffery Gooſcap*, and with him hee brought a Night-cap for God *Bacchvs* great Godhead, leaſt, through his hot Compotations in the Day, his Head ſhould crow with cold Conſumptions in the Night.

The *Ninth* was a iolly Gentlewoman, named Miſtris *Merigodown*; ſhe came from *Archelais*, a Citie in *Cappadocia*, with a Fanne of Fethers in one Hand, and a Looking-glaſſe in the other, which both ſhe gaue to *Bacchus*; the one to gather Winde, leaſt his Breath ſhoulde faile him when he blew a long Blaſt in a Wine Pot; the other to ſee his Noſe, leaſt, continuing ouerlong in a fierie Colour, it ſhoulde chance to be changed into a Carbuncle.

The *Tenth* was one *Philip Filpot*, brought up in *Varica*, a Citie of *Iberia*, and one of the Sect of Saint *Sinckator* *. This *Philip* was a Phiſition, and brought to his God *Bacchvs* a certaine Potion, marueilous in Operation, of which whoeuer hee were that did drinke, after hee had been well whitled, by Vertue thereof, if he once were aſleepe, ſhoulde neuer awake till hee were wiſer.

The *Eleuenth* was a *Iewe*, borne in *Ioppa*; hee had to Name *Chriſtopher Crabface*, a Man famous in Aſtrologie; he brought in his Hand a Prognoſtication newly compoſed, which hee beſtowed on God *Bacchvs*. In which Booke hee had largely ſet down diuers Detriments accidentall to this Yeare: Eſpecially this I noted, that many Drunkards, whiles they looked vpwards on high towards the Man in the Moone, ſhall breake their Necks downwards below in the Bottome of a Ditch.

The *Twelfth* was *Gilbert Goodfellow*, from *Arbila*, an *Aſſyrian*; this *Gilbert* was a Butcher, and brought with him an Hogs Head, a Sheepes Tongue, and a Calues Chauldron; the Hogs Head for Harneſſe againſt Entreatie; the Sheepes Tongue to temper his owne the better in telling of a true Tale; and a Calues Chauldron to wrap up his Noddle, leaſt in the Ende of a Banquet his inward Heate ſhould fume out with a Farewell to all good Felloſhip.

The *Thirteenth* came from *Choka*, a Citie in *Arabia*, named *Nicholas Neuerthriue*; he brought with him a Pudding Pie, pretilie powdered with ſuch hot Spices as his Countrie plentifully dooth afforde; which, being once taſted, dooth maruellouſly encreaſe a moyſtie Appetite, which *Bacchvs* receaued very thankfully.

The *Fourteenth* was called *Hodge Keauiebreech*; he came from *Miſerga*, a Citie in the Confines of *Perſia*. *Hodge* by his Occupation was a *Cardmaker*, who, for the Zeale he had to God *Bacchvs*, and all good Fellows, offered vp to him that renowned Ruffler, the Knaue

* *i. e.* A *Back-Gammon Player.*

of

of *Clubs*, with a Box of *Trim trillilles*, commonly called, the *Dice*; the one to aide him in a needeles Combat; the other, after his Loſſe, to ſerve him inſtead of Recreation.

The *Fifteenth* was one *Maudlen Moonface*, a mery Gentlewoman of *Dublin*, a Citie in *Ireland*; with her ſhe brought a Glaſſe ful, Noſe high, of *Aquauitæ*, the Operation whereof is no leſs monſtrous than marueilous; for, being drunk in a Morning, it ſo warmeth the Heart, as if the Body were in a Bath, whoſe inward Heats, when they begin to bud forth, tranſform themſelves into Gooſbery-grapes to be ſeen moſt plainely as vnder a Vizard of gliſtering Glaſſe.

The *Sixteenth* was a pleaſant *Parthian* of the ſtately Citie *Catompylon*, called *Loblurchall*; this Youth was a feate Fellow, and a fine Faulkner; with him he carried a *Water-wagtaile*, readie to flie at the faireſt Gooſe in *Wincheſter*; which Preſent God *Bacchvs* accepted very gratefully.

The *Seventeenth* was borne in *India*, at a fair Citie called *Tyndis*; this forſooth, was a coy Dame, called *Cate Craſhpot*; ſhe came clincking a Quart-pot for ſweet Muſicke, inſtead of the Tabret, to which Maner of Melodie God *Bacchvs* liſtned exceedingly.

The *Eighteenth* was one *Baudwin Barrelbelly*, from *Ormuſa*, a Place ſufficiently knowne in the Ile of *Cypruſſe*; with him he brought a Firkin full of Wine of *Baſterdes*, aſſuring God *Bacchvs* on his Fidelitie, that ſo many as he made thereof Partakers with him, as long as they applied themſelues to the harty Carouſe, ſhould neuer be haunted by Death, and faile Footing.

The *Nineteenth* came from *Garma* in *Æthiopia*, called *Goody Goodale*; ſhe (in Token of pure Deuotion) deliuered to *Bacchvs* a Sack full of Groute, and a Sack full of Hops, ſtanding ſtoutly in this Opinion, that the Barley-broath, aboue all other, did beare away the Bell, and that neither Grape nor Berry might in any Reſpect be compared to the Maieſtie of the Mault.

The *Twentieth* was a worthie Yeoman, one *Tom Toſpot*; he came from *Friburgum*, an *Heluetian*; he, as willing to pleaſe himſelfe, as to honour his God, preſented to *Bacchus*, a dainty deuiſed Compound, of ſundry Simples Paſtie-wiſe, as the Trimming of Tripes, the Fat of Chitterlings, and the Marrow of Sweet-ſouſe, lapt vp altogether within the cruſty Walls of Paſte-royal, in ſo much, that a World of Belly-cheere was contained therein; which God *Bacchus* receiued with ſo great Thankes, that he promiſed to honour the Eating thereof, with the beſt Increments of his overflowing Tunne.

When theſe had ended their Deuotion, they were placed all in Order, and vſed as moſt welcome Gueſts; buſie was *Bacchvs* in vttering his Bounty, and the reſt of the Seruitors no leſſe diligent; ſo that no Man wanted his Wiſh, nor was depriued of his Will.

Scarſe had they tipled Gyrum-wiſe *, as commonly the Sect of the *Surratims* vſe to doe, as only of Triall to wet their Whiſtles; but in comes *Bat Barlicap*, a mery Muſitian, ready with Cap and Knee to giue them a Song; which Proffer God *Bacchvs* accepted gladly; wherupon M. *Barlicap* tempered up his Fiddle, and began as followeth:

THE Gods of Loue,
Which raigne aboue,
Maintaine this Feaſt:
Let *Bacchvs* find
Their Hearts moſt kind
To euery Gueſt.
And long may *Bacchvs* brave it here
In Pleaſures to abound,
That Wine and Beer, and Belly Gut Cheere,
With Plenty here be found.

I pray likewiſe,
That, ere you riſe,
You drink your Fill,
That no Man want,
Nor find it ſkant,
Whereof to ſwill.
Then may you all carouſe in Bliſſe,
And bid Farewell to Woe;
Who lives in this, he cannot miſſe
But ſtraight to Heauen goe.

Be mery all,
Both great and ſmall,
Be mery here;
And with your Liquor
Sweetly bicker,
Doe not fear.

* Round.

Waſh

Waſh well your Throats which now are dry,
And ſpare not you for Coſt;
I tell you true, no Shot is due,
Where *Bacchvs* rules the Roſt.

Sadnes and Griefe
Bring no Reliefe,
Bid them adiew:
In Pain none pine,
Which love ſtrong Wine,
I tell you true.
Then learn to laffe, carouſe and quaffe,
And ſpare not while you may.
Hey dery, dery, my Maſters, be mery,
And look for a ioyfull Day.

This Song thus ended, the whole Hall for Joy did ring out a loud Laffing-peale, and thanked the Fidler for his Mirth. *Bacchvs* made him drink, *Silenus* bade him not ſpare, ſo *Barlicap* did drink till his Eyes did ſtare.

Thus every Man falls to his Taſke, and hee happie that is able to ſtand ſtoutly in the Fore-front, to giue the braueſt Onſet.

Whiles thus they tipled, the Fidler he fidled, and the Pots danced for Joy the old Hop about, commonly called *Sellengar's Round*; euery Man ſet to his Foot; there was not Whip, Snatch, and Away, but plaine Rack and Manger, where euery one dranke himſelf out of Danger; Cups and Cans went Clip Clap, the Gueſts were all welcome, their Tongues ran at Randome, Sir *Prattle* kept a wrangling, and Dame *Tattle* a great Iangling; each one was mery, and no Man wanted Words to ſolace his next Neighbour; to be briefe, Heauen was here, and Hell where they were not; yea who but the Gueſts of God *Bacchus!*

Amids theſe only Pleaſures, and Joys incomparable, *Iupiter* ſends down *Mercury*, to make them pleaſant; and *Venus*, the Queen of Loue, ſent alſo her Son *Cupid*, to creep in amongſt them for Kindneſs, and to lead them along blindfold vnto Luſt and loathſome Self-liking.

Then *Pluto* the Maſter-diuell of Hell, ſeeing fit Opportunity and Place conuenient, ſent amongſt the ioyful Gueſts of this Feaſt the Furies of Hell, who with all Speed poſted to God *Bacchus* Pallace, to exerciſe their helliſh Outrage.

Now *Cupid* lingred not out his Time, but did driue his Dartes amongſt them with ſuch Force, that ſome for pure Loue wedded themſelues to Wine; ſome became ſworne Brethren to the Beere-pot, other ſome matched themſelues only to Metheglin; one liked this, another that; all was wonderfull to behold.

Bawdwin Barrelbelly was greatly grieved with Loue-gripes, eſpecially through the Deſire hee had to *Goody Goodale*, the *Æthiopian*.

Kit Crabface ſo ardently burned in the Loue of *Maudlin Moonface*, that well nere he burned himſelf to Aſhes.

Mercury he caſt his Eloquence amongſt them by Horſe-loades at once, ſo that large Promiſes, with no Performance, were as eaſy to be heard, as ſmall Bells in a Morrice Daunce.

Meduſa, *Megera*, and the reſt of thoſe furious Hags flie al at once in amongſt them, and ſet their Teeth on Edge to practiſe Villanie one againſt another; one puls his Felow by the Beard without Cauſe; another crackes his next Fellowes Crowne with a Quart-pot; one flings a Glaſſe in another Mans Face, another makes a Buckler of his Hat to ſaue himſelfe before, whilſt another with a black Jack breakes his Head behinde; one cries, Downe with him, Downe with him, not able of himſelfe to kill a Louſe; another lies lurking vnder the Table altogether ſpeechleſs.

Here *Dauid Drithroat* gathered vp his Teeth, which *Pierſe Spendall*, the Frier, had lately ſtrooke out, becauſe *Dauid*, like an unmannerly Knaue, preſumed to piſs in the holy Water-pot.

There *Gotfrey Grouthead* begins to fume, and ſometh at the Mouth like a ſauage Bore; hee falls at Variance with Miſtris *Merigodowne*, and hales her along by the Hair of the Head; in ſo much, that (thou Knave) was as common among them as Cartway, or *probo* in the Schooles; and (thou Whore) as vſuall a Terme, as *hait Hary* in the Mouth of a Carter.

Whiles thus they lay on Heapes, one on the Necks of another, ſome ſpurning others with their Heeles, ſome ſcratching their Heads where they itched not; ſome ſprauling vnderneath moſt glad to riſe vp againe, ſome wiping the Blood away from their Faces; ſome rubbing their Shinnes, which they burſt on the Frames, ſome gaping for Winde, almoſt choked with Flies; while theſe, I ſay, did lie in this ſo great Diſorder, the Gods aboue were conſtrained to winke at their Follies, and the Diuels below reioiced at the Viewe of this our mortall Wretchedneſs.

Thus

Thus *Bacchvs*, arose with the rest of his Barons, and dismissed euery Man very bountifully; who, after long Stumbling, at the last returned from whence they came. And *Bacchvs* himselfe retired to *Archadie*, where, at this Day, for his singular Liberalitie and bounteous Behaviour towards all Inhabitants, Trauellers, and Passengers, he is of Power to make a greater Companie of able Men than any Man of his Degree.

Et largas epulas & bona vina dedit.

The Baths of *Bath*: Or, A necessary compendious Treatise concerning the Nature, Use, and Efficacy of those famous hot Waters; published for the Benefit of all such as yearly, for their Health, resort to those Baths. With an Advertisement of the great Utility that cometh to Man's Body, by the Taking of Physick in the Spring, inferred upon a Question moved, concerning the Frequency of Sickness, and Death of People, more in that Season than in any other. Whereunto is also annexed a Censure, concerning the Water of St. *Vincent*'s Rocks, near *Bristol*, which begins to grow in great Request and Use against the Stone. By *Thomas Venner*, Doctor of Physick in *Bath*. *London*, printed by *Felix Kyngston*, in 1628. *Quarto*, containing twenty-six Pages.

Serenissimæ Principi MARIÆ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Reginæ,
Hoc de Thermis Bathonienſibus opusculum humillime dedicat & consecrat

THO. VENERUS, *Med. Dr.*

To the READER.

Good Reader, seeing, in the few Years that I have exercised Physick at the Baths, the yearly Concourse, in the Spring and Fall, of People of all Sorts, and from all Parts of this Kingdom, to those famous Waters; and the little Benefit that many after great Expence and Trouble receive thereby; I was induced to publish this ensuing Treatise, wherein I have very briefly shewed the Nature *and* Efficacy *of those Waters; touched the* Causes *that many find not Comfort, but oftentimes rather Hurt, that resort to them; with such Advertisements concerning the Use of the said Waters, which*

which, if they be rightly obſerved, I am perſuaded, few will hereafter complain, that they have been at the Baths in vain, and ſo the Waters regain that Eſteem which, in Reſpect of their ſingular Vertues, they are worthy of. But here you muſt take from me this one Advertiſement, which is, That Sickneſs is a Symptom *of* Sin; *and therefore firſt,* Pœnitentiam agendo *, *before your Departure from Home,* make Peace betwixt God and your Conſcience, *and then repair to the Baths,* quo te fauſtum ducat, atque ſanum reducat, qui ſolus id poteſt. *Vale* †.

BATH, ſo called from the Baths in it, is a little well-compacted City ‡, and beautified with fair and goodly Buildings for Receipt of Strangers. Although the Site thereof, by Reaſon of the Vicinity of Hills, ſeem not pleaſant, being almoſt invironed with them; yet, for Goodneſs of Air, Nearneſs of a ſweet and dilectable River, and Fertility of Soil, it is pleaſant and happy enough; but for the hot Waters that boil up, even in the Midſt thereof, it is more delectable and happier than any other of the Kingdom.

There are in it *four publick Baths*, ſo fairly built, and fitted with ſuch Conveniency for Bathing, as the like, I ſuppoſe, is not elſewhere to be found; beſides a little Bath for Lepers, called *The Lepers-bath.*

They all have the Original of their Heat from one Matter, namely, *Sulphur*, burning in the Cavities of the Earth, thorough which the Waters flowing, receive their Heat. They partake of no other Mineral that I can find; what may lie hid *in viſceribus Terræ* ‖, I know not; of this I am ſure, that ſuch Diſeaſes, as cannot receive Cure elſewhere, here do.

Theſe Baths, as they differ in their Heat, ſo in their Operations and Effects. The *King's Bath* is the hotteſt, and it is, for Beauty, Largeneſs, and Efficacy of Heat, a Kingly Bath indeed, being ſo hot as can be well ſuffered. This Bath is of ſo ſtrong a heating, opening, reſolving, attracting, and exiccating Faculty, and therefore only convenient for cold and moiſt Bodies, and for cold and moiſt Diſeaſes.

Next to the King's Bath, for Efficacy of Heat, is the *Hot Bath*, and the Difference in their Heat is ſo little, that it is ſcarcely to be diſcerned. This Bath is good for the ſame Infirmities that the King's Bath is, and, for the Effects which it worketh, I cannot find it to be inferior unto it. They are two excellent Baths for cold and moiſt Diſeaſes, and for very cold and moiſt Bodies.

The *Queen's Bath* is a Member of the King's Bath, a Well only going between them, with a Paſſage therein, to go from one to the other. This Bath is not altogether ſo hot as that, and therefore the Uſe of it is convenient for them that cannot well endure the Heat of the King's Bath.

The *Croſs Bath* is for Heat the mildeſt, being very temperately warm. It is a dainty Bath for young, weak, and tender Bodies, that cannot endure the Heat of the hotter Baths, or for whom the hotter Baths may not be convenient. It is an excellent Bath for temperate Bodies, by Way of Preſervation, becauſe ſuch the hotter Baths may ſoon diſtemper, and occaſion Hurt; neither is this Bath good only for ſuch as are of a temperate State and Conſtitution of Body, by Way of Preſervation; but for them, and others alſo, by Way of Curation, in ſome Caſes, where the hotter Baths are not fit to be uſed. This Bath, by Reaſon of the Mildneſs of its Heat, is of a notable mollifying and relaxing Faculty; good, therefore, in Contractions of any Member, in Obſtructions of the Breaſt, Spleen, Liver, and Kidnies; and effectual alſo for Aches, when it is in its Prime and Vigour of Heat, eſpecially for ſuch, whoſe Temper, or Habit of Body, ſhall prohibit the Uſe of the hotter Baths. This Bath attains not to its Perfection of Heat, till the Weather grow to be conſtantly hot, and when the other Baths, by Reaſon of the Fervour

* By Repentance.

† Where may that God, who is only able to cure thee, lead thee ſafe, and bring thee Home again in good Health. *Farewell.*

‡ See the Letter of Obſervations by *Tho. Guidott*, M. B. which followeth this Tract.

‖ In the Bowels of the Earth.

thereof

thereof, cannot be uſed, but by ſuch, whoſe Diſeaſes and State of Body are inpenſively cold.

I cannot, in Regard of the Diverſity of Bodies, inſiſt upon every Particular in the Uſe of theſe Baths; wherefore I will only, for your better Inſtruction and Direction herein, give you ſome ſpecial Advertiſements, and thereupon leave you to ſome learned Phyſician, that can accordingly guide you in the Uſe of them.

Theſe famous hot Waters are of ſingular Force, not only againſt Diſeaſes gotten by Cold, or proceeding from a cold and moiſt Cauſe, but alſo bring, in Time of Health, exceeding Comfort and Profit to all cold, moiſt, and corpulent Bodies; for they open the Pores, reſolve, attenuate, digeſt, conſume, and draw forth Superfluities, and withal ſtrongly heal and dry the whole Habit of the Body.

They are of excellent Efficacy againſt all Diſeaſes of the Head and Sinews, proceeding from a cold and moiſt Cauſe, as *Rheums*, *Palſies*, *Epilepſies*, *Lethargies*, *Apoplexies*, *Cramps*, *Deafneſs*, *Forgetfulneſs*, *Trembling*, or *Weakneſs* of any Member, *Aches*, and *Swellings* of the Joints, *&c.*

They alſo greatly profit *windy* and *hydropick* Bodies, the *Pain* and *Swelling* of any Part of the Body, ſo that it proceed not from an hot Cauſe; the ſluggiſh and lumpiſh *Heavineſs* of the Body, *Numbneſs* of any Member, *Pain* in the Loins, the *Gout*, eſpecially the *Sciatica*; *cold Tumours* of the *Milt* and *Liver*, and the *yellow Jaundice* in a Body plethorick or phlegmatick.

They are alſo very profitable for them that have their *Lungs* annoyed with much *Moiſture*; and, to make *ſlender* ſuch Bodies as are too *groſs*, there is nothing more effectual, than the often Uſe of theſe Waters. Wherefore let thoſe that fear *Obeſity*, that is, would not wax groſs, be careful to come often to our Baths; for by the Uſe of them, according as the learned Phyſician ſhall direct, they may not only preſerve their Health, but alſo keep their Bodies from being unſeemingly corpulent.

They are alſo ſingularly profitable to Women; for they help them of Barrenneſs, and of all Diſeaſes and Imperfections of the Matrix, proceeding from a cold and moiſt Cauſe. They alſo cure all Diſeaſes of the Skin, as Scabs, Itch, old Sores, *&c.* all which to be true, we daily find with Admiration, to the exceeding great Comfort of many, who with deplored Diſeaſes, and moſt miſerable Bodies, reſort to theſe Baths, and are there, by the Help of wholeſome Phyſick, and Vertue of the Baths, through the Bleſſing of Almighty God, recovered to their former Health.

But Baths *naturally* hot (as theſe our Baths are) to Bodies naturally hot and dry, are generally hurtful; and ſo much the more, as the Body is drier, and the Bath hotter, becauſe it diſtempereth and conſumeth the very Habit of the Body, and maketh it Carrion-like lean.

Wherefore, ſeeing, that theſe our Baths are not indifferently agreeable to every Conſtitution and State of Body, I do adviſe, that not any one go into them raſhly, or upon a prepoſterous Judgment; but that he be firſt adviſed by ſome faithful, judicious, and expert Phyſician, and to him expoſe the State of his Body, whereby he may underſtand, whether or no it may be expedient for him to attempt the ſame. And whereas there are in *Bath* divers Baths, as I have ſhewed, and they differing in their Heat, and accordingly in their Effects, he muſt alſo from the learned Phyſician be directed in which to bathe; neither muſt he only underſtand which Bath to uſe, as moſt convenient for his State of Body, but alſo when and how often to uſe the ſame, and how long to abide therein at a Time. Beſides this, he muſt take ſpecial Care not to go into the Bath without fit Preparation (which is a groſs Error of many) but muſt be firſt purged, as his State of Body ſhall require; and be alſo directed in other Things how to order himſelf, before he go into the Bath, while he is in the Bath, and after that he is come out of the Bath, and when he leaveth the Bath; and muſt alſo with his Bathings and Sweatings Uſe ſuch Phyſick-helps, as may work with the Baths, according as his Diſeaſe and preſent State of Body ſhall require; not relying wholly upon the Uſe of the Water for his Cure, as many ignorantly, and ſome baſely do, to ſave their Purſe. The Neglect of all theſe, or of ſome of them, either through Ignorance or voluntary Wilfulneſs, is the Cauſe, that ſome, that take great Pains to come to the Baths, are not by them healed of their Infirmities, but oftentimes never return to their Homes again; or, if they do, it is moſt commonly with new Diſeaſes, and the old worſe than ever they were; whereas thoſe of a generous and religious

Underſtanding, uſing the true Helps of Phyſick with the Baths, are of their Diſeaſes perfectly cured.

Here I may not omit a ſpecial Reaſon, why many receive little Benefit by the Baths, but oftentimes much Hurt; and that is, becauſe they take not the Aid and Directions of a Phyſician preſent, in the Uſe of the Bath; but bring their Phyſick and Directions with them from ſome Phyſician in the Country where they abode; perhaps, one that well underſtands not their State of Body, much leſs the Nature and true Uſe of the Baths. But, admit that they have their Directions from an underſtanding Phyſician, yet I muſt tell them, that many Accidents fall out oftentimes in Bathing, that require the Help of a preſent Phyſician.

Another ſpecial Reaſon why many find little Good by the Baths, is, becauſe they make not ſuch a Stay at them, as, in Regard of their Infirmities, or State of Body, is meet; for ſome go away before the Bath (in Regard of the Denſity of Body) hath wrought any Manner of Effect at all on them; others even then when the Bath begins to ſhew its Force and Efficacy on their Bodies; and ſome too ſoon upon much Benefit received, by Means whereof they eaſily incur a Relapſe. Wherefore my Counſel herein unto you is this, that you limit not your Stay at the Baths, before you depart from your Homes, but in that be adviſed and ruled by your Phyſician, when you are at the Baths, according as he ſhall find to be meet for your Infirmities and State of Body; and think not to receive in four, five, or ſix Weeks an abſolute Cure for an Infirmity, which, perhaps, you have borne two or three Years, notwithſtanding all the Helps and Means you have uſed for the ſame in your own Country. Wherefore let your Abode at the Baths be, as it ſhall be requiſite for your State of Body, and limit not the Time, no, not to a Spring, or to a Fall; for it may be needful for you to reſide there the whole Year, it may be more; for, otherwiſe, by your untimely Departure, you may loſe the Good that you have gotten by the Bath, before the Time come that you ſhall think to be fit for the Uſe of the Baths again.

But here I know you will object againſt me, ſaying, Is it good to make Uſe of your Baths in the Summer and Winter? Are not thoſe Times by all learned and judicious Phyſicians prohibited for bathing in hot Baths? Whereupon grew the Cuſtom of frequenting them in the temperate Seaſons of the Year, namely, in the Spring and Fall?

Whereunto I anſwer, and firſt, that Bathing in our Baths in *Summer*, taking the Cool of Morning for it, if the Seaſon ſhall be hot and Summer-like, brings much more Benefit to the Body, the Diſeaſe being of a cold Nature, and proceeding from a cold and moiſt Cauſe (for ſo you muſt conceive me) than in the Spring or Fall, when oftentimes the Coldneſs and Variableneſs of the Air takes away the Benefit of your Bathing; for cold or vaporous Air entering into your Body after Bathing, the Pores being open, doth not only very greatly annoy the Spirits, and principal Parts, occaſion Wind and Tortures in the Bowels, but alſo induce oftentimes irrecoverable Effects to the Sinews and Joints. But if Seaſons, that are conſtantly warm, be beſt for bathing in our Baths, and cold Times hurtful, why ſhould any reſide at them in the Winter? I anſwer, That it is good for them that are in the Way of Cure, by Reaſon of their former Bathings, and that the Waters are in their Nature as effectually hot in the Winter, as in any other Time of the Year, only the Superficies, or Upper-part of the Bath, is cooled by the Winds. But in the Winter there are ſome calm Days, in which the diſeaſed Body, lying nearer to the Baths, may well and ſafely bathe, without any Offence or Danger in taking of Cold after; for he may keep himſelf in a warm Chamber, having nothing elſe to do, or take Care for, but for his Health.

And here I cannot but reprehend the Error of moſt People, that, at the End of *May*, depart from our Baths, and after that Month, I know not out of what prejudicate Opinion, altogether refrain to come to them till the Fall: Perhaps, they do this, ſuppoſing that, after the Spring, till the Fall come again, the Baths loſe their Vertue. I muſt tell them, if this be their Conceit, that they are in a great Error; for the Waters loſe not their Vertue at any Time, only the Diſpoſition of the ambient Air may make them leſs fit to be uſed at one Time, than at another. But I would have you to know, as I have afore-ſhewed, that our Baths may as profitably be uſed in Summer, as in the Spring, and moſt commonly with far better Succeſs in the whole Month of *June*, than in any of the former Months; and that, in

in Regard of the conſtant Temperature of this Month, and the variable Diſpoſition of the the Months preceding. I am perſuaded, that this untimely Going from the Baths, at the very Approach of Summer, hurts many, and overthrows the Good they have received by them. Wherefore, my Advertiſement herein is this, that they, who reſort to the Baths for Prevention of Sickneſs, or ſuch hereditary Diſeaſes, as they fear will befal them, depart from the Baths about the End of the Spring: But ſuch, as go to them for Diſeaſes already fixed, abide there the whole Summer, and longer too, if there ſhall be Occaſion.

And admit, that after the Month of *June* the Weather be too fervently hot to bathe in the hotter Baths; yet the Croſs Bath, which for Heat is the mildeſt, being, as I have ſaid, in its Nature temperately hot, attains not to its Efficacy and Perfection, till the Weather be conſtantly warm, which, for the moſt Part happens not till towards the End of *May*, or the Beginning of *June*. The Uſe of which Bath is of excellent Efficacy, not only in the Month of *June*, but after alſo, yea, all the Summer, according as the State of the Body and Diſpoſition of the Seaſon ſhall permit; wherein I leave you to the Counſel and Direction of ſome learned Phyſician reſident at the Baths.

And now alſo I muſt advertiſe ſuch, as in the Declining, or Fall of the Year, which we call the *Autumn*, ſhall, for the Health of their Bodies, repair to our Baths, that they defer not their Coming till the Middle of *September*, or after, as many ignorantly do; but that they rather be there ſhortly after the Middle of *Auguſt*, that they may have Time ſufficient for Bathing, before the Air grow to be too cold, as commonly it is in *October*, eſpecially towards the End thereof. But, perhaps, ſome, out of an ignorant Timorouſneſs, will object, That to come to the Baths before the *Dog-days* are gone, or too ſoon upon them, is hurtful. Herein they are more ſcrupulous than judicious: But, to yield them ſome Satisfaction, I anſwer: Beſides the Alteration of Seaſons from their ancient Temperature, in this decrepit Age of the World, that, though the middle Part of the Day, in the latter Part of *Auguſt*, ſhall be hot, yet the Mornings and Evenings, which are the Times for Bathing, begin then to be cold, and decline to a Temperature; and the Heat of the Day, growing on upon the Bathing, is that which we ſpecially reſpect for the Health of our Patients, for whom we approve the Uſe of the Baths. Wherefore, ſuch as, for the Health of their Bodies, repair to our Baths, ſhall, if they be there in the latter Part of *Auguſt*, receive a double Commodity: For, firſt, they ſhall have the whole Month of *September*, very convenient for Bathing, and Phyſick alſo, as ſhall be Occaſion; yea, and Part of *October*, as the Diſpoſition of the Seaſon ſhall permit: Next, ſufficient Time for their Return to their Homes, before the Air grow too cold, or the Weather diſtempered; for to take Cold betwixt the Bathings, or to expoſe the Body to Travel, in foul and intemperate Weather, upon the Uſe of the Baths, induceth, the Pores being open, beſides feveriſh Diſtemperatures and Ventoſities, oftentimes very great and dolorous Affects of the Brain, Breaſt, Sinews, and Joints.

I may not let paſs, how certain Accidents now and then befal ſome in their Bathing, as, Weakneſs and Subverſion of the Stomach, Faintneſs, and ſometimes Swoonings; and theſe the Phyſician muſt take ſpecial Care to prevent, which may be occaſioned by Means of the ſulphurous Vapours of the Bath; yet I muſt tell you, that theſe, or the like Accidents our Baths do ſeldom occaſion, eſpecially the Croſs Bath, but in them that are weak by Nature, that are ſubject to Swooning, or go into them prepoſterouſly, without fit Preparation and Direction. And the Reaſon is, becauſe, our Baths being large, and having no Sulphur in them, nor in the Cavities near adjoining, the Vapours are the leſs noiſome, not ſo groſs and aduſted; and therefore not quickly offenſive, but to them that are very weak by Nature, or, as I have ſaid, go into them without fit Preparation, or make longer Stay in them, than is meet.

And here I cannot but lay open Baths *Technology*, with ſuch as, for the Health of their Bodies, reſort to thoſe Baths; wherein I am ſure to gain little Thanks. But I paſs not for it, my Purpoſe being to diſcharge a good Conſcience, and to do my Country Good. The Thing, therefore, that I would have you to take Notice of, is, how the People of that Place, that keep Houſes of Receipt, and their Agents, for ſuch they have in every Corner of the Streets, and alſo before you come to the Gates, preſs upon you, importuning you

to take your Lodging at ſuch and ſuch an Houſe, near to ſuch and ſuch a Bath, extolling the Baths, near which they dwell, above the reſt, reſpecting altogether their own Gain, not your Good or Welfare. And, when they have gotten you into their Houſes, they will be ready to fit you with a Phyſician, perhaps an Empirick *, or upſtart Apothecary, magnifying him for the beſt Phyſician in the Town, that will not croſs them in removing you to another Bath, though the Bath, near which you are placed, be altogether contrary to your Infirmities and State of Body, or, at leaſt, not ſo convenient as ſome other. And this is alſo a ſpecial Reaſon, why many, oftentimes, receive rather Hurt, than Good, by the Uſe of the Baths.

My Counſel, therefore, to the learned Phyſicians ſhall be this: That they ſo tender the Good of their Patients, and their own Worth and Reputation, as that, for baſe Gain, they ſubject not themſelves to theſe Kind of People, in Hope to get Patients by their Means: And to the Patients, that they fall not by any Means into the Hands of Empiricks, who, by their ill qualified Phyſick, will ſpoil their Bodies, and, by Reaſon of their pragmatical Nature, perſuade and put them to unneceſſary and prepoſterous Courſes, which cannot but produce diſaſterous Effects.

But, ſeeing that no Calling is more diſgraced, than by the Men of the ſame Calling, I wiſh all Profeſſors of Phyſick to carry themſelves worthy of their Calling, to be faithful and honeſt in their Courſes, not to inſinuate with any, or, after the Manner of our Bath-guides, preſs upon them to be retained. If an Empirick or Mountebank ſeek about for Work, I blame them not; let them deceive thoſe that will be deceived; but, for ſuch as are graduated in the noble Faculty of Phyſick to do ſo, it is Fiddler-like; a Note, if not of ſome Unworthineſs in them, I am ſure, of a baſe Mind. Let thoſe, therefore, that are Phyſicians indeed, ſtrive to maintain the Reputation of their Art, and not, by a baſe inſinuating Carriage, or Mountebank-like Tricks, to get a Note and Repute, vilify their own Worth, or diſgrace ſo noble a Faculty.

But to draw to an End: When you ſhall, for your Health, repair to the Baths, be cautious, and ſuffer not yourſelf to be taken up by ſuch as will preſs upon you; but reſt yourſelf at your Inn, and be well adviſed by a Phyſician that knows the Nature and Uſe of the Baths, and can well judge of your Infirmities and State of Body, what Bath ſhall be fitting for your Uſe, and then take up your Lodging accordingly: Which Courſe if it were obſerved, and the Phyſician carefully and learnedly perform his Part, I am perſuaded, that many more, than now do, would, for their Infirmities, find Remedy at the Baths, to the great Honour of the Place; and that ſcarcely any would depart thence, but much eaſed and bettered in their State of Body.

Thus much I thought fitting to adviſe and publiſh concerning the Nature and Uſe of our Baths; and the rather, that ſuch as prepoſterouſly uſe them, as the greater Part, I ſuppoſe, do, that reſort unto them, may not erroneouſly detract from the admirable Vertues of them: For unto us it doth yearly appear, by the miraculous Effects they work, of what excellent Efficacy they are, if they be rightly and judiciouſly uſed. And ſeeing that, in the true Uſe of them, there are many Things to be conſidered, I do therefore again adviſe all ſuch, as are reſpective of their Health, that they enterpriſe not the Uſe of them without the Counſel and Direction of ſome honeſt and learned Phyſician reſident at the Baths: Which if they do, the *Incommodum* may be *majus Commodo*. And ſo I conclude this Treatiſe.

* *Bath* being a Place, in Regard of the Baths, that many reſort unto for Cure of Infirmities, that cannot receive Help elſewhere; it were to be wiſhed, that Empiricks, and all others, whatſoever they be, being not Graduates in the Faculty of Phyſick, were utterly prohibited to practiſe in the City, or near to the Confines thereof, *idque ſub pœna graviſſima.*

An Advertiſement of the great Utility, that cometh to Man's Body by the Taking of Phyſick in the Spring, inferred upon the enſuing Queſtion.

The Spring being the moſt reviving, flouriſhing, and temperate Seaſon of the Year, whence is it, that Sickneſſes are more frequent in the ſame, and People ſooner die therein, than in any other Seaſon?

THERE may be two Reaſons yielded for the ſame; the one taken from the Winter preceding, which, by Reaſon of its Moiſture, filleth the Body with crude and excremental Humours; and, by its Coldneſs thickening and compacting the ſame, quiceth them from Fluxion: But the Heat of the Spring approaching, and working on thoſe Humours, rarefieth and diſſolveth them; which thereupon fluctuating, aud putrefying in the Body, are the Cauſe of Sickneſs, unleſs they are expelled by the Force of Nature, or timely Help of Phyſick.

The other Reaſon may be taken from the Inconſtancy of the Spring itſelf, which ſometimes is cold, ſometimes hot, ſometimes moiſt, and ſometimes dry; which ſudden Alterations cannot but produce feveriſh Diſtemperatures, and other Infirmities, according to the Diſpoſition of the Matter congeſted in the Body the Winter preceding. From whence it may be concluded, that the Sickneſſes and Deaths of People, which happen more frequently in the Spring, than in any other Seaſons of the Year, are not ſo much to be attributed to the Spring, as to the Winter, which hath filled the Body with Superfluities, and prepared it for Sickneſs.

Wherefore, whoſoever will be ſo provident, as, by the timely Help of Phyſick, to free his Body, as his State and Conſtitution ſhall require, of the Superfluities congeſted in it, by Means of the Winter going before, he ſhall be ſure to be far more lively, healthy, and free from Sickneſs in the Spring, than any other Seaſon of the Year, ſo as he err not overmuch in other Things. And this Purging of the Body, and Purifying of the Blood in the Spring, will not only preſerve from Sickneſſes that commonly reign in the Spring, but alſo be a Means to keep the Body in a perfect Integrity the whole Year after: And, therefore, I commend the Taking of Phyſick in the Spring, to all generous People, to them that lead a genial ſedentary Kind of Life, eſpecially to ſuch as are ſubject to Obſtructions, or any yearly Diſeaſe.

You may here demand of me, What Time of the Spring is fitteſt for Phyſick, by Way of Precaution? I anſwer, That for them that are wont to be affected with Sickneſs in the Spring, and whoſe Humours are too cholerick and thin, and conſequently ſubject to Fluxion, it is beſt to take Phyſick at the very Beginning thereof; but, for others, about the Middle, or after; eſpecially, if the precedent Time ſhall be cold, and not Spring-like.

You may alſo here demand of me, Whether it be not as neceſſary to take Phyſick in the Autumn, which we commonly call the *Fall*, as in the Spring? Whereunto, in Regard of a Generality, I muſt anſwer, No: Becauſe the Summer prepareth not the Body for Sickneſs, filling it with Superfluities, as doth the Winter; yet, for ſome Bodies it is, as for them that naturally abound with crude and phlegmatick Humours, that are ſubject to Obſtructions, to cold winterly Diſeaſes, or any melancholick Affects, as neceſſary to take Phyſick by Way of Prevention in the Fall, as in the Spring; and that, for avoiding the Superfluities before the Winter, for opening the Obſtructions, and freeing the Body of ſuperfluous Melancholy, which then, by Reaſon of the Seaſon, increaſeth. And the fitteſt Time for the doing thereof, for ſuch as are ſubject to Melancholy, and autumnal Diſeaſes, is ſoon after the Beginning of the Fall; but, for others, towards the Middle thereof.

But, here, I muſt advertiſe you, that you expoſe not your Body to the unlearned Empirick, that can neither find out the peccant Humours, nor Parts affected; but to ſuch as are learned in that Art, that can well judge of your State of Body, and accordingly preſcribe you Remedies, as your Conſtitution and affected Parts ſhall require. Many Men think, yea, ſome of a generous Note, wherein they bewray

bewray their Careleſneſs, if not their Stupidity too, that, whilſt they are in Health, they may, for Prevention, take Phyſick from any one, it matters not from whom it be, nor what Phyſick it be, ſo it work with them. I muſt tell you, that many overthrow their Bodies hereby, and that there is no leſs Art and Judgment required for preſerving the Body in Health, than for curing of it, being ſick; if they did but know how the four Humours are or ought to be proportioned in their Bodies, for enjoying, according to their Conſtitutions, a ſound and healthy State, they would, I am perſuaded, be more cautious, than to commit themſelves into the Hands of the Unlearned, who, by their inconſiderate Courſes, take Humours from them at an Adventure, as well thoſe which are not offenſive, as thoſe which are, to the utter Subverſion of the Oeconomy of the Body: Whereof though, perhaps, in Regard of their Strengths, they are not by and by ſenſible, which is that which only cloaketh the Errors of Empiricks, and, as a Vail, maſketh many Men's Eyes and Underſtanding herein: Yet they will, as I have in divers obſerved to their Peril, by little and little incur a relapſed State of Body.

It is ſtrange to ſee the Ignorance of moſt People, how backward they are to give to the learned Profeſſors of Phyſick their Due, ready to lay Scandals upon them; but forward to magnify Empiricks, their Phyſick, their Honeſty, their Care, willing to excuſe and paſs over their groſs Slips and Abſurdities. *O mira hominum ſtupiditas!* But proceeds this altogether out of Ignorance? I ſuppoſe, no: For doubtleſs, many ſeek unto them, and magnify their Phyſick, becauſe it is cheap: But ſuch are Fools and Gulls, indeed, for they wrong, and even poiſon their Bodies with groſs and ill-qualified Phyſick, to ſave their Purſe.

But, to anſwer the Reaſons, or rather the Words which they produce and alledge in the Favour and Behalf of Empiricks: To what Purpoſe is the Working of that Phyſick, which reſpecteth not the peccant Humours, nor Parts affected, but to the Overthrow of the Body? What is a ſuppoſed Honeſty in a Phyſician without Learning, but a Snare, wherein the Ignorant do voluntarily entrap themſelves? I ſay, ſuppoſed: For I cannot think that Man to be honeſt, that uſurps a Calling, which, with a good Conſcience, he is not able to diſcharge. Or, to what Purpoſe is the Care that Empiricks take about their prepoſterous and ill-compoſed Medicines, but to the utter Ruin of the Patient's Body? As it too unluckily happened of late to a Gentleman of good Worth and Note, who, taking Phyſick, by Way of Prevention, of a Pill-boaſting Surgeon, in a ſhort Space, by his ill-qualified and prepoſterous Phyſick, incurred an incurable and mortal Lapſe of his Stomach and Liver, being in his conſtant Age, and perfect Strength of Body. Vain, therefore, and very abſurd, is that Conceit, which many have in Favour of Empiricks, *viz. If they do no Good, they will do no Harm.* Admit, that ſometimes, by their trivial petty Medicines, they do no Harm; yet, nevertheleſs for, that, I muſt tell you, that they do much Harm; for the ſick Body relying upon their Skill, and they being not able to direct and execute ſuch Courſes as ſhall be fitting and effectual to impugn the Diſeaſe, while there is Time fitting for the ſame, the Sickneſs gets the Maſtery; and then, perhaps, when their Strengths are too much weakened, and the Diſeaſe become incurable, they ſeek Help of the learned Phyſician. So baſely verily are moſt of our People affected to their Health, that, until ſome practical Miniſter, Pariſh-Clerk, Apothecary, Surgeon, or the like, have done their utmoſt Hurt, they ſeek not to the Phyſician.

And here, to vindicate our Art from Calumny, I cannot but tax the moſt Sort of People, that being affected with any great or difficult Diſeaſe, which, by Reaſon of the Nature thereof, or Contumacy of the peccant Humours, will have ſuch Progreſs, as that it cannot, in a ſhort Time, by the Medicines and beſt Endeavours of the learned Phyſician, how foreceable ſoever, be evicted, will reject their Phyſician, and betake themſelves, which is an Abſurdity, *ſuper omnem abſurditatem*, to ſome ignorant, ſottiſh Empirick, and every good Wives Medicine, to their great Hurt, and oftentimes, Overthrow. But, if it happen, that they recover thereupon, they lay an Imputation upon the Phyſician, and grace their Empirick with the Cure; whereas, in very Deed, the Matter of their Diſeaſe was wholly, or, at leaſt, the greateſt Part thereof, eradicated by ſuch fit and powerful Remedies, as the learned Phyſician had formerly adminiſtered unto them: Whereupon, the Reſidue of the

the Cure was effected by the Force of Nature, not by the weak Endeavours of the Empirick, or trivial Medicines of any other whatſoever.

I have, on Purpoſe, enlarged this Adverti-ſement, and do leave it for a Memorial and Caveat to all Poſterity, eſpecially to the Gentlemen of this our Age, who, for the moſt Part of them, very greatly wrong their Judgment and Underſtanding, in taking Phyſick of the Unlearned; and, wherein they do not only wrong themſelves, but alſo give Occaſion of Hurt unto others: For the meaner Sort of People, following their Example, do the like; whereby it comes to paſs, that, in all Likelihood, more untimely periſh (which I believe to be true, in the Weſtern Parts of this Kingdom) under the Hands of Empiricks, than die otherwiſe. Such as will not take Notice hereof, *in Empiricorum manus incidant.* And if any *Aſinus Cumanus*, or *Terræ filius*, ſhall object, that divers recover under the Hands of Empiricks; I anſwer, in a Word, That the Recovery is not to be attributed to their Phyſick, but to the Strength of Nature, that bears up, both againſt the Diſeaſe, and their prepoſterous Courſes.

A Cenſure concerning the Water of St. Vincent's *Rock near* Briſtol *, *which begins to grow in great Requeſt and Uſe againſt the Stone.*

THIS Water of St. *Vincent's* Rock is a very pure, clear, cryſtalline Subſtance, anſwering to thoſe cryſtalline Diamonds, and tranſparent Stones, that are plentifully found in thoſe Clifts. It is no leſs commendable for Smell and Taſte, than delectable for Colour and Subſtance, and, for its Temperature, excels any other of this Kingdom, being almoſt of a Mean between Heat and Cold: I ſay almoſt, becauſe it is a little more inclined to Cold, than to Heat, which maketh it the more effectual for allaying the burning Heat of the Bowels; and yet, by Reaſon of its good Temperature, not quickly offenſive to the Stomach, if it be not lapſed by Cold.

But, before I deliver my Cenſure and Opinion concerning the Nature and Uſe of this Water, it is fitting that I declare unto you the Matter from whence it receives its Medicinal Faculties, and that is (for I have twice made Probation thereof) from Sulphur and Nitre, and from both, but in a ſmall Meaſure: For the Water, at its Iſſuing forth, carrieth with it an obſcure Heat, being ſcarcely lukewarm; and the Reaſon thereof is, becauſe the Heat of the Water and Strength of the ſulphurous Vapours are qualified and abated in the Paſſages thorough the Earth; or elſe it is, becauſe this Water iſſueth but from a ſmall Vein of Sulphur. And the Note that it hath but little Nitre in it, beſides the Probation thereof, is, becauſe it can hardly, or not at all, in the Taſte be diſcerned, but by a curious and ſkilful Palate for the Purpoſe. I ſuppoſe that this Water partakes of other good Minerals: But I leave that for a farther Search, or to ſuch as ſhall hereafter live more conveniently for that Purpoſe, than I do. But, whatſoever Minerals ſhall lie hid in the Paſſages of this Water, it is ſufficient, that it partakes of two ſo good as Sulphur and Nitre, and that in ſuch a Mixture, as it makes it to be of an excellent Temper, and Medicinal Faculty, in potable Uſes for divers Caſes, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewed. It were to be wiſhed, that the Water iſſued forth in a more convenient Place, as well for Acceſs unto it, as for Conſerving the Heat thereof.

This Water is frequented for no other Uſe, but for the Drinking of it againſt the Stone: It hath alſo other excellent Faculties; but, I ſuppoſe (ſuch is the Vanity of our Time) that the Fame thereof will not long hold, but will in a ſhort Time have an End, as ſome other Waters, of good Force and Efficacy againſt ſundry Infirmities, in divers Places of this Kingdom have had, and that by Reaſon of the abſurd and prepoſterous Uſe of it: For, upon Notice and Experience, that this Water hath done ſome Good againſt the Stone, People of all Sorts repair unto it, as well ſuch as have not the Stone, as thoſe that have, or ſtand in Fear thereof, and abundantly glut and fill themſelves therewith, till they vomit and ſtrout again, ſcarcely one of fifty, I dare ſay, having the Opinion of a judicious Phyſician for the Taking of the ſame, or preparing their

* Urbs pulchra, & Emporium celebre.

Bodies

Bodies for it as is meet; which cannot but bring a Diſgrace to the Water: For admit, that a few chance to receive Benefit thereby, ſome will not, but many much Hurt. Neither can the Water be good for all Bodies that are troubled with the Stone, or ſubject thereunto: And, therefore, I would have you to know, that the ill and prepoſterous Uſe thereof will weaken the Stomach, ſubvert the Liver, annoy the Head and Breaſt, occaſion Cramps, Pain in the Joints, breed Crudities, Rheums, Coughs, Cachexies, the Dropſy itſelf, and Conſumption.

But I will proceed to ſhew you the Faculties and true Uſe of the Water. It notably cooleth the Inflammations of all the inward Parts, and yet, as I have ſaid, not quickly offending the Stomach, as other Waters do; and is, withal, of a gentle mundifying Faculty. It it is, therefore, very effectual, againſt the burning Heat of the Stomach, Inflammations of the Liver and Reins, and Aduſtion of the Humours, being taken with fine Sugar in this Proportion, as, half an Ounce of Sugar, or thereabouts, to a Pint of the Water. In ſuch as have had hot Livers, red pimpling Faces, and aduſted Humours, I have cauſed a Tincture of Roſes and Violets to be taken therewith, and that with ſingular Succeſs. It may be given with other good convenient Adjuncts, which will not only make it the more grateful to the Stomach, but alſo more effectual for the Caſes aforeſaid, which I leave to the Phyſician to find out, and direct, as ſhall be beſt fitting for his Patient's Body. In Inflammation and Siccity of the Inteſtines, it is good to give with this Water Syrup or *Mel. Viol. Sol.* In Inflammation of the Kidnies, with Obſtruction alſo in them, I have given it to ſuch as had withal hot Livers, with *Cryſtallo Minerali*, with wiſhed Effect: For the Diſtemper of the Kidnies was not only quickly allayed therewith, but alſo, Abundance of Sand, and other droſſy Matter, ſtopping in them, purged forth.

That this Water is good againſt the Stone, Strangury, and purulent Ulcers of the Kidnies and Bladder, it is evident, by Reaſon of its mundifying and cleanſing Faculty, to be taken with Sugar, as aforeſaid, or with ſome good and effectual Adjunct, for the ſpeedier Carriage of it to the affected Places, *&c.* which, by Reaſon of the Diverſity of Bodies, I cannot here deſcribe, but muſt leave you, therein, to the Advice and Counſel, not of a vulgar, but of ſome learned, judicious, expert Phyſician; and that with this Caution, if you be not ſure of the accurate Judgment and Skill of your Phyſician, that you take the Water only with Sugar, without any other Mixture with it. This Water is alſo good in the Ulcerations of the Inteſtines, with this Proviſo, that it be taken with ſome convenient Adjunct, as *Mel Roſat.* &c. to occaſion the Paſſage thereof thorough the Belly, diverting it from the Veins.

As concerning the Uſe of this Water, and firſt, for inward Inflammations. The Time of the Year beſt for taking thereof, by Way of Cure or Prevention, is, in the Months of *April*, *May*, and *June*, and that in the Morning faſting, the Body being firſt prepared thereunto, that is, gently purged, according as the Conſtitution thereof ſhall require; but, in Caſe of Neceſſity, it may be taken at any other Time, Reſpect being had to the Seaſon, Age, and preſent State of the Body. As for the Quantity that is to be taken every Morning, and how long to be continued, in that, becauſe of the Diverſity of Bodies, I muſt leave you to the Diſcretion and Judgment of your Phyſician.

As for the Taking of this Water againſt the Stone, *ten* Rules are to be obſerved in the Uſe thereof.

The Firſt is, the Preparation of the Body, that is, that it be exquiſitely purged, before you attempt the Uſe thereof; for, the Paſſages being cleared, and the ill Matter diverted by Stool, the Water will the more freely, and with greater Force, penetrate unto the Reins.

The Second is, that it be taken in the Morning faſting, the Excrements of the Belly being firſt depoſed, and that at divers Draughts, allowing betwixt every Draught or two Draughts, taken the one after the other, the Space of a Quarter of an Hour, or ſomewhat more, till you have taken the whole Portion of Water, that is intended to be taken each Morning, walking and ſtirring gently your Body between every Taking; for that will cauſe the Water to be the ſooner diſtributed thorough your Body, refraining to go abroad in the Air, between, and upon the Takings thereof, if the Weather ſhall be any Thing cold; for Cold will hinder the Diſtribution of the Water.

The Third is, the Quantity of the Water that is to be taken every Morning, which muſt

muſt be directed by your Phyſician, that knows your Age and State of Body.

The Fourth is, how many Mornings together it is to be taken, as eight or ten more or leſs, according to the Ability of the Stomach, Strength and State of Body, wherein you muſt likewiſe be directed by your Phyſician.

The *Fifth* Thing to be obſerved in the Taking of the Water is, to take it, as near as you can, in the ſame Temper of Heat as it iſſueth forth, or elſe ſo hot as you ſhall be well able to drink it; and herein every one may gratify his own Stomach. But ſeeing that the Place is unfit for the Taking of it, and that the Water ſeems, by Reaſon of the Rawiſhneſs of the Place, to be colder at its Iſſuing forth, than it is otherwiſe; for, being taken into a ſtone Jug, it warmeth the ſame; I adviſe that the Water be taken into ſtone Jugs, or other convenient Bottles, and the Jugs or Bottles to be immediately ſtopped, to keep in the Vapours, and ſo the Water to be taken, while it reſerveth its Heat; but, if the Water ſhall wax cold before you take it, you may heat the Jug in a Kettle of hot Water, till it ſhall be ſo hot as you ſhall like to take it, keeping the Jug cloſe ſtopped all the While; and ſo you may do ſuch Mornings, when you cannot have the Water, it being all overcovered by that *Severn*, that floweth to the City. If you demand of me, Whether the Water loſeth any Thing of its Vertue, being ſo kept? I muſt anſwer you, That it is likely that it loſeth ſomewhat of its ſulphurous, but not any Thing of its nitrous Quality, and therefore it may be well reſerved, and uſed in Manner as aforeſaid.

The *Sixth* is the Time of the Year, that is beſt for the Taking of this Water, and that in a Seaſon that is not cold or rainy; but hot, or inclining thereunto, as from the Beginning of *May*, to the Middle of *September*; but after that, in Regard of the Alterations of the Air, and Winter approaching, this Water is not good to be taken, becauſe it will weaken the Stomach and Liver, annoy the Breaſt, breed Crudities, Coughs, *&c.* as I have already ſhewed.

The *Seventh* is the Diet, that is to be obſerved all the Time of the taking of the Water, which is, that it muſt be but ſlender, and that of Meats of good Juice, and eaſy Digeſtion; the Dinner not to be taken, till the greater Part of the Water be avoided, and the Supper muſt be always leſs than the Dinner, that the Stomach may be the next Morning empty for receiving of the Water again.

The *Eighth* is, that the Body be purged immediately after the Taking of the Water, that is, when an End is made of taking it, for avoiding ſome Relicks thereof, which perhaps may abide in the Body after the Uſe of it, which the Phyſician muſt be careful to do with a fit Medicine. Afterwards a Moderation in Diet, and all other Things, is to be obſerved.

The *Ninth* is, that it be not given to Children that are ſubject to the Stone, under twelve Years of Age, unleſs they ſhall be naturally of a very hot Conſtitution, and that, to them in Quantities proportionable to their Age. Neither is it to be admitted to them, that are entered within the Limits of old Age, becauſe it will abbreviate their Life, *calorem innatum extinguendo* *.

The *Tenth* and laſt Thing to be conſidered in the Uſe of this Water, is, that it be not given to ſuch, as, by Reaſon of the Smalneſs and Streightneſs of the Veins, cannot extreat and paſs it away by Urine, though the Infirmities of the Stone, Stranguries, *&c.* may otherwiſe require the Uſe thereof. Neither is it to be given to ſuch, as have cold Stomachs, weak Livers, feeble Brains, and ſubject unto Rheums; in a Word, not to Phlegmatick, not to any that abound with Crudities, or have a cold and moiſt Habit of Body; for in all ſuch it will ſoon infringe the natural Heat, breed Rheums, annoy the Breaſt, occaſion Cramps, and divers other Infirmities, as I have afore ſhewed.

The ſame Obſervations muſt be kept in taking of this Water againſt the Strangury and Ulcerations of the Bladder and Kidnies, as is directed in taking thereof, againſt the Stone. In which Affects it is good to give therewith ſome lubrifying, cleanſing Extract, or the like. And here note, that, if the Water in all the aforeſaid Caſes be given, with a fit and convenient Adjunct, it will not only be the more effectual, and ſooner conveighed to the affected Parts, but leſs Quantities alſo may ſerve to be taken; and then the Stomach will not be ſo overpreſſed and charged therewith, as it is in the common Manner of

* By extinguiſhing the innate Heat.

taking it. But, if it be at any Time fit to overcharge and preſs the Stomach therewith, it is in Caſes of the Strangury and purulent Ulcers of the Bladder and Kidnies.

I may not omit to give you Notice, that divers Symptoms or perillous Accidents may happen oftentimes in the Uſe of this Water, which, becauſe they cannot be well rectified or prevented without the Preſence of a Phyſician, I here omit to nominate or treat of, and inſtead thereof, as alſo for divers Reaſons afore nominated, do adviſe you not to adventure the Drinking thereof, without the Advice and Preſence of a judicious Phyſician; which if you do, you may haply, inſtead of the Good you expect thereby, receive much Hurt. As for outward Uſes, this Water may ſometimes aſſwage the Itch, mundify and palliate old Sores; but no Matter of Moment is to be expected from it this Way. And thus much concerning the Nature and Uſe of this Water, whoſe Vertues will be better known, if People make a right and good Uſe thereof.

A Letter concerning ſome Obſervations lately made at *Bath*. Written to his much honoured Friend Sir *E. G.* Knight and Baronet, *M. D.* in *London*. By *Thomas Guidott*, M. B.

Facilius ducimur, quam trahimur. Senec.

London, printed in 1674. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

Honoured Sir,

I Know you (as well as other ingenious and inquiſitive Perſons) are ſomewhat concerned, and deſirous to underſtand what Succeſs my late Enquiries have had into one of the grand Myſteries of Nature, I mean the Baths of this City; conſidering eſpecially that you were pleaſed the laſt Summer to afford me the Honour of your Company and particular Acquaintance, and to expreſs a more than ordinary Deſire of my Proceeding in this Thing. Concerning which I muſt tell you, that as I have not been wanting, either to Pains or Pay, in my Proceedings hitherto; ſo I have had the good Hap (which hath been my Encouragement) to meet with many conſiderable Diſcoveries. And though the main Body of the Matter, collected touching this Affair, be not yet ripe for the Lancet, but will require a longer Time to digeſt; yet ſome Obſervations I ſhall now communicate, which will give a little Satisfaction to an earneſt Deſire, and make, in ſome Meaſure, appear that we have been lame and defective hitherto, in a rational Account and true Underſtanding of the Nature of theſe Waters.

It hath been indeed the ill Fortune of theſe Baths (which, I may truly ſay, are as good if not better than any Baths in the World) to lie a long Time in Obſcurity, and not ſo much as to be mentioned among the Baths of *Europe*, by any foreign Writer, till about the Year 1570, when that excellent Perſon, Sir *Edward Carne*, ſent Ambaſſador by Queen *Eliſabeth*, to Pope *Julius the Third*, and *Paul the Fourth*, made ſome Relation of them to that famous Writer *Andreas Baccius*, then at *Rome*; and writing his elaborate Book *de Thermis*, into which he hath inſerted them, upon his Relation, *Lib.* iv. *Cap.* 13, though ſomewhat improperly, among ſulphurous Baths.

About the ſame Time alſo one *John Jones*, an honeſt *Cambro-Briton*, frequenting the Baths for Practice, compoſed a little Treatiſe of them, which he calls *Baths Aid*, in which are ſome Things not contemptible, though in a plain Country Dreſs, and which might ſatisfy and gratify the Appetite of thoſe Times, which

which fed more heartily and healthily too then, upon Parſon's Fare, good Beef and Bag-Pudding, than we do now upon Kickſhaws and Haut-gouſts; yet nothing of the true Nature is there diſcovered, only, as almoſt in all former Writers of Baths, chiefly Catholick, a ſtrong Stanch of Sulphur, and a great ado about a ſubterranean Fire, a fit Reſemblance of Hell, at leaſt of Purgatory. Our Countryman Doctor *William Turner*, I confeſs, was more particularly concerned to give a better Account, than I find, is done in his Diſcourſe of *Engliſh*, *German*, and *Italian* Baths. But whether Want of Opportunity, or any other Impediment was in Cauſe, I know not; but I find that, at this Stay, they ſtood till the famous Doctor *Jorden* took Pen in Hand, about the Year 1630. To whom I thought fit to make ſome Additions, at my firſt Entrance on this Place, ſome five Years ſince; and although that learned and candid Phyſician had chiefly, and more eſpecially, an Intent to enlarge the Knowledge of our Baths in *Somerſetſhire*, as he declares to my Lord *Cottington*, in his Dedicatory Epiſtle; and hath performed more than any Man before him; yet what was firſt in Intention, was laſt in Execution, and how ſmall a Part of that Treatiſe is ſpent upon this Subject, how ſhort he is in ſome material Points, and what Objections may be framed againſt his Opinion, I may ſome Time or other, with due Reſpect, more largely treat of, and for the preſent ſhall here, with good *Shem* and *Japhet*, caſt a Garment over the Nakedneſs of this my Father.

What hath been done ſince (except in ſome particular Pieces of other Tracts, to the Authors of which the Baths are alſo indebted for their Kindneſs and good Will) is not worth the mentioning. The old Saying is true, *Little Dogs muſt piſs*, and what is writ upon an Ale-bench claims the greater Affinity to the Pipe and the Candle; eſpecially if the beſt Wine at the Feaſt (which is uſually kept till laſt) be but a ſilly Story of *Tom Coriat*, and an old *Taunton* Ballad new vamped (the Creature's Parts lying that Way) abuſing the dead Ghoſts of *Ludhudibras* and *Bladud*, with a Nonſenſico-Pragmatical, Anticruzado-Orientado-Rhodomontado-Untruth *Le Grand*, which we, Weſterly Moderns, call a *grote* Lye, into the Bargain. A pretty Artifice in Rhetorick, to cry a Thing up, and beſmear, and *ſhed plentifully* on the Founder *Ordure*, *both Human and Belluine.*

Rode, Caper, vitem, tamen hic, cum ſtabis ad aras,
In tuâ quod fundi cornua poſſit, erit.

Goat, bark the Vine; yet Juice enough will riſe
To drench thy Head, when made a Sacrifice.

I have induſtriouſly omitted Doctor *Johnſon*, Doctor *Venner*, and ſome others, in regard it would be improper here to write more hiſtorically, which I reſolve to do, if my Leiſure permit, on another Occaſion. I ſhall therefore now let you know not ſo much, what hath been done by others, as what further Diſcoveries have been made by my Endeavours, aſſiſted by the careful Pains of Mr. *Henry Moor*, an expert Apothecary and Chymiſt of this City.

And here at firſt I cannot but take Notice, how that Opinion hath ſo much prevailed as to be accounted orthodox, and not only received by Tradition as certain, but printed as ſuch, that the Body of the Waters is ſo jejune and empty, as to afford little or nothing at all whereby to make a Diſcovery of its Nature; and that what impregnates the Baths is not ſubſtantially, materially or corporally there, but potentially, vertually, and formally, or, to uſe the Author's own Words, δυνάμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ, with much more Canting after this Manner in a ſmall Diſcourſe in *Latin* written by an Itinerant Exotick *; whenas a ſlight Operation will ſoon evince it, though white and tranſparent of itſelf, being taken immediately from the Pump, to contain a conſiderable Quantity of a duſky, gritty, and ſaline Matter, with many tranſparent Particles intermixed with it, to the Proportion (as near as I can calculate, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs) of two Drams to a Gallon of the Water. And this I can aſcertain, having had ſeveral Ounces of it done in Earth, Iron, Bell-metal, and Glaſs, and have at this Time three or four Ounces by me, untouched, beſide what I have made Uſe of in other Experiments.

* *Car. Claramont.* de Aer. Aq & Loc. T. A. p. 32.

But the Thing I ſhall more peculiarly inſiſt on, at preſent, is, that by God's Bleſſing, on my induſtrious Search, I ſuppoſe I have lighted on the main Conſtituents of the Vertues of the Bath, in which alone reſides what Benefit can be expected from the Uſe of theſe Waters, and lodgeth in a ſaline Subſtance, in a very ſmall Proportion to the Body of the Waters; ſo that, as they are now, not much more than forty Grains are contained in a Gallon, inſomuch that this little Soul, as I may ſo term it, is almoſt loſt in ſo gigantick a Body, and cannot animate it with that Vigour and Activity, as may be rationally expected, were a greater Quantity of the Salt contained in a leſs Proportion of the Water. The Remainder, which is not ſaline, being, as I judge, two Parts in three of the Bulk of the Contents, is partly whitiſh, gritty, and of a lapideous Nature, concreting, of itſelf, into a ſtony Conſiſtence not eaſily diſſolvible; partly more light and dirty, reſembling Clay, or Marle, and diſcovers itſelf by an apparent Separation from the ſaline and gritty Part mentioned before.

Now the chief Vertue of the Bath, as I conceive, conſiſting in the Salts, which appear, by undeniable Experiments, to be nitrous, and I believe vitrioline (Bitumen and Sulphur being not primarily, as theſe Salts, but ſecondarily concerned, which, conſiſting of unctuous Particles, cannot be ſuppoſed capable of mixing with the Body of the Waters, and therefore no Way obſervable in the Contents) and no ſmall Proportion of other Things blended with it; the beſt Way to make it moſt ſerviceable I conceived to be, to free it from thoſe Incumbrances and Allays it hath from the other Ingredients, and prepare it as exactly as may be performed by Art, for the Benefit of thoſe eſpecially, who are willing to drink the Waters with greater Succeſs in a leſſer Quantity; which they may now do, and have more of the Vertue of the Waters, in a Quart, three Pints, or a Pottle, than they formerly had in two or three Gallons, did they drink as much; which will be, beſides other Conveniences, a great Relief to the Stomach, which certainly muſt be relaxed, and the Tone of it injured by that vaſt Quantity of Water, which is uſually taken diluting its Ferment overmuch, and diſtending its Membranes beyond all the Bounds of a reaſonable Capacity.

Beſides, what is ſeparated only by an artificial Extraction, will better unite again, and mix with the Waters, as much more familiar, than the extraneous Salts of *Sal Prunella*, Cream of Tartar, &c. which are uſually diſſolved and drank with the Waters; ſo that a great Part of the Operation may be aſcribed to that; and the Waters, being, as we ſay, between two Stools, that of itſelf, and the Diſſolvent in it, have not attained to that Degree of Reputation as they have deſerved, and may be procured with much more Advantage, if nothing but the ſame be ſpent upon the ſame, a Way of Improvement altogether equally beneficial to the Fluids and Solids, to the Wet as the Dry.

Again, whereas it is a Cuſtom here, as in all other Places of the like Nature, when Perſons are not willing, or have not Conveniences to come to the Fountain-head, to ſend for the Waters to the Places of their Reſidence, not thinking it much material whether *Mahomet* go to the Mountain, or the Mountain come to him, whereby the Vertue of the Waters is much impaired, though ſtopped and ſealed up with never ſo much Care; this Defect may be ſupplied by the Addition of a Quantity of the ſame Ingredients, which may repair the Loſs that hath been ſuſtained by Evaporation in the Carriage, or any other Way of Damage, and reſtore it again, as near as may be, to its priſtine Vertue, and genuine Advantage. Not to mention that, if Need require, and the poorer Sort cannot procure or pay the Freight for the Waters, they may take a ſhorter Courſe, by mixing the Salt, which they may have at reaſonable Rates, with Spring Water, brought to a proportionable Degree of Heat at Home, and expect more Advantage, for aught I know, than thoſe that drink the Waters themſelves at ſo great a Diſtance; and I have therefore ordered convenient Doſes of the Salt to be prepared and kept, by Mr. *William Child*, Alderman, and Mr. *Henry Moore*, two Apothecaries in *Bath*, to whom any one may reſort, that ſhall have Occaſion.

And, becauſe I am now fallen on this Subject, I ſhall crave Leave to remind you of what you well enough underſtand already, that not only *Dulcius*, but *Utilius*, *ex ipſo Fonte*, &c. and Waters, eſpecially impregnated with volatile Spirits, ſuch as moſt acid are, and peculiarly vitrioline, to avoid the Inconvenience and Expence, not ſo much of Money as Vertue, in the Carriage, muſt be drunk on the Place where they are, which, in ſome Kind reſembling

bling Children, that muſt live by Sucking, if once removed from their Mother, or Nurſe, by Degrees dwindle away, and at laſt die.

It is obſervable in theſe Waters, that with four Grains of Gall injected into a Pint-glaſs of Water, or the Water poured on it, it immediately turns of a purple Colour, which in ſhort Time after, as the Water cools, abates much of its Vividity, and becomes more faint; if the Waters be ſuffered to cool, and be quite cool before the Galls are injected, no Alteration happens upon a much greater Proportion of Galls ſuperadded; and what is more remarkable, if the Water, which is permitted to cool, be recruited by the Fire, and the ſame Trial reiterated, it offers no greater Satisfaction in Change of Colour, than the ſecond Experiment. Conſonant to what *Andreas Baccius*, a veteran and experienced Soldier in this Militia, hath formerly obſerved, who in his ſecond Book *de Thermis*, *Cap.* x. *Pag.* 69, hath theſe Words, *Nulla Balnei Aqua, eodem cum ſucceſſu, ac laude, bibitur, longe exportata, quod ad fontem proprium; maximæ enim pars, ex ipſo fonte hauſtæ ac delatæ, amittunt omnem virtutem, multæ non ſervantur per hyemem: dilutæ pluviis, & quæ utcunque ſervantur delatæ a propriis fonticulis, fieri non poteſt, quin amittunt, cum calore ſuo Minerali, vivificos illos Spiritus, in quibus omnis Juramenti vis conſiſtit, quæ ſemel amiſſa, nullo poſtea extrinſeco calore reſtituitur. Quod eſt valde notandum.*

I have been the more particular in this, in Regard it is a very uſeful and practical Diſcovery, and may procure more real Advantage to Mankind, than the vain and unattainable Attempts of the Philoſophers Stone, Making Glaſs malealble, and the Quadrature of a Circle.

Some other Obſervations I ſhall alſo mention, of no leſs Magnitude, and more contracted Circumference, as the Dying of the Bath-guides Skins, the Bathers Linnen, and the Stones in the Bottom of the Bath, of a yellow Colour, and the Eating out of the Iron Rings of Bath, the Iron Bars of the Windows about the Bath, and any Iron infuſed in it; inſomuch as I have now by me a Gad of Iron, by Accident taken up among the Stones of the King's Bath, ſo much eaten out, and digeſted by the Oſtrich Stomach of theſe Waters that, the Sweetneſs extracted what remains reſembles very much a Honey-comb, a deep Perforation in many Places being attempted, and the whole Gad itſelf reduced very much like a Sponge.

The firſt, *viz.* the Tincture, I have diſcovered to arrive from an Ochre, with which the Bath abounds, and hath afforded me a conſiderable Quantity, ſo that now I have near a Pound by me, and, with an Infuſion of that inwarm Water, tinge Stones as exactly of the Bath Colour, that they are not diſcernible one from another. It is further obſervable, that, the nearer the Place of Ebullition, where the Springs ariſe, the deeper and finer is the yellow Colour; ſo that in ſome Places, about the Croſs in the King's Bath, and at the Head of the great Spring, at the South-weſt Corner thereof, it is almoſt made a natural Paint, being laboured together by the Working of the Springs, and a continual Succeſſion of new Matter coming on, free from thoſe Impurities it contracts in other Places, which makes it diſtinguiſhable into two or three Sorts, according to its Mixture with, or Freedom from, more adulterating Matter. The Clouts alſo and Woollen Rags, which the Guides uſe to ſtop the Gout withal, beſides the Walls, Slip-doors and Poſts, when the Bath is kept in a conſiderable Time, as in the Winter-Seaſon it uſeth to be, are all very much tinged with this yellow Subſtance; and if at any Time they chance to lie unwaſhed, or not thrown away, they ſend out ſo ungrateful a Scent, that a Man had rather ſmell to a Carnation, Roſe, Violet, or a Pomander, than be within the Wind of ſo unwelcome a Smell, it being the greateſt Policy to get the Weather-gage in this Encounter. The ſame Thing I have experienced in Veſſels at Home, where after it had ſtood ſome Time, in a common Infuſion of warm Water, I have the ſame Reverence for that as Pictures, and do aver it to be true, *E Longinquo reverentia major.*

One Thing more is to be noted before I leave this Particular, that, although ſo much of this yellow Matter is continually bred, with which the neighbouring Ground is ſufficiently repleniſhed, as I have found by digging in ſome Places not far diſtant, yet nothing of that Colour is diſcovered in the Contents; a probable Argument it either evaporates, to which I am more inclined, in regard I find it much more copious where the Steam of the Bath meets with any Reſiſtance; or elſe perhaps, which is leſs probable, turns Colour by the Fire in Evaporation that Way; leſs probable, I ſay, becauſe, for further Satisfaction, I have decocted the Ochre more than once, and find it rather gets than loſes in its Colour.

The

The greeniſh Colour ariſeth from another Cauſe.

The Eating out of the Iron, I conceive, muſt proceed from ſomething corroſive, and, till any one can aſſure me it is ſomething elſe, I ſhall judge it to be Vitriol; and that it may appear not to be cauſed by the bare Steam, as Ruſt is bred upon Pot-hooks and Cotterels (as ſome imagine) beſides the Difficulty to conceive how the Steam ſhould operate under Water, as in the Caſe of the Gad before mentioned, I made a Lixivium of the Contents of the Water, and in it infuſed Iron, but a very ſmall Time, and found it to do the ſame as in the Bath itſelf, conſidering the Time of Infuſion; and the very Knives, and Spatules, I put in to ſtir ſome Reſidence in the Bottom, were, almoſt as ſoon as dry, cruſted over and defended with a ruſty Coat.

I have other Arguments, I ſuppoſe, will contribute ſomething more to the Confirmation of this Opinion; as, that with the Help of the Sand of the Bath with Water, and Galls, I make good Writing Ink, which, in a ſhort Time, comes to be very legible; but the Infuſion of the Contents in common Water, or the Lixivium thereof, with an Addition of an inconſiderable Proportion of the Decoction of Galls, makes it tolerably legible, on the firſt Commixture, only the firſt, *viz.* that made with Sand, caſting an Eye of decayed Red from a Mixture of Ochre contained in the ſame. Neither is it altogether to be ſlighted, that the Water itſelf hath been heretofore uſed by the beſt Writing-maſters for the making Ink, who, obſerving by their Experience, that Ink made with Bath-water, and the other uſual Ingredients, had a better Colour, and was more laſting than any other, preferred this Water before any other for this Uſe, as I have been informed by ſome credible Perſons. Alſo having not long ſince Occaſion to pour warm Water on the Contents of the Bath, in order to the making a Lixivium, ſome of the Water happened, by an Accident, to fall upon a Bazil-ſkin I ſometimes uſe, and immediately turned the Red into Black, more than the Breadth of an ordinary Hand, with as much Facility, as any Curriers Liquors; Allum I know will do the like, but I find no Neceſſity to aſſert, that, had it any Thing to do here, muſt make the Water much tougher, whiter, and ſourer, than I find it to be. To which I may add, that many judicious Perſons, my Patients, and ſome intelligent and eminent Phyſicians alſo have aſſured me, that they have perfectly diſcerned by the Taſte a Mixture of Vitriol, and that I need not doubt but that was one principal Ingredient. It is alſo not very inconſiderable, that the Bath-Water alone will coagulate Milk, though not after the uſual Way of making a Poſſet; for, after the Milk and Water are put together, it muſt boil pretty ſmartly, elſe the Curd will not riſe. I may likewiſe ſubjoin as a further Probability, that, on the Relenting of the Salt extracted into an Oil *per deliquium*, there is a very ſharp Stiptick and vitrioline Taſte perceived in the groſs *deliquium*, as alſo in the clear Oil, and the Salt itſelf; not to mention its Shooting into Glebes, of which I have ſome ſmall Aſſurances by ſome Trials I have made, not yet ſufficiently ſatisfactory; and therefore I diſmiſs this Part for the preſent, with the greateſt Probability, till a farther Inquiry ſhall make me poſitive.

But, as to Nitre, there can be no Queſtion made about that I ſuppoſe; for beſides the quick acrimonious Cooling, and the nauſeous Taſte, moſt apparently diſcoverable both in the infuſed Contents, the Salt and the Oil (the latter of which, *viz.* the nauſeous Taſte, I take more particular Notice of, in Regard it is moſt predominant, and aſſigned by *Fallopius* to Nitre, and the Waters impregnated with it, which, he ſays, ſometimes do *ſubvertere ſtomachum, & facere nauſeam, de Therm. Aq. & Met. cap.* 9. beſides, I ſay, theſe probable Conjectures) what will ſet it beyond all Contradiction, is that it hath the true Characteriſtick of Nitre, and ſhoots its Needles, as long and firm, to the Quantity I have, as any I have ſeen in the Shops, of which I have now lately ſhot above twenty *Stiriæ*, ſome near an Inch in Length, which I keep in a Glaſs ready by me, to give any one Satisfaction that deſires to ſee it, beſides what I have parted with to ſome Friends Abroad.

I the rather mention this, in regard it hath been my good Hap to bring this to Perfection and autoptical Demonſtration, which hath been in vain attempted by ſome inſtrious Perſons; not that I am, in the leaſt, willing to arrogate to myſelf, or derogate from them, more than what is fitting, but to confirm this Truth, that there are ſome *Mollia tempora fandi*; ſome Opportunities, when Nature will give willing Audience, without much Ceremony or Ado, confeſſing more by fair Perſuaſions,

ſuaſions, than Racks and Torments, and greater Importunity. And that we ought to be very cautious how to affirm a Thing not to be, upon the Failure of a ſingle, or ſome repeated Experiments.

In Fine, leſt I ſhould too much exceed the Bounds of a Letter, what concerns the Cauſe of the Heat of the Waters, I ſay little of here, only tell you that when I ſhall come to diſcourſe of that Subject, of which I intend, God willing, a large Diſquiſition in another Language, I believe I ſhall find myſelf obliged not ſo much to depend on a ſubterranean Fire, as to expect greater Satisfaction from another Hypotheſis.

Many more Experiments I have made upon the Sand, Scum, and Mud of the Bath, with ſome Obſervations drawn from the *Natura Loci*, or Ground hereabouts; but, I fear, I have been too tedious already, and therefore, without further Ceremony, ſhall releaſe you out of this Purgatory, with the Subſcription of,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful and much obliged Servant,

THO. GUIDOTT.

Strange and true News from *Staffordſhire*, or a true Narrative concerning a young Man lying under Almighty God's juſt Vengeance, for imprecating God's Judgment upon himſelf, and pleading his Innocency, though he knew himſelf Guilty. Written by *W. Vincent*, Miniſter of God's Word at *Bednall*, in the County of *Stafford*, aforeſaid, who ſaw and diſcourſed the ſaid Perſon, upon the 26th Day of *April*, 1677. The ſaddeſt Spectacle that ever Eyes beheld. Licenſed, *May* 11, 1677, *Roger L'Eſtrange*. *London*, printed in the Year 1677. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

THough the ſad Examples of God's Juſtice upon notorious Offenders have been many, in the ſeveral Parts of the World, yet Men are not deterred from, but perſiſt in Perfidiouſneſs and Villainy: When *Satan* has, by his Temptations, got once an Advantage, he never leaves tempting ſuch vanquiſhed Sinners, till he has drawn them from leſs Sins to greater, and ſo brought them to Shame and Deſtruction, either in this Life, or that which is to come; as by this ſad Example, of which I am about to diſcourſe, will more fully appear.

One Mr. *William Vincent*, a Miniſter, hearing a Report that a Man's Hands and Feet ſhould rot off, and yet the ſaid Man not at all ſick, but could eat, and drink, and ſpeak heartily; and having an Account where this Man lay, could not be ſatisfied, but made it his Buſineſs to ride to the Place, which was about fourteen or fifteen Miles diſtant from *Bednall*, where the ſaid Miniſter liveth; and coming to ſome few Houſes adjoining to a Heath-ſide in the County of *Stafford*, aforeſaid, in a litte Shed, or Barn, there he finds this Subject of God's Wrath, and Object of every Eye's Pity that beheld him; and, at that Time, there were a great many, both Men, Women, and Children, beholding of him: The Perſon, ſo afflicted, lying there, upon a Pad of Straw, between a Pair of Sheets, not being able to help himſelf, neither one Way or other, more than what the Perſon that looked after him did for him; for there is a Man hired only to attend him.

As

As to the Miſerableneſs of his Condition, it is this: Several of his Members conſume away and rot; one Hand, being rotted from the Wriſt, that you may not only ſee through the Maſter Bones, but alſo the Bones, for half a Handful, between the Knuckle-bone of the Wriſt, and upwards, towards the Elbow, hath neither Vein, Fleſh, nor Sinew left, but is as bare as any Bone can be: One Hand is as black as a Beaſt's-hoof, and drawn together in the Form of the ſame; ſo that the ſaid Miniſter, upon the firſt Sight of it, did conclude, that it had been a Beaſt's-hoof that had lain by him, till his Keeper ſhewed him to the Contrary, by moving his Arm; by which it did appear, that that was his Hand, and did join to his Wriſt, that was bare to the Bone for above four Inches: The Fleſh that next appeared, towards his Elbow, was ulcerous, and in a rotten Condition, and one of his Knees rotted, ſo that his Leg was ready to drop off; yet, all this While, the ſaid afflicted Perſon eating, and drinking, and ſpeaking heartily.

Now, you have heard in what a miſerable and dreadful Condition this ſad Subject of God's juſt Wrath now lies. Let us proceed to give you an Account of his own Conjectures, of the Cauſe of his ſo exemplary Puniſhment.

The ſaid Perſon ſtealing a Bible, being accuſed of the Fact, did abſolutely and impudently deny it; not only ſo, but imprecating ſad Judgments againſt himſelf, in theſe and ſuch like Words, ſaying, That he deſired that God might make him an Example, if he were any Ways guilty of that Crime laid to his Charge; and that his Hands might rot off if he ſtole it, and he might rot alive if he had it, or meddled with it; notwithſtanding, he knew himſelf to be guilty of the Stealing of it.

All which you may more fully underſtand, by this following Confeſſion from his own Mouth, to the ſaid Miniſter, the Author of this preſent Narrative.

This Miniſter, when he came to him, propounded ſeveral Queſtions to him, after he had bewailed the lamentable Condition of the ſaid Perſon.

1. He aſked him, Whether he did not look upon the Hand of Divine Vengeance to be upon him, in an extraordinary Manner?

He anſwered, *He did.*

2. The ſaid Miniſter aſked him, Whether he did apprehend, what that ſo ſore a Judgment was for, that he then lay under? Whether he were guilty of any particular Sin (that his Conſcience accuſed him withal) which did provoke God's Wrath in ſo high a Nature againſt him?

He ſaid, that his particular Sin was *Stealing* a Bible, for which he apprehended this ſore Judgment of God upon him.

The ſaid Miniſter ſaid further to him, Did you ſteal a Bible?

He anſwered, *Yes.*

The Miniſter told him, though he did, that was a Sin pardonable upon Repentance; that God was a merciful God.

But the afflicted Perſon further added, That, when he was queſtioned for it, he poſitively denied it, and wiſhed that he might *rot alive*, and that *his Hands might rot off*, if he ever touched it; and all this While knew himſelf guilty of the Crime.

The Miniſter aſked him, How long ſince this Fact was committed?

He anſwered, *About ſix Weeks.*

The Miniſter aſked him, How long, after that he had wiſhed thoſe ſad Wiſhes to himſelf, it was, before he apprehended that Hand of God's Wrath to be upon him?

He anſwered, *Not long.*

The Miniſter aſked him, After what Manner he found himſelf alter, as to any Diſtemper that ſeized upon him?

He anſwered, He was taken with an aguiſh and feveriſh Condition, and immediately *his Hand began to rot*, and then he looked upon it to be the Hand of God upon him, in puniſhing him for thoſe ſad Wiſhes he wiſhed upon himſelf: And he further added, That he deſired all good People to pray for him.

Let this ſad Spectacle of Divine Vengeance move us to conſider, with what a God we have to do: *Be not deceived, God will not be mocked.* Let every one conſider and admire God's free Grace and Mercy, that he hath not been made a Subject of God's immediate Wrath, inſtead of being a living Monument of God's Long-ſuffering and Patience. Let no Man preſume to take God's Name in vain; much more, not dare to challenge God's Vengeance

geance upon himſelf. This ſad Example (being well conſidered) may deter all that hear of it from ſuch notorious Sins. Let every Man take the Advice of *Moſes*, *Deut.* xxxii. 29. *To be wiſe, to underſtand, and to conſider their latter Ends:* Which, being done, will bring us to the Knowledge of God, ourſelves, of Heaven and Hell, and prevent from being unhappy or miſerable, either in Body or Soul. Which is the hearty Deſire of your humble Remembrancer.

W. V.

A Particular Deſcription of the famous Town and Cittadel of *Dunkirk*, with all its Fortifications, *viz. Rice-bank*, *Forts*, *Harbour*, *Peere*, the *Baſon*, the Number of the Ships in the Harbour, and Cannon in each Port, as it is now in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great-Britain*. With a particular Account of the *Churches*, *Cloiſters*, and *Nunneries*, their Worſhip and Ceremonies, and all Things worthy of Obſervation. Printed 1712. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-one Pages.

The PREFACE.

It was not the Author's firſt Intention to have publiſhed this to the World, being deſigned for his own private Obſervation; but the repeated Importunities of ſeveral of his Acquaintance, who had the Peruſal thereof, have at laſt prevailed with him to commit it to the Preſs, hoping it will meet with a favourable Reception from all who are deſirous to know the Particulars of that famous Place, which hath made ſo much Noiſe in Europe.

The Author is not inſenſible but it will meet with Cenſure from the Captious, and perhaps from the Imperfection they may find in not expreſſing this Deſcription in that Regularity as the Curious may expect: However, what is here related is genuine in every Particular, wherein he has ſtudied more of Truth, than Art or Eloquence, and adapted to the Comprehenſion of the weakeſt Capacity; and doubts not but the candid Reader will accept of his good Intentions, and excuſe the Omiſſions that may have eſcaped in this Scrutiny.

AT the Entrance into the *Peere* on the right Hand next the Sea, is a wooden Fort, ſupported with mighty Beams and Piles drove into the Sea. It lies oppoſite to the other Fort, of which I ſhall make Mention hereafter. Here are Twenty-four Pieces of Cannon mounted, whereof ſix are Braſs. There are alſo two very large Mortars. There are Places for ten Pieces of Cannon more. It has a Communication with the Walk on the *Peere* by a Gallery. It has a Beacon, and in the Middle of the Fort are the Barracks for the Soldiers; it is all boarded with prodigious Beams of Timber, and right againſt each Cannon are placed about forty Cannon-balls, beſides great Numbers upon Piles, with great Quantities of Powder, and a great many Carriages for Cannon under the Piazzas of the Barracks; the Fort is all raiſed round above Breaſt-high, where the Cannon is, with great Pieces of Timber; there are two great Gates, and one Draw-bridge coming into the Fort, which

lies a full Mile on the *Peere* from the Town.

Next to the Fort laſt mentioned, lies the famous *Rice-Bank*, of which I ſhall be very particular in deſcribing what is worthy of Obſervation. It lies about Half-way the *Peere*, and has a Communication with the Walk on the *Peere*, by a very long Gallery, which is railed all along above Breaſt-high: It is ſupported with great Piles drove into the Sea. The Form of the *Rice-bank* is round, and is built with Stone Half-way up, the other Half Brick: The Walls of it are wide enough for a Coach, and, where the Cannon is planted, are wide enough for ſix Coaches to go a-breaſt, and the Greſs as even as a Bowling-green. There are mounted Twenty-two Pieces of Cannon, which are prodigious large, and between each two iron Cannon is one Braſs; there are alſo ſix large Mortars mounted, which are reckoned the largeſt in the World; there are Places for twenty-ſix Pieces of Cannon more, and againſt each Cannon are placed about forty Cannon balls, beſides great Numbers upon Piles. At the firſt Coming into the *Rice-bank* is a Draw-bridge; then there are four Gates at ſmall Diſtances one from the other, all plated over with Iron; the Entrance into it is but narrow: There is an Aſcent of fifteen Steps into the Court-yard, which is very large and ſpacious, and round it is pitched with Stone: In the Middle is a very large Well of good Water, and all round are the Barracks for the Soldiers, which are built with Brick two Stories high; there is likewiſe a noble Houſe for the Governor and other Officers, and a fine Church at one End of the Yard is railed in with iron Rails; a very prodigious Quantity of Cannon-ball, and Bomb-ſhells of all Sizes, beſides the Magazines of Powder which are very large; it is incredible to relate the vaſt Magazines of all Sorts of warlike Stores that are therein: In going up the Walls, where the Cannon is planted, is an Aſcent of forty Steps, and there are four Ways of going up the Walls at equal Diſtances. The Barracks for the Soldiers will contain at leaſt Two-thouſand Men; it is all ſurrounded with the Sea, and lies about half a Mile from the Town; it is impoſſible to expreſs the Strength of it.

Next to the *Rice-bank* coming into the *Peere*, lies Fort *Devett*, which lies about a Quarter of a Mile from the *Rice-bank*; it has a Communication with the Walk on the *Peere*, by a long Gallery which is railed all along, above Breaſt-high, to keep one from falling into the Water, ſupported with great Piles drove into the Sea; the Form of it is triangular, and built with Stone Half-way up, the other Half Brick; the Walls are wide enough for a Coach. At firſt Coming in is a Draw-bridge, with two Gates at a ſmall Diſtance one from the other; the Aſcent to the Walls where the Cannon are planted is twenty Steps, and there are mounted ten Pieces of iron Cannon, and Places for twelve more; there are againſt each Cannon above twenty Cannon-balls, beſides great Numbers upon Piles. There are Barracks for the Soldiers; it lies between the Cittadel and the *Rice-bank*, on the right Hand, and is all ſurrounded with the Sea, except at low Water. At the Entrance into the *Peere*, on the left Hand next the Sea, is a wooden Fort, ſupported with mighty Beams and Piles drove into the Sea; it lies oppoſite to the other Fort. Here are mounted twenty-one Pieces of Cannon, whereof ſix are Braſs; there are alſo two very large Mortars, and Places for twenty Pieces of Cannon more; it has a Communication with the Walk on the *Peere*, by a Gallery; there is a Standard, and in the Middle of the Fort are the Barracks for the Soldiers; it is all boarded with prodigious Beams of Timber, and right againſt each Cannon are placed about thirty or forty Cannon-balls ready, as Occaſion may offer, beſides great Numbers upon Piles, with great Quantities of Powder, and a great many Carriages for Cannon under the Piazzas of the Barracks; the Fort is all railed round above Breaſt-high, where the Cannon is, with great Pieces of Timber; there are two Gates, and one Draw-bridge coming into the Fort.

Next to the wooden Fort laſt mentioned, coming into the *Peere*, lies *Chateau Gallicere*; it lies about Half-way the *Peere*, having a Communication with the Walk on the *Peere*, by a ſhort Gallery. It is ſupported with mighty Beams, and Piles drove into the Sea; it lies near oppoſite to the *Rice-bank*; here are mounted ſeven Pieces of Cannon, and there are Places for four more; it is all boarded with prodigious Beams of Timber, and right againſt each Cannon are placed about twenty or thirty Cannon-balls; the Fort is all railed round above Breaſt-high, where the Cannon are, with great Pieces of Timber; there is one Gate coming into the Fort, and at low Water this Fort is dry on the Sands.

Fort

Fort *La Bleau* lies about half a Mile from the wooden Fort coming into the *Peere*, on the left Hand, in the Sea, and is likewiſe near half a Mile from the Town; at low Water one may go to it on the Sands; going into the Fort are twenty-three Steps to the firſt Gate, where is a Draw-bridge; then there are three Gates, then an Aſcent of twenty-five Steps where the Cannon is planted, and there are mounted twelve prodigious large iron Cannon, and Places for ſeven more; there is a Standard and Barracks for the Soldiers; there are placed about twenty Cannon-balls to each Cannon, beſides great Numbers upon Piles, with great Quantities of Powder. The Walls are wide enough for a Coach; it is built with Stone Half-way up, the other Half Brick, the Form of it is like a Half-moon; at high Water it lies near a Mile into the Sea; in tempeſtuous Weather, notwithſtanding the prodigious Height of it, the Waves beat into it; it is paved all with Free-ſtone.

From the Town to the End of the *Peere*'s Mouth, is a full Mile long, which runs into the Sea; there are two very fine Walks all boarded, the whole Length of the *Peere* on each Side, and there are prodigious Planks of Timber and Piles drove into the Sea, with great iron Pins and other iron Work, faſtened unto the Wood, to keep out the Sea; the Walk is broad enough for two or three to go a-breaſt, and above Half-way it is railed about Breaſt-high, the other Half about a Quarter of a Yard; it muſt be noted, the outermoſt Walk next the *Peere*, where the Ships come in, is railed about Breaſt-high, and is moſt Part of the Way ſo much decayed, that there is no Walking, but the other Walk is in good Repair; the Mouth of the *Peere* is wide enough for four or five Ships to come in a-breaſt, and the whole Length of the *Peere* the ſame, and as ſtraight as a Line; the *Peere* wants very much Repairing, eſpecially the Timber-work in many Places is very much decayed, many great Beams are wanting; there is a vaſt Number of Piles drove into the Sea, to hinder Ships from damaging the *Peere*, and there lie on both Sides a great many large Ships, and on the Ground next the Town by the Walk lie one-hundred and fifty-four iron Cannon, which are not mounted, beſides a prodigious Number of Anchors and great Quantities of Timber.

The Cittadel lies on the right Hand coming into the Town from the *Peere*; at the Entrance is a Draw-bridge and one Gate with a Portcullis, or that Gate pointed at the End with iron Spikes, to drop down with iron Chains to keep out the Enemy; then there are three Gates at a ſmall Diſtance one from the other. At firſt Coming in are four prodigious large Barracks for the Soldiers, two Stories high, two of them a great Length, and at the hither End of the two ſhorteſt Barracks is the Cloiſter, a very noble Building. The Place about the Barracks is very large and ſpacious, and there is a very large Well of extraordinary good Water. In going up to the Walls is a great Aſcent, where is planted next the Town an *Engliſh* Train of Artillery of twenty-one Pieces of Cannon, beſides a prodigious Number of other Cannon; amongſt them is one of Braſs about twelve Yards long, reckoned the longeſt and the largeſt in the World; all, where the Cannon is planted, is undermined, where lie a great many Barrels of Powder. The Cittadel is all ſurrounded with a prodigious ſtrong high brick Wall, and is near two Miles in Circumference; there are on the Walls ſeveral Places for the Centinels, and fine Rows of Trees where the Cannon are planted, and one Windmill. There are ſeveral Magazines of Powder, Cannon-ball, and Bomb-ſhells, ſo conveniently ſituated, that no Bombs can any Ways affect them; and it is incredible to relate the prodigious Quantities of all Sorts of warlike Stores that are therein; there are likewiſe a great many tin Boats upon Carriages. The Governor's Houſe is a noble Building, and has a fine Garden, and the Walls are broad enough for four Coaches to go a-breaſt where the Cannon are planted.

The *Baſon* lies on one Side of the *Park* near the Cittadel, where are the *Protee* and the *Auguſtus*, two *French* Men of War, and two *Engliſh* Men of War, the *Blackwall* and the *Grafton* (taken this War) and eleven other Ships, and three *Turkiſh* Gallies. The *Baſon* is big enough to contain at leaſt twenty-four Men of War, the moſt commodious Place that poſſibly can be in the World; there are on each Side the Store-houſes, which are lately finiſhed, all built with Brick, two Stories high, very fine Buildings; it is incredible to relate the prodigious Quantities of warlike Stores that are therein relating to Shipping, beſides a great many Anchors of all Sizes, which lie on the

Walk on each Side; the Bomb-ſhells and Bullets which lie on the Walks are incredible. There are next the Harbour two great Sluices which let in the Water as much as they pleaſe; this is intirely in the Hands of the King of *France*, where he has Soldiers that keep Guard, and very few are permitted to go into it.

The *Park* is a Place near the *Baſon*, where is the Magazine of all Sorts of Proviſions for the Soldiers of the *French* King; where the Commiſſary lives, and ſeveral other Officers belonging to the King of *France*.

There are lying on the Walk next the Harbour, near the Walls, one-hundred and five Pieces of Cannon belonging to the Ships in the Harbour, which are not mounted, but lie as Occaſion may ſerve, beſides a great many Anchors.

In the Harbour and *Peere* of *Dunkirk* are two-hundred and four Ships and ſeven *French* Gallies, moſt or all of them taken from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, generally large Ships. The Harbour is the moſt commodious in the World, being like a Half-moon, placed between the Town-wall and the Cittadel; the Walls thereof are ſo prodigious high, that no Winds or Weather can any Ways affect the Ships; and the Breadth of the Harbour is large enough for four Ships to enter a-breaſt, and Depth proportionable at high Water; at the End of the Harbour lies the *Baſon*, being parted by a wooden Bridge or Gallery, that goes to the Cittadel, which I have mentioned.

At Coming from the *Peere* into the Town is a Gate with Paliſadoes; then at a ſmall Diſtance is another Gate with Paliſadoes, and at a ſmall Diſtance is a Gate with a Draw-bridge; and laſtly a Gate with Paliſadoes, and near the firſt Gate is Fort-harbour, where may be planted ſeveral Pieces of Cannon; there is a Standard prodigious high, and very ſtrong, all built with Brick; near it by the Walls is the Clock-tower, very high, oppoſite to the Cittadel; like the Spire of a Church, where is a Clock and a Dial. There are four Gates next the Harbour, with a Draw-bridge to each, with a Portcullis, or great Gate, pointed at the End with iron Spikes to drop down with iron Chains; and there are in the Walls of the Town, next the Harbour, ſeveral Chimnies for making Fires to tar the Veſſels and other Occaſions for Shipping; and there is likewiſe the Image of the Virgin *Mary* with *Jeſus* in her Arms; it has two Folding-doors with ſmall iron Grates, and a Piece of Wood to keep off the Rain; and there is a Lanthorn, where there is a Candle burning all Night, that is lighted as ſoon as it is dark every Evening.

By the Walls of the Town next the Harbour in two Rows are one-hundred and ſeven little Shops or Huts, for the Galley-ſlaves, where they exerciſe their Trades, moſt Handicrafts whatſoever; likewiſe ſeveral Shops that ſell Linnen, Woollen, ſecond-hand Clothes, Stockings, Gloves, and moſt millinary Things; they have an iron Clog about their Leg, where is faſtened an iron Chain about five or ſix Yards long, which is made faſt to their Shop or Poſt; ſo they remain chained all Day; when Evening comes, their Chains are knocked off, but there remains an iron Clog about their Leg, and they are all put into ſeven *French* Gallies, which lie in the Harbour right over-againſt their Shops, where they remain all Night, and a good Guard placed over them; in the Morning their Chains are put on, and there they remain faſtened to their Shop all Day; when any of them are permitted to go into the Town, they are chained two by two; the Rattling of their Chains along the Streets, and their diſmal Condition, is very deplorable, to ſee Men chained together like Hounds; there goes always with them an Officer to look after them; there are a great many of them that work in the *French* King's *Baſon* on Board the Ships, and on Board the Ships in the Harbour, and in carrying and cutting of Timber, and many other ſervile Labours; and, when they are at their Work, they are generally chained together two by two, and when they come from thence, ſometimes, twenty or thirty of them together is very diſmal to behold; out of their Trades and Labour the King of *France* has a Share, likewiſe they pay the Officers that attend them; there are a great many *Turks* among them, and moſt Nations, that are put here for great Crimes, and never releaſed during Life, notwithſtanding ſome of them are worth conſiderable, and, if Money could purchaſe Freedom, it would not be wanting. Their Habit is a red Waiſtcoat and a red Cap. In Time of War theſe Slaves ſerve on Board the *French* King's Gallies, in towing the Men of War in a Calm, and carrying Men to and fro the Men of War in a Fight; theſe Gallies are very ſerviceable, and in particular in galling the Enemies with their Caſhee-pieces, which are very large, and at the Head of the Galley.

The

The Town of *Dunkirk* is not very large, but contains ſeveral noble wide Streets, Lanes, and Alleys; it is pitched with Stone laid regular, like the Middle of the Exchange in *London*; the Houſes are generally three Stories high, built with Brick, much like their Buildings in *Holland* in all Reſpects, only not ſo neat. Their Churches and Cloiſters are very fine noble Buildings, as is likewiſe the Town-houſe; you aſcend to it ſeven Steps; at firſt Coming in is a large ſpacious Hall, and there are ſeveral Rooms for the publick Buſineſs of the City. There is *Conſurgeries*, a very noble Building lately rebuilt; it is the greateſt Eating-houſe in the Town; joining to it is the Priſon; theſe ſtand in the great Street going to the great Church; and fronting the Town-houſe is a great Guard-houſe, where the Soldiers keep Guard Night and Day, and before the Town-houſe the Merchants meet in the Nature of an Exchange. There are in the Town ſix Churches, *viz.* the *great Church*, the *Capuchins*, the *Regulater*, the *Poire Cleres*, the *Beneme*, and the *Deſcrecks*; and four Cloiſters, the *Black* Nuns Cloiſter, the *White* Nuns, the *Penitentia*, and the *Engliſh* Nuns Cloiſter, which is the richeſt in the Town. They are all very noble fine Buildings, and fine Gardens to many of them. To relate the Particulars of every Church and Cloiſter would contain more than can be in this Volume; however, I ſhall be very particular in deſcribing what is worthy of Obſervation in the *great Church*, and alſo a Hint in the others, of what is moſt remarkable.

The Eaſt Port lies going to the Camp; it has three Gates with a Portcullis, or great Gate, pointed at the End with iron Spikes, to drop down with iron Chains, and four Draw-bridges, and two Gates with Paliſadoes. There are ſeveral Sluices, by which they can drown the Country for ſeveral Miles round, which, with the Addition of their prodigious Outworks, which ſhoot out at leaſt two Miles from the Town, render it impregnable by Land as well as by Sea; it is incredible to relate the Strength of the Outworks, which with the Addition of Canals, Rivulets, and other Work renders it the Wonder of all that ſee it. Upon the Walls of the Town are ſeveral Windmills, and fine Rows of Trees; and the Walls are wide enough for four or five Coaches to go a-breaſt; it ſhoots out with ſeveral Half-moons, and other Works. The Walls of the Town are prodigious high built with Brick, all ſurrounded with four prodigious wide Ditches at ſmall Diſtances one from the other.

The Situation of the Camp without the Town of *Dunkirk*, which lies near the Walls, incamped in a ſmall Plain, about four Regiments, conſiſting of four-hundred and twenty-ſix Tents, and fifty Tents for Arms (and in the Town and Cittadel are four Regiments more) the Magazine of Hay lies near the Camp, conſiſting of ten prodigious large Stacks of Hay, encompaſſed with Paliſadoes, and near by are five fine Walks, all with Rows of Trees, about half a Mile in Length; one of the Walks pitched with Stone, the other with Gravel; boarded on each Side above Breaſt-high, the Trees ſtand, and there are ſeveral Benches placed here and there. On the left Hand of the Walks is a Piece of Ground for Burials, and moſt of the Graves have a high wooden Croſs placed at the End.

In the *great Church* are fourteen Places of Devotion, all round it, with the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs in full Proportion, in three ſeveral Places, and a great many Images of Saints in full Proportion, againſt the Walls with their Names underneath; at each Place of Devotion is an Altar, which is very finely adorned with fine Linnen, bordered with curious Lace; there is the Image of our bleſſed Saviour upon the Croſs always ſtanding upon the Altar, about a Foot and an Half high; and there is the Virgin *Mary* with *Jeſus* in her Arms. The Altar is likewiſe adorned with Flowers, and a great deal of very fine Painting on the Walls; there are ſeveral low Forms for the People to kneel at their Devotions, who are continually coming in from Morning till Night, the moſt zealous in their Way of any People in the World. There are continually burning at the Altar Wax-candles, beſides a great many Wax-candles in other Places. Their Morning-prayers, called *Mattins*, they perform with or without the Prieſt; they kneel before the Image of our Saviour, bow themſelves ſeveral Times to the Altar, croſs themſelves with the Sign of the Croſs, tell over their Beads, and ſeveral other Marks of Devotion; their *Veſpers* or Evening Prayers are performed much in the ſame Manner; in the Middle of the Church is the main Place of their Devotion, which is parted off, and there is an Aſcent of three Steps with

with two Folding-doors in the Front, and on each Side the ſame; at the upper End is the Altar, which is very finely adorned with fine Linnen, and bordered with curious Lace with purple Velvet. There is the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs always ſtanding upon the Altar, about two Feet high, and there is the Virgin *Mary* with *Jeſus* in her Arms; the Altar is likewiſe adorned with Flowers; and there are three Books, which lie on the Altar, opened ready for the Prieſt, of which I ſhall make Mention hereafter. There are near the Altar, on the Ground, two prodigious high braſs Candleſticks above a Story high, with Wax-candles, which are never lighted but on great Feſtival Days; it would be endleſs to relate the vaſt Number of Wax-candles that are continually burning in ſeveral Places of the Church. When Maſs is ſaid, the Prieſt, that officiates at the Altar, is arrayed, ſometimes, in a white Surplice *, with a rich Mantle † over his Shoulders; ſometimes with a Mantle of black Velvet, with Silver Orris on the Back, in the Form of a Croſs; ſometimes in another Dreſs, not much unlike the laſt mentioned. At the firſt Approach to the Altar he aſcends two or three Steps, and bows himſelf with great Reverence three Times before the Altar, where is the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs, and then croſſes himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs; then he proceeds in reading in the Book ‡ to himſelf, but at ſome ſmall Intervals he turns himſelf round to the People, with his Hands proſtrate, and ſays ſome Words ‖; then he takes a large ſilver Cup §, which ſtands upon the Altar, and a little Boy, that ſtands by, gives him out of a Phial ** a ſmall Quantity of Wine ††, which he pours into the Cup, and he drinks it off ‡‡ with great Devotion; then he takes the Cup and wipes it very clean with a linnen Cloth, and ſets it on the Altar; then he proceeds to his Devotions. After a ſmall Pauſe he turns himſelf to the People, and ſays ſome Words; then he takes the Hoſt in his Hands ‖‖, and a little Bell tinkles, and immediately they all fall upon their Knees with great Devotion (their Belief is, that the real Body and Blood of Chriſt, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*, is in the Hoſt ſo expoſed in the Hands of the Prieſt after the Words of Conſecration) after a ſhort Pauſe he puts it upon the Altar, and proceeds in his Devotions, which is not long after, and moſt of the Time the Organs are playing, and at Going out and Coming in all croſs themſelves with *Holy Water* (ſo called), which ſtands in ſeveral Places in the Church. There are very fine Organs, which ſtand about the Middle of the Church, and there are ſeveral Eſcutcheons hung upon the Walls, and ſeveral ſmall Bones, being Relicks of Saints; at Going into the Church over the Doors are three Images finely painted: On one Side of the Church next the Street, going into the Herb-Market, is the Image of the Virgin *Mary* with *Jeſus* in her Arms; there is a Lanthorn and a Candle, which is lighted every Evening, and burns all Night.

The *Engliſh* Nuns *Cloiſter* is a very noble Building, with a fine Garden; at Going in over the Door, is the Image of a Nun; the Place of Worſhip is but ſmall; at the upper End is the Altar, with the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs; the Altar is finely adorned in the ſame Manner as in the great Church: Where the Prieſt officiates is parted off by low Paliſadoes; here are no Images, except the Virgin *Mary* with *Jeſus* in her Arms. The Place is laid with Marble, and here are no Seats, except a Bench next the Wall, for all the Time of their Worſhip, generally ſpeaking, they are upon their Knees: There is parted off above Stairs, by very fine iron Work, a large Place for the *Engliſh* Nuns, who, during Part of the Time of their Devotions, ſing extremely fine, and the Organs at the ſame Time playing make it a very agreeable Harmony; there is no ſeeing them but through theſe iron Works, where they may plainly be ſeen, and likewiſe they are ſometimes ſome of them below Stairs in a Place by themſelves. At firſt Coming into the Cloiſter where is a Door, which is with wrought iron Part of the Way, there they may be ſeen very plain, and ſpoke with. If any Perſon deſires to ſpeak to any Nun, here they may, but no other Ways than

* Properly called the *Albe*. † al. *Veſtment*. ‡ Maſs-Book.
‖ *Viz. Dominus Vobiſcum*, or, *The Lord be with you*. § *al.* The *Chalice*.
** *al.* Cruet. †† And another Cruet with Water.
‡‡ After he has communicated in the Kind of *Bread*, and not before.
‖‖ And raiſeth both it and the *Chalice* at ſeparate Times above his Head, which is called the *Elevation*.

through

through theſe iron Grates, and muſt be in the Company of the Lady Abbeſs, or ſome other Nun: If they are any Relation or any Acquaintance they may be ſpoke with, otherwiſe not; at their firſt Entrance into the Cloiſter, they are there for a Year *; if, in that Time, they do not like a religious Life, they may come out; otherwiſe † they are there during Life, and never go abroad.

There are in the Town ſix Markets; the Green or Herb Market, the Wood and Corn Market, the Butter Market, the Chicken Market, the Fiſh Market, and Fleſh Market, all ſpacious commodious Places, eſpecially the Herb Market, which lies near the great Church, between the main Guard and the *poor Cleres*: It is a very ſpacious large Place, about as big as *Covent Garden*, with Houſes all round, which are noble Buildings, eſpecially the main Guard, which has ſeven Gates in Front, and by it is placed a Gibbet with a Ladder ready placed for Malefactors; likewiſe a wooden Horſe for the Soldiers Puniſhment: There are ſeveral Magazines of Powder, near the Walls of the Town, and fine Rows of Trees on the Walks; and near the Walls are the Barracks for the Soldiers, and Officers, which are built with Brick two and three Stories high, and are noble Buildings, and there are other Barracks for the Soldiers in other Places. There is the *Engliſh* Hoſpital and *French* Hoſpital, which are noble Buildings. There is a very large Houſe for the Service of the Church of *England*, and there is a School-maſter, and ſeveral Scholars: There are ſeveral Conduits of freſh Water with Pumps; fronting the *Engliſh Cloiſters* is a very handſome ſquare Place all railed in with fine Rows of Trees: The Town Wall is prodigious high built, all with Brick, and ſeveral Towers placed next the Harbour, and there are four Gates next the Harbour; at firſt Coming from the *Peere* is *Newport* Gate, the *Key* Gate, the *Crown* Gate, and the *Cittadel* Gate; they have each two great Gates with a Portcullis, or great Gate, pointed at the End with iron Spikes to drop down with iron Chains, to keep out the Enemy, with a Draw-bridge to each Gate, which is pulled up every Night; there is Port *Royal*, which lies Southerly; it has two Gates with a Portcullis or great Gate pointed at the End with iron Spikes, to drop down with iron Chains, and three Draw-Bridges, and two Gates with Paliſadoes, and near by is a Magazine of Powder, which lies near the Water-mill of Port *Royal*, and juſt without the Town lies *Bereville*, a ſmall Village with a Church, and one Gate with a Draw-bridge; there is a Way pitched with Stone, which goes to *Berg*.

The Ceremony of burying their Dead: Firſt comes a Perſon which carries a prodigious high ſilver Croſs, then three Men with fine Streamers, and twelve Prieſts in white, bare-headed, and three Prieſts in rich Habits ‡, in black Velvet, bordered with Silver Orris over moſt Part of it; one of them with the Croſs and ſilver Orris on his Back; then two *Capuchins* with the Habit of their Order (which I ſhall deſcribe hereafter) then comes the Corpſe covered with black Velvet, with the Image of our Saviour laid upon the Coffin, covered with black Crape; then at the Head is a large Piece of Silver not unlike a Crown, and one at the Feet not quite ſo large, and ſix Bearers to hold up the Pall; then come the Relations; ſo they proceed into the Church, the Prieſts ſinging all the Way, with a great many Wax-candles burning; the Corpſe is placed in the Middle of the Church, with eight very large Wax-candles burning about it; the Relations are ſeated on each Side, then three Prieſts officiating at the Altar; after ſome Prayers ſaid, one of the Prieſts goes round the Corpſe, with a ſilver Cenſer of holy Water, and ſprinkles round the Corpſe, all the Time ſaying ſome Prayers; then he takes another Cenſer, which has Perfumes burning in it, and goes round the Corpſe, ſaying ſome Prayers and ſinging; then he takes a large Bruſh and ſprinkles the People with holy Water; then all the Men go up to the Altar, each one with a Wax-candle lighted in his Hand, which he receives of a Man that ſtands by for that Purpoſe, and gives it to another Man that is there, before he comes to the Prieſt: Then the Prieſt holding in his Hand a ſmall gilded Diſh, and in the other a Piece of Linnen; then each Perſon goes up to the Prieſt

* During which Time they are called *Novices*.

† They then take upon them the Habit of a Nun in that Order, and take the Vows of Poverty, Chaſtity, Obedience and perpetual Incloſure.

‡ One in a Prieſt's *Veſtment*, and the other two in *Dalmaticas*, repreſenting a Deacon and Subdeacon attending on the officiating Prieſt.

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and kiſſes the Baſon; then the Prieſt wipes it with the Cloth, and then the Women in like Manner; then they proceed with the Corpſe to the Grave, which is in the Church; after ſaying ſome ſmall Prayers, the Corpſe is immediately put into the Grave, and the firſt Shovel-full of Earth is put into the Grave by the Prieſt, his Hand being aſſiſted by the Grave-digger (the Coffin is plain ſquare at the Head, and a wooden Croſs made faſt upon the Coffin) then the Prieſt takes the Cenſer, and ſprinkles holy Water into the Grave, and ſays ſome Prayers, and holds the ſilver Croſs with our Saviour on it, over the Grave, which is covered with a black Crape Hatband; then he takes a Bruſh and ſprinkles holy Water likewiſe, and with the ſame upon the People, who are very eager to receive it on their Faces, and ſo the Ceremony ends. If any Virgin dies, and is deſirous to be carried to the Grave by Nuns, it is granted, but only the Order of black Nuns have the Privilege of going Abroad, and the Ceremony is much the ſame as above-mentioned; as one that I ſaw, who was carried by eight black Nuns, who were all dreſſed in black, with black Hoods over their Faces.

When any Perſon is dead, immediately there are laid before the Door in the Street ſmall Sheaves of Straw in the Form of a Croſs, which lie there Night and Day, till the Perſon is buried.

The Ceremony of expoſing the Hoſt or Wafer, to give the Sacrament to the Sick: Firſt comes a Perſon with a Wax-candle in a Lanthorn; then ſeveral Prieſts in white, bareheaded, and ſeveral Wax-candles burning, carried by ſeveral Perſons; then the Prieſt that officiates under a Canopy ſupported by four Men; he carries the Hoſt expoſed in his Hands, which is held up; after this Manner they proceed through ſeveral Streets, to the Houſe of the Sick, and, at their Coming back, they proceed, in the ſame Manner, ſinging all the Way; and as they go, a little Bell tinkles, and all fall upon their Knees with great Devotion; this Bell is to give them Notice that the Hoſt is coming; immediately all fall upon their Knees, Men, Women, and Children, as the Hoſt goes by; but the Proteſtants have this Privilege, that, if they meet the Hoſt in the Street, they only put off their Hats as the Hoſt goes by; all People, that are in their Houſes, and Shops, or in the Streets, muſt kneel as it paſſes by; the Ceremony is performed with great Reverence and Devotion, and it is incredible to believe the vaſt Concourſe of People that throng; and the People at their Doors, and at their Windows, with Candles lighted (if it be in the Evening) makes it a very agreeable Proſpect.

When any Perſon is dead, the Corpſe is laid in the Coffin, with ſeveral Wax-candles lighted, which burn Night and Day, and the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs by it, and Night and Day there are ſeveral Perſons with the Corpſe; there are Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*. The Habit of a *Capuchin* is a coarſe brown Cloth, hanging down to their Heels, with a ſhort Cloke of the ſame, and a Coul or Capouch joining to the Cloke; they wear no Shirts, nor any Linnen, no Breeches, no Stockings, nor Shoes, having Sandals or great wooden Clogs on their Feet, made faſt to their Feet with Straps of Leather, their Feet and Legs always bare; about their Middle they are girded with a flaxen Cord with Knots, and there hang their Beads, with the Image of our Saviour upon the Croſs: They lie in no Linnen nor Beds, but upon the Ground with a Matt; they never handle any Money, and there are amongſt them that take no Manner of Care for the Things of this Life, but all their Time is taken up in Devotions, and a religious Life; alledging what is mentioned in the Scripture, by our Saviour, when, ſpeaking to the Apoſtles, he ſays, *Take no Thought for To-morrow, what ye ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink, viz.* They have each Day two or three that go about the Town with a Baſket a begging for Victuals for them.

The *Jeſuits* founded by *Ignatius Loyola*, of *Biſcay*, their Habit is black, with their uppermoſt Garments down to their Heels; they wear Hats, Shoes, and Stockings: They are, as is well known, very learned and judicious Men, inſinuating themſelves into the Courts and Secrets of all the *Roman* Catholick Princes of *Europe*.

The Nuns Habit is black with white Hoods and Pinners, and a black Vail hangs over their Faces; their Dreſs is very becoming, and very neat, and very fine. Women the moſt zealous in their Devotions, that poſſibly any People can be; all the Time of their Worſhip (except when they are ſinging) they are always reading in a Book, telling over their Beads and other Marks of Devotion, kneeling

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all the Time; and when they are ſinging they ſtand cloſe to the iron Grates that their Eccho may be the better heard in the Church, the moſt melodious Muſick in the World, with the Organs at the ſame Time playing, which renders it very agreeable.

There is at going into two of the Cloiſters a wooden Croſs in the Streets, which always remains there, and is about Twenty-four Feet high from the Ground; at certain holy Days the Image of our Saviour in full Proportion is put upon the Croſs, where are two iron Bars to faſten the Image, and the People, as they paſs along, pay their Devotion.

The Civil Government of the Town is in the Hands of the *French* King, as is alſo the *Baſon* and the *Park* (of which I have made Mention) but the *Cittadel*, *Rice-bank*, *Forts*, *Harbour*, *Peere*, and in a Word all the Fortifications with all the Outworks (which are two *Engliſh* Miles in Length from the Town) are intirely in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great-Britain*.

The Place at preſent is very ſickly, and many of the Inhabitants die, as do likewiſe great Numbers of the common Soldiers, and the Officers; they are taken with a Shivering like an Ague.

Proviſions are generally very dear, except Fiſh, which is very reaſonable, particularly Herrings, which are extreme cheap, by the coming in daily of *French* Fiſhing-boats, from *Graveling*, *Calais*, and *Dieppe*; ſince the Coming of the *Engliſh* Proviſions are much dearer, and, ſince the Taking of *Fort Knock* by the *Dutch*, Faggots for Firing are much advanced and ſcarce.

The Inhabitants are moſt *Flemings*; there are ſeveral very eminent *French* Merchants with ſome *Iriſh* Inhabitants; they are generally courteous and civil to Strangers, and are very induſtrious People, and all are of the *Roman Catholick* Religion; no other is permitted there, except a Church to the *Engliſh*. About two Leagues from *Dunkirk*, lies old *Mardyke*, a ſmall Village, and likewiſe new *Mardyke*; *Graveling* lies about four Leagues, and from thence four Leagues to *Calais* in *France*, which compleats the Journal.

An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe of the firſt Invention of Navigation, and the additional Improvements of it. With the probable Cauſes of the Variation of the Compaſs, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewiſe ſome Reflexions upon the Name and Office of Admiral. To which is added a Catalogue of thoſe Perſons that have been, from the firſt Inſtitution, dignified with that Office. By *Thomas Philipott*, M. A. formerly of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*. *London*, printed in 1661. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages, including the Dedication.

Hiſtorical Diſcourſe of Navigation, &c.

To his nobleſt Friend, Sir *Francis Prujean*, Doctor of Phyſick.

SIR,

The Cenſures and Suffrages of the World are like Rocks and Shelves, againſt which, Books, like Veſſels, oftentimes daſhing, find their own Fate and Shipwrack: Sir, your Acceptance will diſpenſe a nobler and more auſpicious Gale, than any which can be breathed from the looſer or vainer Air of popular Applauſe, to tranſport this Diſcourſe to the Publick; and it will be the Happineſs of this Treatiſe, that in future Times it ſhall intitle its Safety to ſo ſucceſsful a Steerage. For, indeed, the Tempeſt, with Reaſon, is frequently more deſtructive and ruinous, than the Storm without it: My own Fear and Caution can ſecure or reſcue me from the Danger of the laſt; but only your Candor and Approbation can redeem from the Prejudices of the firſt,

Sir, your moſt devoted Servant,

Thomas Philipott.

There having been much written concerning this Subject, which lies diſperſed in the Pages of ſeveral Authors, and finding that none have as yet attempted to compile and amaſs thoſe ſcattered Notions into one Heap, I did believe it a Taſk, not unworthy the Expence of Time, or my Labour, to contract thoſe divided Diſcourſes into ſome few Sheets: And having brought them into Shape and Order, to offer them up to publick View; which is the Subject Matter of this enſuing Treatiſe.

FIrſt, it is indiſputably true from the Authority of the ſacred Records, the Structure of the Ark owed and intituled its original Contexture to the induſtrious Precaution of *Noah*, who, by the immediate Deſignation of God himſelf, brought that wooden Iſland into Shape and Order, to reſcue ſome Part of Mankind, from the angry Baptiſm of a publick Deluge.

And it is probable, that the Poſterity of *Noah*, having Plantations which were contiguous to Mount *Ararat*, where the Ark reſted, and there viewing its Skeleton, might, according to that Original, form and build ſuch Ships, and other Veſſels (the Art of Navigation being not yet arrived to its Solſtice) as might make Rivers and more ſpacious Waters obvious to a Paſſage, and maintain ſuch a neceſſary Intercourſe, as might improve a Commerce between Nation and Nation.

The Heathen Records, and Monuments of Pagan Antiquity, which were ignorant of the Structure of the Ark, according to the Variety of Tradition, aſſign the Invention of Navigation to ſeveral Perſons. *Diodorus Siculus* attributes it to *Neptune*, who from thence contracted the Appellation of God of the Sea. *Strabo*, to *Minos* King of *Crete*. And laſtly, *Tibullus* conſecrates it to the Fame and Memory of the City of *Tyre*.

Minos indeed expelled Malefactors out of the Iſlands, and in moſt of them planted Colonies of his own, by which Means, they who inhabited the Sea-coaſts, becoming more addicted to Riches, grew more conſtant to their Dwellings; of whom, ſome, grown now rich, circumſcribed and encompaſſed their Cities with Walls, and others by the Influence of *Minos* built a Navy, and by an active and noble Diligence ſo ſecured Commerce, that they rendered Navigation free.

But it is moſt probable, that, *Tyre* being, in elder Times, a City as eminent for its Wealth and Traffick, as it was for its Strength and Magnificence, and enjoying with its bordering Neighbours, the *Phœnicians*, a large extenſive Sea-coaſt, and many capacious Havens, which had an Aſpect on the *Mediterranean* Sea, found out at firſt the Inſtitution of Shipping. From the *Phœnicians* and *Tyrians*, it was conducted down to the *Egyptians*, by whoſe Induſtry and Ingenuity, much was annexed.

annexed to the Advantage and Perfection of it: For whereas the firſt Veſſels were framed out of the Trunk of ſome large Tree, made hollow by Art, or elſe of divers Boards, compacted into the Faſhion of a Boat, and covered with the Skins of Beaſts, the *Phœnicians* moulded them into a more elegant and convenient Form, and ſecured them with greater Additions of Strength, whilſt the *Egyptians* added, to the former Structure, the Supplement of Decks. From the *Egyptians*, this Art was tranſported to the *Grecians*; for when *Danaus*, King of *Egypt*, to decline the Fury of his Brother *Rameſes*, made his Approaches to *Greece*, he firſt inſtructed its Inhabitants to ſail in covered Veſſels, called *Naves*, who before perfected their Voyages over thoſe narrow Seas, on Beams and Rafters faſtened together, to whom they gave the Appellation of *Rates*. Amongſt the *Grecians*, thoſe of *Crete* had the higheſt Repute for the Manage of Navigation, which cauſeth *Strabo* to aſcribe the Invention of Ships to *Minos*. In Times ſubſequent to theſe, the *Carthaginians*, extracted from *Tyre*, grew moſt conſiderable in Shipping, by the Supply of which, they often diſordered and diſtreſſed the Affairs of the *Romans*: But the Fury of a Tempeſt, having ſeparated a *Quinqueremis*, or Galley of five Banks of Oars, from the Reſidue of the *Carthaginian* Navy, caſt it on the Coaſt of *Italy*; by a curious Inſpection into which, the *Romans* obtained the Art of Shipping; and, not long after, atchieved the Dominion of the Sea. That the *Phœnicians* and *Greeks* tranſmitted the Knowledge of Navigation to *Spain* and *France*, is without Controverſy, ſince *Gades*, in the firſt, was a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, and *Marſeilles*, in the laſt, a Plantation of the *Phocians*. As for *Belgium* and *Britain*, they were, in Ages of an elder Inſcription, very barren and indigent in Shipping; for *Cæſar*, when he made his Eruption on the laſt, found the *circumambient Seas* ſo ill furniſhed, that he was forced, with the induſtrious Aſſiſtance of his Soldiery, to build and equip a Navy of Six-hundred and two and thirty Veſſels, to tranſport his Army into *Albion*.

The *Phœnicians* having, as is above recited, invented open Veſſels, and the *Egyptians* Ships with Decks, the laſt of theſe inforced the Art of Navigation, by adding to it the Invention of Gallies, with two Banks of Oars upon a Side; which Sort of Veſſels, in Proceſs of Time, did ſwell into that voluminous Bulk, that *Ptolemy Philopater* is ſaid to have framed a Galley of fifty Banks. Ships of Burthen, ſtiled *Cirœra*, intitle their Invention to the *Cypriots*; Cock-boats or Skifts (*Scaphæ*) owe their firſt Structure to the *Illyrians* or *Liburnians*; *Brigantines* (*Celoces*) confeſs theirs to have been the Artifice of the *Rhodians*; Frigates, or light Barks (*Lembi*) acknowledge their Original unto the Induſtry of the *Cyrenians*; the *Phaſelus* and *Pamphyli*, Ships inſtructed for War, were the Invention of the *Pamphylians*, and the Inhabitants of *Phaſelis*, a Town of *Lycia* in *Aſia minor*. Veſſels for tranſporting of Horſe, ſtiled *Hippagines*, are indebted, for their firſt Inſtitution, to the *Salaminians*. Grappling-hooks, for theirs, to *Anacharſis*. Anchors confeſs their firſt Knowledge to have been from the *Tuſcans*. The Rudder-helm, and Art of Steering, is aſcribed to *Typhis*, principal Pilot in *Jaſon*'s eminent Ship, called the *Argoe*, who, having obſerved that a Kite, when ſhe divided the Air, ſteered her whole Body and Flight with her Tail, perfected that in the Deſigns of Art, which he had diſcovered to have been effected by Inſtinct in the Works of Nature. If we pleaſe to trace out the firſt Inventors of Tackle, we ſhall diſcover, that the primitive Inſtitution of the Oar is attributed to the *Bœotians*, and the original Diſcovery and Uſe of Maſts and Sails ennoble the Memory of *Dœdalus*, and his Son *Icarus*; the laſt of which, confiding too much in the Dexterity of this Invention, giving too large and ſpreading a Sail to the Bark he was engaged in, over-ſet the Veſſel, and periſhed, and adopted the Sea, in which he miſcarried, into his own Name.

But, though the Supplement and Addition of Decks of Ships intitles itſelf to the original Artifice of the *Egyptians*, as is before recited; yet had they others of a more narrow Dimenſion, both for Uſe and Tranſportation; for the *Egyptians*, anciently, (ſays *Pliny*, *Lib.* xiii. *Nat. Hiſt.*) uſed to make Boats of Reeds and Bulruſhes; which Aſſertion he again juſtifies in another Place, *Papyraceis navibus* (ſays he) *armamentiſque Nili navigamus*; and to theſe Veſſels *Lucian* alludes, *Lib.* iv. *Pharſ.*

——— *Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,*
Conſeritur bibula Memphitica Cymba Papyro.

Which Faſhion of Boat *Moſes* was engaged in, when *Pharaoh*'s Daughter reſcued him from the Danger of the River. The Prophet *Iſaiah* records ſuch Utenſils in that Periphraſis of *Egypt*, *Woe to the Land ſhadowing with Wings, that ſends Ambaſſadors by Sea in Bulruſhes.* *Strabo* ſailed to *Egypt* in a ſmall Veſſel made of Wicker, as his own Relation diſcovers to us, in the Seventeenth of his *Geography*. *Juvenal* alſo makes Mention of earthen Boats in *Egypt*, uſed and employed alſo there to ſail with; for, recording the deadly Feud and ſuperſtitious Conflicts, commenced between *Ombos* and *Tentyra*, in Relation to their Gods, he ſpeaks thus, *Sat.* xv.

Hac ſævit Rabie imbelle & inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus ſolitum dare vela phaſelis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere teſtæ.

The *Britons* had anciently their *Naves vitiles* in *Pliny*'s Stile; the Natives of *Ireland* call them *Corroghs*, and ſome *Corracles*; they were little Veſſels covered with Leather, in their Dimenſions ſcarce exceeding the Bulk of a Basket; and theſe Kind of Boats, or Baſkets, were uſed by *Julius Cæſar*, to tranſport his Army over the River *Sicoris* againſt *Petreius*, and other Rivers elſewhere; and he had learned the Making of them, it ſeems, from the *Britons*, when he was in this Iſland, as himſelf atteſts in his firſt Book *De Bello Civili: Cujus generis*, ſays he, *cum ſuperioribus uſus Britanniæ docuerat.* And, in a ſubſequent Diſcourſe, he deſcribes them thus: *Carinæ primum ac ſtatumina ex levi materia fiebantur, reliquum corpus Navium viminibus contextum integebatur.* They have the like Veſſels on the River *Euphrates*, to tranſport Commodities to *Babylon*; and their Proportion is ſo conformable to theſe *Britiſh* ones (according to the Pattern diſcovered to us by *Herodotus*) that a Man would judge, that either the *Britons* extracted the Deſcription of theſe Veſſels from the *Babylonians*, or the *Babylonians* from them. For *Herodotus*, in *Clio*, that is, the firſt Book of his Hiſtory, affirms, that they had Boats, made of Oſier or Willows, of an orbicular Form, and in the Faſhion of a Buckler, without Prow or Poop, and covered over on the Outſide with the Head of a Bullock tanned. In theſe, beſides their native Commodities, they uſed to conveigh Palm-wines in Tuns, to be ſold or vended at *Babylon*; two Men, with an Oar a-piece in their Hands, conducting and managing the Veſſel.

Theſe Veſſels were ſo portable, that the Owners were accuſtomed to tranſport them on their Backs to and from the Water; the Maſter would carry his Boat by Land, and the Boat would waft the Maſter on the Water; as the *Arabian* Fiſherman uſes to do with his Tortoiſe-ſhell, which is his Shallop by Sea, and his Houſe on Land; under which he ſleeps, and in which he ſails.

Proportionate in their Dimenſion to theſe are thoſe which the *Egyptians* uſe at this Day upon the *Nile*, which they take upon their Backs, when they approach the Cataracts and ſteeper Falls of that River.

Boterius calls them *Naves plicatiles*, and which they employ in ſome Places of the *Weſt-Indies*: For, in the Year 1509, we read, that there were brought to *Roan* ſeven *Indians*, confined to one ſmall Veſſel, or Boat, which was ſo portable, that one Man could raiſe it up with his Hand, as the ſame *Boterius*, in his Relations, ſeems to intimate.

In ſome Places of the *Weſt-Indies* they fiſh with Faggots compoſed of Bulruſhes, in their Dialect ſtiled *Balſa's*: Having ſuſtained them upon their Shoulders to the Sea, they there caſt them in; then leap upon them, and after row into the Main, with ſmall Reeds on either Side, themſelves ſtanding upright, like *Tritons* or *Neptunes*; and in theſe *Balſa's* they are accuſtomed to carry thoſe Cords and Nets, they employ in Fiſhing. The *Indians* likewiſe have long Boats, called *Canoo's*, made hollow, and artificially framed out of one Tree. In *Greenland* the Fiſhermen's Boats are compoſed into the Shape of Weavers Shuttles, covered outwardly with Skins of Beals, and inwardly faſhioned and fortified with the Bones of the ſame Fiſhes; which, being ſewed together with many Doubles and Sutures, are ſo ſecure, that, in foul and ſtormy Weather, they will ſhut themſelves up in the ſame, being reſcued, by the Aid of theſe, from the Fury and imminent Prejudices of Rocks, Winds, and Tempeſts: Theſe are about twenty Feet in Length, and two Feet and an Half in their Breadth, and ſo ſwift, that no Ship is able to outvy them in Speed; and ſo light of Portage, that one Man may ſupport many; and they are furniſhed but with one Oar.

Before I wind up this Diſcourſe, I ſhall winnow and diſcuſs that Queſtion, Whether

or not Antiquity had any Diſcovery or Notice of the Compaſs, which, in this latter Age, hath contributed ſo much to the Improvement of Navigation? Thoſe, who do aſſert, that it had ſome imperfect Glimmering, or rather ſome gloomy Cogniſance of it, do eſtabliſh their Opinion on the Authority of *Plautus*, where they find Mention of the *Verſoria*: And, ſecondly, becauſe the Load-ſtone, which ſways and manages the Compaſs, was anciently, by the *Greeks*, ſtiled *Magnes*, and *Lapis Heraclius*; both which Names remain inſtated upon it until this Day. But to the firſt it is anſwered, That the *Verſoria* of *Plautus* is no other, than that Piece of Tackle, which, in the modern Dialect of our Mariners, falls under the Appellation of a *Bolin*, by which they uſed to turn their Sails, and proportion them to the changeable Viciſſitude of every Wind. And ſo much is manifeſt from *Plautus* himſelf, in the Comedy which he ſtiles *Mercator*, ſaying, *Hinc ventus nunc ſecundus eſt, cape modo verſoriam*; ſo called from *verſo*, to turn often; or elſe it may borrow its Extraction and Nativity from *verſum*, the firſt Supine of *verto*; whence *velum vertere* is a cuſtomary Term amongſt the *Latins*, uſed to expreſs the Shifting of the Sail, as the Wind does vary. As for the Load-ſtone, it was, indeed, by the *Greeks*, called *Lapis Heraclius*, not becauſe *Hercules Tyrius*, to whom the ſea-faring *Phœnicians*, in Storms and Tempeſts, offered up their Oriſons for Protection, firſt traced out the Vertue and energetical Effluviums of it, as ſome contend; but becauſe it was diſcovered near *Heraclea*, a City of *Lydia*, called for the ſame Reaſon, and upon the ſame Account, *Lapis Lydius* alſo, and, by the Ancients, known only under the Notion of a Touch-ſtone. Nor does the Name of *Magnes*, uſed under that Appellation promiſcuouſly both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, owe its original Etymology to any other Root or Cradle, than that it was found near *Magneſia*, a City of *Lydia*, of which *Heraclea*, above-mentioned, was likewiſe a Part; from whence it hath ever ſince purchaſed the conſtant Denomination of *Lapis Magnes*; ſo *Suidas* aſſerts for the *Greeks*, and old *Lucretius* affirms the ſame for the *Latins*. Having evinced, from theſe Demonſtrations, the Ignorance of Antiquity, both in the notional Knowledge, and practical Application of the Compaſs, it now remains my Taſk to unwind, to whom, in Times of a more recent Inſcription, this excellent Inſtrument intitled its firſt Diſcovery. And, if we will traverſe and peruſe Records of a modern Aſpect, we ſhall find, that the Invention of the *Pyxis Nautica*, or Compaſs, is generally aſcribed to *John Goia*, or *Flavio Goia*, as others ſtile him, of *Amalphi in Campania*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But all rare and curious Artifices are, in their firſt Productions, like the Deſigns of Chymiſtry, much in Projection, but little in Perfection; for his Diſcovery reached but to eight Winds only, which made up his Compaſs, that is, the four principal, and four collateral; and left the Improvement of this Invention to be attempted by Poſterity, which indeed did add Shape and juſt Perfection to this ingenious Deſign: For, in ſome few Ages ſubſequent to this, the People of *Antwerp* and *Bruges* compleated this Invention, by annexing to the Compaſs twenty-four other ſubordinate Winds, or Points. Before this Invention, Pilots were directed in their right Voyages by certain Stars, they took Notice of, eſpecially the *Pleiades*, or *Charles's Wain*, and the two Stars in the Tail of the Bear, called *Helice* and *Cynoſura*, which are therefore called Load-ſtars, or Leading-ſtars. As Travellers, in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, and thoſe of *Tartary*, were always guided by ſome fixed Stars, in the Night-time, to ſteer their Courſes in thoſe pathleſs, diſordered, and inhoſpitable Ways; ſo Seamen were directed by the like heavenly Guides, in the untractable Wilderneſs of Waters, before this excellent Artifice was found out: But, if the Sky happened to be ſullied with Miſts, and the Stars to be muffled with Clouds, then the moſt experienced Pilot was at a Loſs, and was obliged, by dropping an Anchor, preſently to take up his Reſt.

But the ingenious *Amalphitan* hath ſecured Poſterity, by a noble Remedy, againſt this grand Inconvenience, and diſcovered a Method, by which Men might ſteer a certain and infallible Courſe, in the moſt gloomy Nights, and moſt tumultuous Seas; and this by the Guide and Conduct of a little Stone, ſtiled, from its Uſe and Influence, the Load-ſtone. This Load-ſtone is now our Load-ſtar, and the Mariner's Directory.

This Stone treaſures up two ſtrange Properties in its duſky Entrails, the one of Attraction, the other of Direction: This Property of Direction (which chiefly hath an Aſpect

pect of our preſent Buſineſs) is, that, being ſet in a Diſh, and left to float freely upon the Water, it will, with one End, point directly to the North, and, with the other, to the South; and will diſpenſe this Faculty, or Property, to a Needle, that is rubbed, or touched with it.

The *Pyxis Nautica*, or Mariner's Card, which carries a Needle, touched with the Load-ſtone, in the Middle of it, with two-and-thirty Rhombs or Lines drawn round about it, according to the Number of the cardinal and collateral Winds, is no leſs uſeful by Land, than it is by Sea; ſo that they, who are engaged to travel through Deſarts, as the Caravans do to *Mecca* and *Medina*, and other Places, do now make good Uſe of this Artifice, whereas, in former Ages, a Star was their beſt Pilot by Night.

Ludovicus Bartema relates, that they, who travel over the *Syrian* and *Arabian* Deſarts, which are faced and covered with a Film of light and ſhifting Sand, ſo that no Track can ever be diſcovered, do frame certain Boxes of Wood, which they place on Camels Backs; and, ſhutting themſelves up in the ſaid Boxes, to reſcue themſelves from the Sand, by the Help of the Load-ſtone, like the Mariner's Compaſs, they ſteer their Courſe over the vaſt, uncouth, and untractable Deſarts. Some do intitle the Invention of the Compaſs to the People of *China*. Doctor *Gilbert*, in his Book *de Magnete*, aſſerts, that *Paulus Venetus* tranſported it firſt into *Italy*, in the Year 1260, having learned it from the *Chineſe*: And *Ludovicus Vertomannus* affirms, that, when he was in the *Eaſt-Indies*, about the Year 1500 (above an Hundred and ſixty Years ſince) he ſaw the Pilot of his Ship direct his Courſe by a Compaſs, faſhioned and framed according to the Figure and Proportion of thoſe we uſe at this Inſtant, when he was ſailing towards *Java*. If you will conſult *Pliny*, he will tell you, that the Inhabitants of *Taprobana* (now called *Sumatra*) becauſe they could not behold the Pole-ſtar to ſail by, carried with them certain Birds to Sea, which they did often let fly; and, as theſe Birds, by natural Inſtinct, applied their Flight always to the Land, ſo the Mariners directed their Courſe after them. The Mariner's Compaſs is not arrived yet to that Perfection, but that it requires ſome Improvement and Amendment; for the Magnetick Needle does not exactly point to the North in all Meridians, but varies and diſtorts itſelf (in ſome Places more, in ſome leſs) from the direct Poſture, Configuration, and Aſpect of the North and South, which multiplies and inforces the Seaman's Diſtractions, and inwraps him oftentimes in difficult and dangerous Errors. *Van Helmont*, an eminent *Paracelſian* of *Flanders*, profeſſes an expedite Way to regulate this grand Inconvenience, namely, how to make a Needle that ſhould never vary or alter from the right Point, which may be performed by a vigorous Imagination, as he affirms, thus: If a Man, in framing the Needle, ſhall ſtand with his Back placed to the North, and place one Point of the Needle (which he intends for the North) directly towards himſelf; the Needle, ſo made, ſhall always point regularly and infallibly toward the North, without Variation. I wiſh, that ſome Perſon of an exalted Imagination would compoſe ſome Needles, for Experiment, after *Helmont*'s Direction, ſince it is an Affair of noble and active Concernment, to the publick Intereſt of every Nation, to have this Invention of the Compaſs either improved, or rectified.

But this Artifice of *Helmont* is infirm and crazy in the whole Frame and Contexture of it, if the Variation of the Needle, from its Meridional Polarity, proceed from the attractive Vigour and magnetical Alliciency of the Earth, which, by irrefragable Demonſtrations, may be evinced to be one continued Magnet. Now a magnetical Body is ſtiled, not only, that which hath a Power attractive, but that which, being ſituated in a convenient Medium, by an intrinſick natural Propenſion, diſpoſes itſelf to one invariable and fixed Reſidence, ſo that, if it were violently removed, yet would it not abandon its primitive Points, nor fix in the Eaſt and Weſt, but return unto its polary Situation again. And ſuch a magnetical Vertue is diffuſed through the whole Body of the Earth, whereby as unto its natural Points, and proper Terms, it ſtill makes its Addreſſes unto the Poles, being ſo conſtituted in its whole Frame, Order, and Aſpect, unto theſe Points, that thoſe Parts, which are now at the Poles, would not naturally reſide under the Equator, nor *Nova Zembla* continue in the Place of *Java* or *Borneo*. Nor is the attractive Vigour of this great Body, the Earth, cloiſtered up within its own inward Cells and Receſſes, or circumſcribed within the Circumference of its own

Surface

Surface, but ſhed at indeterminate Diſtances, through the Air, Water, and all other circumjacent Bodies; exciting and tranſplanting its magnetical Vertue into all Bodies, either within its Surface, or without it; and effecting that in an abſtruſe and indiſcernible Way, that we viſibly behold performed by the Load-ſtone. For theſe Effluviums penetrate all Bodies, and, being ever ready in the Medium, attack all Objects proportionate, or capable of their vigorous and active Excitation: And this is manifeſt from ſteel Wires thruſt thorough little Spheres, or Globes of Cork floating on the Water, or in naked Needles gently dropped thereon; for ſo diſpoſed they will not reſt, until they have traced out the Meridian, and, as near as poſſibly they may, lie parallel to the Axis of the Earth. Now this Direction does not originally reſult from themſelves, but is derivative and contracted from the magnetical Efflux of the Earth. And theſe Demonſtrations may be improved by the Obſervation of ſome ſubſequent Experiments; as,

Firſt, From a needled Sphere of Cork, equally contiguous unto the Surface of the Water; for, if the Needle be not ſeated in an exact Equilibration, that End which is too light, if touched, becomes even; that Needle alſo, which will but juſt ſwim under Water, if forcibly touched, will ſink deeper, and ſometimes unto the Bottom; which proceeds from an Union of thoſe magnetical Effluxions, which eſtreat from the Earth, with thoſe magnetick Atoms which flow from the Body of the Load-ſtone, and make an Impreſſion on the Needle.

Now thoſe firſt, being of a congenerous Nature with the laſt, but more numerous and powerful, by this their mutual Entwining and Complication, drag away the Needle, as their Captive, and ſink it into the above recited Poſition.

Secondly, From a Wire or Needle which, being denuded and deveſted of that meridional Projection, the magnetick Impreſſion of the Load-ſtone had formerly inſtated and imprinted upon it, by its great Adverſary the Fire, by being ſome Time entered in the Earth, becomes new impregnated with the Vertue of that great and vigorous Magnet, and again contracts ſuch a Polarity, or meridional Situation, as though it had never ſuffered under the Perſecution of its flaming Enemy. Now whether theſe above-mentioned Effluviums of the Earth do flow by eſtreated Atoms, or winding Particles, as ſome aſſert, or glide by Streams attracted from either Pole or Hemiſphere of the Earth, unto the Equator, as others affirm; it ſignifies Nothing to the Diminution of the Magnetick Vertue of the Earth, but rather more diſtinctly ſets down the Geſts and progreſſive Motion of its attractive Alliciency and Excitation.

Thirdly, If a Load-ſtone be made red-hot, it loſeth the magnetical Vigour it had before in itſelf, and acquires another from the Earth in its Refrigeration; for that Part, which cooleth towards the Earth, will obtain the Reſpect of the North, and attract the Southern Point or *Cuſpis* of the Needle: And the Reaſon hereof is, that, though the attractive Vertue of the Load-ſtone be in this fiery Agony much impaired, exhauſted, and diminiſhed, yet is it not totally extinguiſhed, ſo that when its ſickly and impoveriſhed Vigour is re-inforced and recruited, by a Supply or Acceſſion of Effluviums, from the Earth, by an Union or Combination with this new Stock of Magnetical Atoms, it does not only revive, but is improved to its former Attraction and Verticity.

Fourthly, It is obſerved, that both Bricks and Irons contract a Verticity, by long and continued Poſition; that is, not only being placed from North and South, and lying in the Meridian, but reſpecting the Zenith and Perpendicular, unto the Center of the Earth; as is evident in Bars of Windows, Caſements, Hinges, and the like. The ſame Condition alſo do Bricks contract, by being long Time placed in one continued Situation in a Wall; for, if the Needle be preſented unto their lower Extreams, it wheeleth about, and turns its Southern Point unto them. And the Reaſon of this is, that, that Film or Scurf, in which they lay originally wrapped up, and which did obſtruct the Magnetical Impreſſions of the Earth, being worn off by Decurſion of Time, and the perpetual Aſſaults of the Elements, the Magnetical Atoms of the Earth do with more Vigour invade them, and by frequent Onſets, having implanted their Vertue in them, engage them to that Verticity.

Fifthly, Iron in a particular Sympathy moves to the Load-ſtone, but yet, if it exceed a certain Quantity, it abandons and quits thoſe Affecti-

ons

ons and Intereſts; and like an affectionate Citizen, or faithful Patriot, moves to the Earth, which is the Region and Country of its Connaturals.

From what hath thus been remarkably diſcovered, it is eaſy to unfold, from a Foundation not only of Probability, but almoſt of Neceſſity, whence proceeds the Cauſe of the Variation of the Compaſs, that is, an Arch of the Horizon, intercepted between the true and Magnetical Meridian. The true Meridian is a greater Circle, paſſing through the Poles of the World, and the Zenith or Vertex of any Place, exactly dividing the Eaſt from the Weſt. Now on this Line the Needle exactly lieth not, but diverts and varies its Point, that is, the North Point on this Side the Equator, the South on the other, ſometimes unto the Eaſt, ſometimes unto the Weſt, and, in ſome Places, varies not at all. Now the Cauſe of this Variation may be the Inequality of the Earth, variouſly diſpoſed, and differently mixed with the Sea; with all the different Emiſſions of its Strength and Magnetical Vigour, from the more eminent and gibbous or knobby Parts thereof; for the Needle naturally endeavours to conform unto the Meridian, but, being diſtracted, is driven and diſtorted that Way, where the greater and more powerful Parts of the Earth are ſituated.

Now whereas on this Side the Meridian, or the Iſles of *Azores*, where the firſt Meridian is placed, the Needle varies Eaſtward, it may be occaſioned by that vaſt Tract of Earth, that is, of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, ſeated towards the Eaſt, and diſpoſing the Needle that Way; on the other Side ſome Parts of the *Azores*, or Iſlands of St. *Michael*, which have a middle Situation between theſe Continents, and that vaſt Tract of *America*, almoſt proportionate and anſwerable to theſe in its ſpacious Bulk and Dimenſion, it ſeems equally diſtracted by both, and diverting unto neither, doth parallel and place itſelf upon the true Meridian. But, ſailing farther, it veers its Lilly towards the Weſt, and regards that Quarter wherein the Land is nearer or greater; and in the ſame Latitude, as it approaches its Shore, augments its Variation. Now becauſe where the greater Continents are united and combined, the Action and Efflux of Magnetical Atoms is alſo greater, therefore thoſe Needles do ſuffer the greateſt Variation, which are in Countries, which do moſt feel that Magnetick Impreſſion. And, therefore, hath *Rome* far leſs Variation than *London*. For, on the Weſt-ſide of *Rome*, are ſeated the great Continents of *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, which ſeem to retrench the exuberant Effluviums, and poiſe the Vigour of the Eaſtern Parts. But unto *England* there is almoſt no Earth Weſt, for the whole Extent of *Aſia* and *Europe* lieth Eaſtward, and therefore, at *London*, it varies eleven Degrees, that is, almoſt one Rhomb. Thus alſo, by Reaſon of the great Continent of *Braſile*, *Peru*, and *Chiſi*, the Needle declines towards the Land twelve Degrees: But at the *Streights* of *Magellan*, where the Land is contracted into a narrow Volume, and the Sea on the other Side of a vaſt Diffuſion and Extent, it varies but five or ſix. And ſo likewiſe becauſe the *Cape de las Aguellas* hath Sea on both Sides near it, and other Land remote, and as it were of an equal Diſtance from it, therefore at that Point the Needle conforms unto the true Meridian, being not diſtracted with the Attraction reſulting from the Vicinity of an adjacent Continent. To this may be added, that this Variation proceedeth not only from ſome eminent terreſtrial Knobs or Excreſcencies, which appear like ſo many Wens upon the Face of the World; as, alſo many Magnetical Veins of the Earth, collaterally reſpecting the Needle, but the different Accumulation of the Earth, diſpoſed unto the Poles, lying under the Sea and Waters; which affect the Needle with greater or leſſer Variation, according to the Vigour or Impotency of theſe ſubterraneous Lines, or the intire or broken Body of the Magnetical Fabrick under it. As it is obſervable, from ſeveral Load-ſtones, placed at the Bottom of any Water; for a Load-ſtone or Needle, upon the Surface, will variouſly conform itſelf, according to the Vigour or Imbecillity of the Load-ſtones under it.

Laſtly, From what hath been premiſed, a Reaſon may be alledged for the Variation of the Variation, and why, according to Obſervation, the Variation of the Needle hath after ſome Years been found to vary, either more, where it was diſcovered to vary but little before, or but little, where formerly it had a greater Deflexion or Variation. For this may proceed from the Mutation of the Earth, as it is diſlocated or ſupplanted by Earth-quakes, waſted and impaired by ſulphureous, or other ſubterraneous Fires; or elſe, as its magnetick

Vertue

Vertue is arreſted in its Emanation, by being aſtoniſhed and ſtupefied by mineral Spirits, or thoſe Fumes and Exhalations that have any mercurial or arſenical Atoms implanted in them; all which, by a reiterated Impreſſion, may ſo alter the Conſtitution of the magnetical Parts of the Earth, either by Subtraction or Addition, that, in Decurſion of Time, they may vary the Variation over the Place.

Having thus diſcovered thoſe, to whom, not only Ships, but likewiſe the Art of managing them, did intitle its original Invention, I ſhall add ſomething by Way of Supplement, touching the Derivation of the Name of that eminent Officer, to whom, both in elder and more modern Times, the Care of publick Navies hath been committed, vulgarly ſtiled *the Admiral*; and, if we ſhall disjoint or diſſect the Name, we ſhall find it confeſs itſelf to be both of *Arabian* and *Greek* Extraction; for *Emir*, or *Amir*, in *Arabian*, imports as much as *Lord*, and ἀλὸς, in *Greek*, is *of the Sea*; ſo that both theſe Words cemented together, into the Appellation of *Admiral*, ſignify *a Lord of the Sea*. Now the Word *Emir*, or *Amir*, for they are co-incident, was a Denomination anciently uſed by the *Arabian Caliphs*, as a Term of Dignity and Eminence; ſo many of them had the additional Appellation of *Amir Elmumunin*, and *Emir Omimelin*; the firſt may be rendered *Rex Orthodoxorum*, or the King of Perſons orthodox; and the laſt may be tranſlated *Rex Credentium*, Prince or King of the Believers; and, at this Day, he that in *Turky*, by the Command and Deſignation of the *Grand Signior*, delivers the Banners to the *Sanzacks* and *Beglerbegs*, by which they receive their Inveſtiture, is ſtiled *Emir Halem*, Lord of the Banner; or, if you will receive it in a more pompous Epithet, the *Turks* chief Standard-Bearer; and this accords with what *Leunclavius* delivers in his *Turkiſh Pandects*: *Emir Halem* (ſays he) *ſignificat Dominum Vexillorum & Flammeolorum, qui ſcilicet ſupremus eſt Sultani Vexillifer, ac omnibus Beglerbegis ac Sanzacbegis, quum creantur, vexilla ſua porrigit.* And hence we read in the Hiſtory of the *Holy War*, that *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, ſlew an eminent *Saracenical Amir*, whoſe Standard had *in ſummitate Argenteæ Haſtæ Pomum Aureum*, which he offered at the Sepulchre of our Saviour, having purchaſed it at twenty Marks, of one who had taken it by Right of War. Now this Word *Amir*, or *Emir*, is deduced from the *Arabick* Verb, *Amara*, which, rendered into *Latin*, is *Dixit*, or *Edixit*, or elſe extracted from the *Hebrew* Verb, *Amar*, which, melted into *Latin*, ſignifies *præcepit ſeu imperavit*, and it is poſſible the *Spaniſh* Word, *Almirante*, is contracted from *El Amirante*; and that again, by *Mooriſh* and *Arabick* Channels from *Alamir*, which imports as much as *the chief Captain*. Now, although vulgar Uſe and Cuſtom, by Appoſition of this Word ἀλὸς, have reſtrained this great Officer, only to the Command of the Sea, yet, in Times of an elder Aſpect, it was of a more confuſed, or promiſcuous Signification; and was not alone confined to maritime Authority, but was likewiſe attributed to thoſe eminent *Saracenical* Soldiers and Governors, who were engaged in a Command by Land, which was proportionate, and anſwerable in its Latitude and Extent, to that which was exerciſed by the ancient Tribunes of the *Roman* Militia; and this I can eaſily collect, from the Authority and Teſtimony of very ancient Authors. And, *firſt*, *Sigebert*, the Monk, in his Chronicle, relates, that *Mahomet*, or *Muhammed*, ſo he calls him, about the Year 630, conſtituted four Governors in the *Saracenical* Kingdom, which were called *Admirals*. And *Theophanes*, in his Chronicle cited by *Meurſius*, tells us, that *Muhammed*, being about to die, deſigned four Admirals, who were to ſubdue thoſe, who, being of *Arabick* Extraction, did yet aſſert the Chriſtian Religion. And a nameleſs Author, quoted by *Bedwell*, ſeconds this Relation, by informing us, that a certain *Caliph* conſtituted four Tribunes of his Soldiery, vulgarly called *Admirals* (*Admirantes* they are called in his Stile, though in the Phraſe of *Theophanes*, above cited, they are ſtiled *Amiræi*) to every one of which, he gave the Command of many ſubordinate Officers and Captains, and which Commanders he called, *The ſharp Swords of God*. And *Junius*, out of the Notes of *Cedrenus* upon *Curopalates*, diſcovers to us, that *Mahomet*, upon his Deceaſe, appointed four Admirals, whom he enjoined to cruſh and extirpate all thoſe *Arabians* who had embraced the Chriſtian Religion: And farther relates, that they, to perfect his Commands, advanced againſt *Theodorus*, Chamberlain and General to the *Greek* Emperor, between whom and themſelves, a

fatal Field was commenced; in which, three of theſe Admirals and a numerous Heap of other Soldiers periſhed.

The Tyrant of *Babylon*, in the Stile of *Henry* of *Huntington*, is named the Admiral of *Babylon*; and the ſame Author, in his Chronicle, aſſerts twelve Admirals of the *Pagans*, to have been ſlain at the Siege of *Antioch*. And *Rupert* the Monk, in the fourth Book of his *Saracenical* Hiſtory, affirms, that the Son of *Caſſian*, the great King of *Antioch*, and twelve Admirals, which the *Caliph* of *Babylon* (King he calls him) had employed with Succours to the King above mentioned, all periſhed at the Siege of *Antioch*; and theſe twelve which had the Appellation of Admiral, annexed to them, he makes to be Rulers of twelve diſtinct Territories or Provinces: And the ſame Author, in the Beginning of his fifth Book, relates, that the Ambaſſadors of the *Caliph* of *Babylon*, in their Addreſſes to the *French* Chieftains, ſtile that Monarch, the Admiral of *Babylon*. *Dominus noſter, Admirallus Babyloniæ, mandat vobis Francorum Principibus ſalutem*; ſo in his Phraſe runs their Appellation. *Monſtrelet*, an Author of good Eſtimate, mentions *Arcubaliſtarum Admirallum*, an Admiral of the *Arcubaliſts*, or of thoſe Perſons who were armed with Croſs-bows; and laſtly, *Matthew Paris*, in his Life of *William Rufus*, tells us, of one *Corbaran*, who, after he had marſhalled his Army, and brought his Squadrons into Form and Order, put thoſe Troops under the Command of Twenty-nine Kings and Admirals.

But as this eminent maritime Officer, in theſe latter Times, hath by Preſcription conſtantly aſſumed the Name of Admiral; ſo, in the Times of an elder Inſcription, he was not always ſtiled *Admirallus*, but very frequently *Magnus Drungarius Claſſis*, or the great *Drungar* of the Navy, an Office of Eminency and high Eſtimate under the *Greek* Emperors; yet this Title was not ſo confined to the Sea, but that it was attributed likewiſe to thoſe noble Perſons, who managed the Command of the Land Militia; and therefore the learned *Meurſius* notes, that there was *Magnus Drungarius Biglæ*, that is, *Vigiliæ ſeu Excubiarum Præfectus*, the chief Commander or Prefect, to whoſe Inſpection, the Care of the Watch was ſolely intruſted; the Enſign or Monument of whoſe Authority, as the ſame *Meurſius* intimates, with a Scepter or Truncheon of a purple Colour, richly gilded and adorned at the Bottom. Now the Etymology of this Word *Drungarius*, as *Leunclavius* aſſerts, is derived from the Modern *Greek* δρουγὸς, and ſignifies the ſame with them, as *Agla* does with the *Turks*, and may be interpreted to be that *Scepter* or *Truncheon*, which is the Symbol of their Office and Authority; hence the *Drungarii* amongſt the *Greeks*, and the *Aglarii* amongſt the *Turks*, are equivalent to our *Colonels* in *Chriſtendom*. But the more proper and genuine Etymology of the Word, as it is uſed by *Vopiſcus* and *Vegetius*, is extracted from *Drungus* or *Druncus*, which in their Senſe imports as much as *Globus Militum*, and may, without diſtorting the Phraſe, be interpreted *a Squadron of Soldiers*. *Vegetius*, in his Diſcourſe *de Re Militari*, *Lib.* iii. *Cap.* 16. obſerves, that *ſcire Dux debet contra quos Drungos, hoc eſt, Globos Hoſtium quos equites oporteat poni*; and *Vopiſcus*, in the Year 280, relating the Victories of *Probus* the Emperor, over the *Blemii* and the *Germani*, tells us, that he, to enhanſe the Pomp and Magnificence of his Conqueſts, *Omnium Gentium Drungos duxit*, he carried Squadrons or Heaps, of all thoſe Nations he had ſubdued, before his triumphant Chariot.

I ſhould now wind up this Diſcourſe, but finding ſo many eminent Perſons of the *Engliſh* Nation, to have been inveſted and dignified with the Title of Admiral, I thought it a Labour not unworthy Conſideration, to repreſent to the publick View a juſt Scale or Series of thoſe worthy Heroes, who have been in their ſeveral Generations, by the Favour of the Prince, advanced to this Office, whoſe Catalogue is exactly regiſtered in the learned and elaborate Pages of Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Gloſſary.

Marthuſius the Arch-pirate in old *Latin* Records, ſtiled *Archi-Pirata*, and *Nautarum Princeps*, was Admiral under King *Edgar*, and had ſeveral ſubordinate Commanders under his Juriſdiction (*Præfecti* they are called in the Record) who had the Command under this *Marthuſius* of almoſt a Thouſand Ships; a Report, if we conſider the Bulk and Dimenſion of thoſe maritime Veſſels, which were employed in thoſe Times, not altogether impoſſible; where note, that although, in theſe modern Ages, the Name of *Pirate* is ſtill applied to one, who ſupports himſelf by Pillage

and

and Depredation at Sea, yet, in Times of an elder Inſcription, the Word *Pirata* or Pirate, was ſometimes attributed to thoſe Perſons to whoſe Care the Mole or Peer of any Haven (called in *Latin Pyra*) was intruſted, and by whoſe Inſpection it was provided, that thoſe Places ſhould receive no Prejudice, which were the Occaſion of ſo much Advantage to the publick Intereſt.

After the Mention of *Marthuſius*, there is a Gap or Interval in the Regiſter of the Admirals, and none recorded until the eighth Year of *Henry the Third*; and then *Richard de Lucy*, of *Newington Lucies* in *Kent*, begins the Catalogue, from whom *Richard Lucy* of *Charlecot* in *Warwickſhire*, Eſq; is in a collateral or younger Line originally deſcended. After whom the enſuing Roll of Admirals is without any Intermiſſion or Interruption, in an even Clew or Series, conducted down to our Times.

Tho. de Moleton had the Cuſtody of the narrow Seas (*Cuſtos Maris* the Record ſtiles him) in the Forty-eighth Year of *Henry the Third*.

Will. de Leybourne, of *Leybourne Caſtle*, was in a Convention held at *Bruges*, in the fifteenth Year of *Edward the Firſt*, ſtiled Admiral. After his *Exit*, the Office of Admiral being held of too vaſt Concernment to be managed and wielded by one Perſon, there were three Admirals created, in the Twenty-ſecond of *Edward the Second*. One had the Care of the Parts towards the North, which was committed to *John de Botetort*; a Second had the Charge of the Sea-coaſt Southward, which was committed to *William de Leybourne*; and a Third had the Cuſtody of the Weſtern Shore, which was delegated to the Inſpection of an *Iriſh* Knight. Afterwards this Office was inveſted in two; the firſt whereof had the Cuſtody of the *Engliſh* Shore, from the *Thames* Mouth Northwards: The ſecond of whom had the Charge of the Weſtern Shore, from the Mouth of the *Thames* South-weſt; a Regiſter of which here follows:

	Admirals of the *North.*	Admirals of the *Weſt.*	
34 *Edw.* I.	*Edward Charles*	*Gervaſe Allard*	
8 *Edw.* II.	*Joſeph Botetort*	*Nicholas Crioll*	10 *Edw.* II.
10 *Edw.* II.	*Joſeph Perbrun*, alias *Perburne*	Sir *Robert Leybourne*	
15 *Edw.* II.	*John Perbrun*	*John Athey*	12 *Edw.* II.
16 *Edw.* II.	*John Perbrun*	Sir *Robert Leybourne*	
18 *Edw.* II.	*John Sturmie*	*Robert Battaile*, alias *Battel*	
		Robert Bendon	

But I know not, upon what Exigency or emergent Occaſion, this Office in the Year 1325, that is, in the nineteenth Year of *Edward the Second*, was again intruſted to the Cuſtody of three, which were *John Otervin*, *Nicholas Crioll*, and *John de Felton*, which are ſtiled, in the Record, Admirals of *Yarmouth*, *Portſmouth*, and of the *Weſt*. But, about the latter Part of this very Year, this Office was again reduced to the Care and Charge of, a Catalogue of whom offers itſelf up to our preſent Conſideration:

Admirals of the *North.*	Admirals of the *Weſt.*	
John Sturmy		
John Sturmy	*Nicholas Crioll*	19 *Edw.* II.
Joſeph de Leybourne	*Nicholas Crioll*	20 *Edw.* II.

Admirals of the *North* and *Weſt*, in the Time of *Edward the Third*.

1 *Edw.* III.	*John Perbrun*	*Waretius de Valoigns*
8 *Edw.* III.	*John de Norwich*	*William de Clinton*
10 *Edw.* III.	*Thomas Oughtred*	*Robert de Hegham*, alias *Higham*
10 *Edw.* III.	*John de Norwich*	*Geffrey de Say*
10 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Ufford*, and *John de Roos*	*William de Manſton*, alias *Manton*
11 *Edw.* III.	Sir *Walter Manney*	*Bartholomew Burgherſt*
12 *Edw.* III.	*Thomas de Drayton*	*Peter Dard*, alias *Bard*
13 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Morley*, Baron of *Hengham*	*Robert Truſſell*
14 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Morley*	*Richard Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundell*
16 *Edw.* III.	*William Truſſell*	*William Clinton*, Earl of *Huntington*
17 *Edw.* III.	*William Truſſell*	*Robert Beaupell*
18 *Edw.* III.	*Robert Ufford*	*John de Montgomery*
20 *Edw.* III.	*Robert Ufford*	*Reginald de Cobham*
21 *Edw.* III.	Sir *John Howard*	*Richard Fitz-Allan*, Earl of *Arundell*
22 *Edw.* III.	*Walter*, Lord *Manney*	*Richard Fitz-Allan*
22 *Edw.* III.	Sir *Robert de Morley*	Sir *John de Montgomery*
24 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Cauſton*	Sir *Reginald de Cobham*
25 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Morley*	*John de Beauchampe*, Earl of *Warwick*
25 *Edw.* III.	*William de Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton*	*Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*
26 *Edw.* III.	*William de Bohun*	*Thomas de Beauchampe*, Earl of *Warwick*
29 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Morley*, Baron of *Hengham*	*John de Beauchampe*
30 *Edw.* III.	*Robert de Morley*	*Guy de Brian*
33 & 34 *Edward* III.	*Robert de Morley*	*Guy de Brian*
		Guy de Brian
34 *Edw.* III.	*John de Beauchampe*	
35 *Edw.* III.	*Robert Herle*	
38 *Edw.* III.	*Ralph Spigurnell*	

Theſe three managed the Office of Admiral alone. But, in the Forty-third Year of *Edward the Third*, the Cuſtody of the narrow Seas, extending *North* and *Weſt*, was again intruſted to two, whoſe Names are thus regiſtered:

	Admirals of the *North*.	Admirals of the *Weſt*.
43 *Edw.* III.	*Nicholas Tamworth*	*Robert Aſton*
44 *Edw.* III.	*John Nevill*	*Guy de Brian*
45 *Edw.* III.	*Ralph de Ferrars*	*Robert Aſton*
46,47,48 *Ed.* III.	*William Nevill*	Sir *Philip Courtney*
50 *Edw.* III.	*William de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*	*William de Montacute*
50 & 51 *Edward* III.	Sir *Michael de la Pole*, Lord of *Wingfield*	*Richard Fitz-Allan*, Earl of *Arundell*

Admirals under Richard the Second.

Admirals of the *North*.	Admirals of the *Weſt*.	
Thomas de Beauchampe, Earl of *Warwick*	*Richard Fitz-Allan*, Earl of *Arundell*	1 *Rich.* I.
Sir *Thomas Percy*	Sir *Hugh Calveley*	2 *Rich.* II.
William de Elmham	Sir *Philip Courtney*	
	Walter de Hauley	3, 4, & 5 *Rich.* II.
Walter Fitz-Walter, Baron *of Woodham*	*John de Roches*	6 *Rich.* II.
Henry Percy, Earl of *Northumberland*	*Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*	7 *Rich.* II.
Thomas Percy, his Brother	*Edward Radington*, Prior of St. *John's* of *Jeruſalem*	8 *Rich.* II.
Philip, Lord *Darcy*	Sir *Thomas Trivet*	9 *Rich.* II.
Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of *Arundell* and *Surrey*, was ſole Admiral of *England*, after whom the Office returned to be managed by two.		10 *Rich.* II.

Admirals of the *North*.	Admirals of the *Weſt*.	
John de Beaumont, Baron of *Folkingham*	*John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*	12 *Rich.* II.
Sir *John Roches*	*John Holland*	12 *Rich.* II.
Edward, Earl of *Rutland*	*John Holland* abovesaid again	14 *Rich.* II.
Edward, Earl of *Rutland* and *Cork*, was ſole Admiral both of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Shores.		15 *Rich.* II.
John Beaufort, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, and Earl of *Somerſet*, was ſole Admiral of *England*.		21 *Rich.* II.
Thomas Percy, Earl of *Worceſter*, was ſole Admiral of *England*.		22 *Rich.* II.

Admirals under Henry the Fourth.

Admirals of the *North*.	Admirals of the *Weſt*.	
Richard Grey, Baron of *Codnar*		2 *Henry* IV.
Thomas Beaufort, Brother to the Marquis	Sir *Thomas Reniſton*	5 *Henry* IV.
	Thomas, Lord *Barkley*	
Thomas of *Lancaſter*, Vice-Roy of *Ireland*, Lord High-Steward of *England*, Duke of *Clarence*, managed the Office of Admiral alone.		6 *Henry* IV.

Admirals of the *North*.	Admirals of the *Weſt*.	
Nicholas Blakbourne, Eſq;	*Richard Cliderow*, Eſq;	7 *Henry* IV.

After theſe two were diſlodged, I find the Office of Admiral no more aſſigned to two, but for the Future circumſcribed and concentered in one; a Roll of whom enſues:

Admirals

Admirals of *England*.

8 *Henry* IV. *John Beaufort*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, aboveſaid, Brother to *Henry the Fourth*, was ſole Admiral of *England*.
8 *Henry* IV. *Edmond Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, was ſole Admiral.
9 *Henry* IV. *Thomas Beaufort*, Brother to the Marquis aforeſaid, was ſole Admiral of *England*.

Admirals of England *under* Henry the Sixth.

4 *Henry* VI. *John* of *Lancaſter*, Duke of *Bedford*, and Earl of *Richmond*, was Lord High Admiral of *England*.
14 *Henry* VI. *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntington*, was conſtituted Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, and his Son *Henry* had the Grant of this Office in Reverſion.
25 *Henry* VI. *William de la Pole*, Marquis and Earl of *Suffolk*, was conſtituted Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, during the Non-age of *Henry*, Duke of *Exeter*.
28 *Henry* VI. *Henry Holland*, aboveſaid Duke of *Exeter*, was Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

Admirals under Edward the Fourth.

1 *Edw.* IV. *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*, was Admiral of *England*.
2 *Edw.* IV. *William Nevill*, Earl of *Kent*, and Baron *Falconbridge*.
— *Edw.* IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*.
9 *Edw.* IV. *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*.
11 *Edw.* IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, Admiral again.

Admirals under Richard the Third.

1 *Rich.* III. *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*.

Admirals of England *under* Henry the Seventh.

1 *Henry* VII. *John Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*.

Admirals under Henry the Eighth

4 *Henry* VIII. Sir *Edward Howard*, Knight.
5 *Henry* VIII. *Thomas Howard*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.
17 *Henry* VIII. *Henry Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*.
28 *Henry* VIII. *William Fitz-William*, Earl of *Southampton*.
32 *Henry* VIII. *John*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Knight.
34 *Henry* VIII. *John Dudley*, Knight, Viſcount *Liſle*, and Baron *Mulpas*.

Admirals

Admirals under Edward the Sixth.

Thomas Seymour, Knight, Baron *Sudeley*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Calais*, and *Bologne*. — 1 *Edw.* VI.

John Dudley, Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Warwick*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Maſter of the King's Houſhold, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Calais*, *Bologne*, and their Marches, as alſo of *Normandy*, *Gaſcoigne*, and *Aquitain*. — 3 *Edw.* VI.

Edwart Clinton, Knight, Baron *Say* and *Seal*. — 4 *Edw.* VI.

Admirals created under Queen Mary.

William Howard, Knight, Baron of *Effingham*. — 1 *Mariæ*

Edward Clinton, Knight, Baron *Say* and *Seal*. — 3 *Mariæ*

Admirals created under Queen Eliſabeth.

Charles Howard, Baron of *Effingham*, after created Earl of *Nottingham*, and Knight of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Calais*, and the adjacent Marches, as likewiſe of *Normandy*, *Gaſcoigne*, and *Aquitain*. — 27 *Eliſabeth.*

Admirals created under King James.

George Villiers, then only Marquis of *Buckingham*, Viſcount *Villiers*, and Baron of *Whaddon*, was conſtituted Lord High Admiral of *England*. — 16 *Jacob.*

Admirals created under King Charles the Firſt.

Robert Bartue, Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*.

Algernon Percy, Earl of *Northumberland*, Knight of the Garter. — 4 *Carol.* I.

Admirals under King Charles the Second.

James, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, at this Inſtant, Lord High Admiral of *England*.

The Character of an honeſt and worthy Parliament-Man. A *Folio* Half-ſheet, no Date.

I Hope the Reader will not be ſo unwiſe, as to expect, that I ſhould here entertain him with a pompous Enumeration of all thoſe imaginary Virtues, wherewith the romantick Modellers of a *Platonick*, or *Utopian* Commonwealth, adorn their Paper Senators; when the Character, even of a real *Cato*, would be altogether as uſeleſs in our Times, as it is rarely found to be practiſed; and, conſequently, as little regarded now, as he himſelf was, by the corrupt Age wherein he lived: Not, but that our Nation has, of late, produced as great Heroes, as any Antiquity can boaſt of, yet it cannot be imagined, that they are to be found in every little Town or Borrough.

As for my honeſt and worthy Parliament-Man, all the Qualifications, that I deſire to find in him, are only ſuch as it would be the greateſt Affront imaginable to any *Engliſh* Gentleman, to think him deſtitute of: That is, that he ſhould be a Man of Senſe, Integrity, and Honour. Let him but follow their Dictates, and then all the Duties which we may reckon, or think of, to be incumbent on him, will be as eaſily performed by him, as they are demonſtrable to be the obvious and natural Conſequents of ſuch Principles.

As for his Religion, he is a ſincere, as well as open Profeſſor of that which by our Laws is now become eſſential to his Office, I mean, that of the Church of *England:* Nor is he of it, becauſe it is eſtabliſhed by Law, or that he was bred in it; but, before he ſettled his Opinion, he maturely examined its firſt Principles, and found them agreeable to the Divine Will, and right Reaſon; he diſcovered the Folly and Errors of thoſe who oppoſe any Points of its Doctrine: And, being thoroughly ſatisfied in the Fundamentals, for its Diſcipline, he intirely ſubmits himſelf to the Judgment and Authority of thoſe, to whoſe Conduct and Diſcretion, the Government of the Church has been in all Ages committed.

But, though he be a zealous Churchman himſelf, yet he is ſo far from perſecuting thoſe who diſſent from the eſtabliſhed Religion, purely for Conſcience-ſake, that he is ready to pity their Weakneſs, have Compaſſion on their Infirmities, and expreſs the greateſt Tenderneſs imaginable for their Perſons, whenever that Time ſhall come, when it will be his Chance to meet with thoſe, whoſe Scruples ariſe rather from a real Defect of their Underſtandings, than ſome worldly Intereſt or Deſire of filthy Lucre, an obſtinate, peeviſh, or ſelf-conceited Humour, or the vain-glorious Spirit of Contradiction.

As for his Sentiments in State Affairs, in which, next to his Religion, his greateſt Deſire is to be orthodox; before they fix, he always tries them with the Touch-ſtone of Reaſon; and, conſequently, thinks it lawful for him to be a *Latitudinarian* in Judgment, in Relation to Civil Matters: I mean, ſo far as not to expect to find an infallible Judge, amongſt either *Tories*, *Whigs*, or *Trimmers*. He takes up Opinions upon Truſt from no Party, nor condemns any, becauſe they are of it, who differ from him in other Things: And, therefore, he could not but ſmile, to ſee, in our late Times of Diſſenſion, ſo many, in all outward Appearance, honeſt and thinking Men, continually jog on, like a Gang of Pack-Horſes, after the Leaders of their ſeveral Parties; and though they wander after theſe blazing, but deceitful Lights, into never ſo many crooked and bye Paths, yet, with an implicit and blind Faith, ſtill believe themſelves to be in the right Way.

For his own Part, his only Aim is at the Honour, Safety, and Intereſt of his Country: On this Mark, he keeps his Eye conſtantly fixed; nor can the dreadful Frowns of an enraged Prince, or the horrid Clamours of a poſſeſſed Multitude, ever be able to remove him from his Point. He finds that his beloved Virtue brings ſuch ſolid, though inviſible Rewards

wards along with her, that he is equally insensible to the promising Smiles of fawning great ones that would tempt, and the terrible Menaces of the fiercest Demagogues, that would force him to forsake her. He can securely, without any Fear of Infection, deride the Folly, and pity the Madness of those who forfeit their Honesty, to found their Happiness upon the unstable Basis of Court Favours, or popular Applause.

He truly enjoys all that Freedom in his Actions, which he thinks his Duty to procure for, and defend his Countrymen in. He is wholly a Stranger to the servile Ambition of gaining the favourable Opinion of others; nor can he tell what it is to fear the Censures of any: He is directed, influenced, or byassed by none; and, whilst he is engaged in his Country's Service, he thinks the most glorious Epithets, the World can fix upon him, are those of a rigid, inflexible, ill-natured, honest Man.

When he discovers that any have Designs contrary to the Publick Good, let their Authority and Power be never so great, he opposes their Opinions, with all the Courage and Zeal his generous Principles can furnish him with, without any Respect to their Persons. But when the Time comes, wherein the right Side shall turn uppermost, as after all Revolutions it ever will at last, he is then so far from Trampling upon his fallen Adversaries, that he becomes, I mean, as a private Man, most tender of their Persons, without any Respect to their Opinions.

He is altogether unacquainted with that base and degenerate Passion, called *Hatred*: Yet, there is one Sort of Men, whom he thinks worthy of the utmost Degree of his Contempt and Scorn; I mean, those false and treacherous Friends, who have formerly gone along with, nay, much before him, in the same Cause; those pretended Zealots for their Country and Religion, who, for their own paultry Interest, or some By-ends, made it their Business to set us together by the Ears, with their noisy Clamours against Popery and Slavery: But, when the Danger was become real, and just hanging over our Heads, when our Church and State were designed for immediate Ruin, with the same mercenary Breath, servilely offered themselves to be employed as Tools, in the Destruction of them both. These, he conceives, ought to have a Mark put upon them, as the worst of Traytors; he takes them to be the vilest of Men, or rather (to use the Expression of one, who, perhaps, may think himself concerned here) to carry *nothing of Men, that is*, Englishmen, *but the Shape.*

But I now find myself necessitated, to take my Hand from off the Tablet, lest, instead of compleating the Portraicture of an honest Parliament-man, I should insensibly touch upon them, who deserve another Character. My Intention then being, like my honest Patriot's, willingly to offend no Man, I shall take my Leave of him at present, with this Remark only, That a Nation, where such as he preside at the Helm, will, without Doubt, be altogether as happy, as if it were steered by *Plato*'s philosophising Governors, or governing Philosophers.

The Character of a Sneaker. *London*, printed in the Year 1705. *Quarto*, containing five Pages, and the Picture of a *Janus* in the Title-page.

A *Sneaker* is *Something* so very like *Nothing*, that it requires a *metaphysical* Brain to define him. He is a mere *Reptile*, that should have had the *Serpent* for his Father, by his *Creeping upon his Belly*, and *Eve* for his Mother, by his *Readiness to comply with Temptations.* He was born with a *Tongue*, but his *Eye-sight* took away the Use of it; for he no sooner saw the *golden Apple* of Preferment, but he laid Hold of it, and was *silent.*

He might be a *Chameleon* for his *different Appearances*, but he knows not how to *live upon Air.* He is a mere *Weathercock*, though not a

High-Church-Man, and always faces-about, and *turns his Backside* upon every *Wind* but what blows from the *Court*. He is for ſending over for the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and *Breeding him up in the Doctrines of the Church of England* one Seſſion of Parliament, and for letting in *John Calvin* into St. *Stephen*'s Chapel another; he is for ſaying King *William* made *Ignominious Treaty in the laſt Reign*, but is for a more dangerous Agreement in this, ſince the *Partition* only affected us in our Concerns *Abroad*, but a *Comprehenſion* would ruin us at *Home*. In ſhort, he is good for *Nothing*, for *H non eſt Littera*, is a ſtanding Rule in *Proſodia*.

He was *Poet-Laureat* to Monſieur *Pouſſin*, and lodged in the ſame Houſe with him, when he *ſneaked* out from his Company the laſt time they met together, at the *Blue-Poſts*; but now his St. *Maw*'s *Muſe* has given the *French* Troops a *Corniſh* Hug, and flung them all upon their Backs, as may be ſeen in his excellent *Metre*, inſcribed to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as it is inſerted in that *valuable Paper*, called, *The Diverting Poſt*.

He has been a Member of Parliament for one of our Univerſities, yet ſhrinks back from the Defence of the Doctrines of that Church which is acknowledged by his Electors for the only true one. He is a Man of great Reach and Abilities, in diſtinguiſhing *Metals*; and, if he did but know the Difference of the *Mizzen-maſt* from the *Main*, as well as that of a *Louis d'Ore* from a *Guinea*, he might make an admirable Commander of the Navy.

He is a Gentleman that has *ſlept* away the Remembrance of what recommended him to be Knight of the Shire for ——, and *dreamt* himſelf into a Place in the *Exchequer*; which has dazzled his Eyes ſo, and confounded his Underſtanding, that he ſits down, as if at his Journey's End, with a *Penſion* of *Fifteen-hundred Pounds per Annum*, and thinks he has done enough for his Country, who ſent him up to Town to do *their* Buſineſs, not his *own*, in making Proviſion for *himſelf*.

He is one that was to play the *Devil* with the *Obſervator*, for Writing *againſt the Church*, before his *Tryal*, but had not a Word to ſay for it after; Some-body had lived ſo merrily, as to *forget the Day of the Month* on which he was found guilty. His Hand is always open, though his Mouth is ſhut. *His Heart is as good as any Man's in* England, *for the Church Eſtabliſhed*; *but Charity begins at Home, and let the National Religion ſink or ſwim, as long as one is taken Care of.*

He is againſt *Tacking* the *Occaſional Conformiſt*'s Bill to the *Land-Tax*, not for the Sake of his *Country*, but *himſelf*. He is tacked to an Office, which he is loth to be disjoined from; and, for that Cauſe, hinders the other's Conjunction. He is Cap in Hand to his *Electors*, before they return him for their *Member*; but, when once got upon their Shoulders *, *He will ride* † *them to ſome Purpoſe.* It matters not what Inſtructions they give him; great Men are allowed to have treacherous Memories, and he will not part with that *Title* to *Greatneſs*.

He is an *Ariſtotelian*, tho' he loves the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs too much to be a Philoſopher; and his Actions are ſufficient Arguments to ſhew, that the *Corruption of one Thing is the Generation of another* ‡, *i. e.* He makes appear, that the *Defection* of a *good Man* to a *bad Party* is the *Acceſſion* of an *ill One*; and, if he did not know himſelf to have made a wrong and unjuſtifiable Choice, he would never be aſhamed of declaring his Mind in Favour of it; which ſhews *Modeſty* has not forſaken him, though *Honeſty* ſeems to have bidden him Adieu.

Though he is not qualified to be one of his Grace of *Canterbury*'s Chaplains, becauſe he is not a Churchman good enough, he may ſerve for one of his Water-men, for to *look one Way, and row another*, is their Buſineſs. He was put into a Poſt, under Pretence of being a *Churchman*, but imagines, the ready Way, to keep in it, is not to be againſt the *Diſſenters*; for Some-body has ſaid, *They are too great a Body to be diſobliged*; and he knows he ſtands but upon ſlippery Ground, while he gives not implicit Obedience to Some-body's Orders.

He is one that has been deputed by the People to make *new Laws*, and thinks it of no Conſequence what becomes of the *old*. He

* At Country Elections, it is cuſtomary to carry the Members choſen in Triumph on Men's Shoulders about the Town.

† Hector and ſpunge upon thoſe he repreſents.

‡ This is the *Ariſtotelian* Principle in *Naturals*; but the Sneaker adapts it to *Politicks*.

is

is of a modern Cut; and the very Reaſon, that ſhould be of Force with him to ſtand up for the Church, ſlackens his Reſolutions to defend her. She has been a Church from the Beginning, and King *Solomon*'s Miſtreſs * is too antiquated, and out of Date, for a *Courtier*'s Embraces.

He is a pretended Stickler for the Queen's Authority, juſt ſo long as he receives the Queen's Money, while to ſhew, how undeſerving he is of her Royal Favour, he confederates himſelf for the Downfall of the Queen's Religion. He is an *Engliſhman* with a *Scotch* Heart, an *Iriſh* Pair of Heels, and a *Spaniſh* Countenance. His Policy conſiſts in a *demure Look*, his Courage in *withdrawing* himſelf when there is an Occaſion; his *Conſtancy* is *Variation*; and his *Honeſty* is *what you* think fit to *call it*, for I know not where to find it.

He is for a *ſingle Miniſtry* †, that he may play the *Tom double* under it, and had rather the Management of Affairs ſhould be in *one great Lord's or Court Lady's Hands*, than in *ſeveral*; becauſe the *fewer* the *Super-Intendents*, the *more* may be the *Miſcarriages* of thoſe that are ſubordinate to them, without being diſcerned. Not that he is of this Temper for any other Account, ſince, notwithſtanding his pretended Affections for her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, he leans more towards a *Commonwealth* than a *Monarchy*, and had rather the *executive Power* was to be intruſted with a *Committee of Safety* ‡, and he to be the *Obadiah* of the *Party*, than to be lodged where it is.

He was for *Reſuming of Grants* the laſt Reign, for fear there would be *none* left to be given away in *this*, and always for having *Commiſſioners to ſtate the publick Accompts*, till, by getting into a Poſt himſelf, he was rendered obnoxious to their Cenſures. He is againſt flinging out of the Houſe all Members of Parliament poſſeſſed of Offices erected ſince the Year 84, becauſe a *Sneaker* ‖ was in *Employ* before that Time of the Day; and under-hand makes an Intereſt againſt the *Occaſional Bill*, becauſe he is a Sort of an Occaſionaliſt himſelf.

He goes to *Church*, becauſe the *Queen* does, and is ready to give his *Vote* for as *many Millions* as ſhall be deſired; becauſe he knows how to make *double the Account*, his Quota comes to, out of *them*. He is a *State Hermophradite*, an *Ambidexter*: *Jacob T——n* with his *two Left-Legs* makes not ſuch an aukward Figure as he does. He is like the Satyr in the *Fable*, that blows *Hot* and *Cold* with the ſame Breath, and never does any Thing Praiſeworthy, but when he bluſhes for Shame of his playing at *Hide and Seek*, with his old Principles, at the Sight of an old ——

Dr. *D'——nt* is a *Saint* to him, and played the *Man*, for he no ſooner changed Sides, but his *Peace Abroad and War at Home* told the World ſo. But he plays the *Child's Part*; and, becauſe he ſhuts his *own Eyes*, thinks no Creature in the World ſees him. The *one* cares not who knows what *he is*, and *the other* would be taken for what he *is not*. Of the two *Sinners* the *firſt* is the more commendable, for that Devil can leſs do Miſchief, that appears in his own Shape, than the Form of an *Angel* of *Light*.

He never looks upon her Majeſty's Arms, but *Semper Eadem* ** gives him the Gripes, for he knows he had not been what *he is*, had he continued what *he was*. He is *Regis ad Exemplum* †† only in his *Cloaths*, not in his *Principles*, and pays a greater Deference to her Majeſty's Way of *Dreſs* than her *Worſhip*. He is a *Figure of Nought or Cypher*, that is of Uſe only when you come to *tell Noſes*; and rather *weakens* then *ſtrengthens* a Party, but when the *Yea's* and *No's* ſet the Clerks in Parliament at Work, and make them fall to *Numeration*.

He is the very *Reverſe* of one of the Members of the *Rump Parliament*, even while he *ſides* with them that juſtify their *Proceedings*. They ſet aſide the *Houſe of Lords* as uſeleſs; he is for pulling down the Authority of the *Houſe of Commons*, even while he has the Honour to ſit in it, and making a Surrendry of their Right in *one Point*, that he may be taken for a Man of peaceable Diſpoſitions in all *others*. *Moderation* is his *Pretence*, but getting of Mo-

* The Church of God. † A Prime Miniſter.
‡ The Government was ſo ſtiled, when the Parliament rebelled againſt King *Charles the Firſt*.
‖ *Viz.* The particular Perſon hereby intended. ** *i. e.* Always the ſame; the Queen's Motto.
†† Conformable to his Sovereign's Example.

ney *immoderately* is his *Practice*, and *Unde habeat Quærat nemo ſed oportet habere* *, is a Lecture that takes up his whole Conſideration.

He forwards the *Diſpatch* of the *publick Buſineſs*, that he may be the ſooner a fingering the *publick Funds*; and, having *railed* himſelf *into* an *Office*, is under dreadful Apprehenſions of being *railed* out of it again. To conclude, he is neither *Fiſh*, *Fleſh*, nor *good Red-Herring*; he is the *Punctum Saliens* of all Parties, yet never *ſerviceable* to any. He is always in *Motion*, yet might as well *ſit ſtill* for the *Good* he does in being ſo; and, if any *City*, *Town*, or *County*, wants ſuch a *Repreſentative* for the *enſuing Parliament*, he will give him as luſty *Promiſes* as the beſt ſhall, and is ready to be *returned* to the Clerk of the Crown, when his *Electors* ſhall think fit; if not, let them look out for one that will come up to *his Word*, and *their Expectations*, for I ſhall not pretend to direct them, when they have ſuch an ample Field to chooſe in. For I am an Enemy to *black Liſts*, and am for leaving the *People* of *England* to the *Freedom* of *Elections*.

* No Body enquires where he may get it; but it muſt be had.

An Hiſtorical Account of the Riſe and Growth of the *Weſt-In.* Colonies, and of the great Advantages they are to *England*, in Reſpect to Trade. Licenſed according to Order. *London*, printed 1690. *Quarto*, containing fifty-three Pages, beſide the Title and Dedication.

The DEDICATION.

To my much honoured Friend, Sir *Robert Davers*, Baronet, and to the reſt of the Gentlemen intereſted and concerned in the *Weſt-Indies*.

GENTLEMEN,

THE following Treatiſe was occaſioned by the great and juſt Complaints made by you, of the additional Duty that was laid upon your Product, and fell upon your Labour and Induſtry, though deſigned by the Parliament *to have been paid by the* Conſumptioner; *at that Time, the Inventions of moſt Men were at Work (eſpecially thoſe that had any Dealing with you, and a Senſe of your Sufferings) to contrive a Method, whereby Relief might have given you, that are the beſt employed Hands for the Inriching and Supporting this* Nation.

After much Time had been ſpent, in endeavouring the Taking off the Duty, and it was found that no Arguments were prevalent, and almoſt all People deſpairing of Relief, then Col. Waldrond, *myſelf, and others, with no ſmall Pains, nor little Charge, contrived (as we thought) a Method, that might not only have laid the Duty on the* Conſumptioner, *but alſo might have relieved you from the Complaints of thoſe that do charge you with being great Debtors, and to have enabled every* Planter *to make the beſt Advantage of*

of their Plantations, *by ſupplying them with Monies, at the common Intereſt of the* Colonies, *by preventing numerous Sellers, neceſſitous and ignorant Sales.*

And that this might run through the moſt ſtrict Examination, before it ſhould have been allowed of, we propoſed, that his late Majeſty, *and* Privy-Council, *might have the firſt View of it, that they might be ſatisfied it did not leſſen his* Majeſty's Revenue, *and that we might have his* Majeſty's *Leave to propoſe it to the* Aſſemblies *of every individual* Colony; *and, if they did approve of it, and petitioned his* Majeſty *for the incorporating ſuch Societies, that then we, and our Friends, might be intereſted in it.*

But this, meeting with Oppoſition, occaſioned a Hearing before his Majeſty, *and the* Lords *of his* Privy-Council, *and after they were ſatisfied it did not leſſen his* Majeſty's Revenue: *Our great Debate, with the Oppoſers, was about his* Majeſty's *giving Leave for the Sending of it to the Colonies for them to try and examine it; his* Majeſty *was pleaſed to declare, that he could not underſtand any Reaſon could be given why they might not have a Sight of it, for he thought* Barbadoes *beſt knew what* Barbadoes *wanted: I believe none will deny, but that it met with a general Approbation of all the* Lords *of the* Council, *except my* Lord Chancellor, *of whom I was informed by a Friend (but at that Time an Oppoſer of this Deſign) that he was our Enemy, and accordingly we found him.*

Soon after this Hearing, the Government *began to be uneaſy, and holding it not proper for a Matter of this Nature, to be further proceeded on, under an* unſettled Government, *I rather choſe to be ſilent, and bear ſuch Reflexions as were made by thoſe that were totally ignorant of the Method of our Undertaking, though prejudical to my particular Intereſt, than to expoſe it to View, before I ſaw the* Government *in a Temper to conſider of* Trade, *and the great Benefit you are to this* Nation.

Therefore, I have now expoſed it for your View, that you may be Judges whether it might have been, or may be ſerviceable to you, and whether our Requeſt of ſending it to you was unreaſonable.

You will find, by this Treatiſe *(as I humbly conceive) that our Deſign would, at leaſt, have raiſed the Value of your Goods to the Price it bore before the* additional Duty *was laid; and it was allowed at that Hearing, by the Oppoſers, that it would raiſe, at leaſt, Twenty* per Cent. *Our Method was, to have had all your* Goods, *that came to* England, *brought to one Body of Men, which we called a* Common Factory, *and they conſtantly to be choſen by you in your* Aſſemblies, *and they to have been accountable to every* Conſigner *for the Net Proceed of every Parcel of Goods ſold, for which your Charge was not to exceed what you now pay: The other Part of our Deſign was to erect a* Company, *ſeparate from the* Common Factory, *which ſhould have ſufficient Funds in each Colony, to lend what Monies you had Occaſion of, you giving* Security *on* Lands *or* Goods; *and, if they did not lend it, on Demand, they were to forfeit to the Borrower Conſiderable for every hundred Pound demanded, the* Lands *or* Goods *being valued by ſworn* Appraiſers; *what was lent, was to be continued during your Pleaſure, you paying your Intereſt, when due, and you had Power to pay it in, when you pleaſed, and they obliged to lend too, at leaſt, one half Value of* Land, *or* Goods, *and you not to have been confined to have borrowed it of them, but where elſe you pleaſed; ſo that this* Company *might have been ſerviceable, but could not have been hurtful, for they were bound to obey, and had no Power to command.*

To make it next to Impoſſibility, that the Government *ſhould ever be impoſed on, to permit any* Laws *or* Deſigns *of any Perſons whatſoever, let their Pretences be ever ſo ſpecious,*

ſpecious, to take Effect, until the Colonies, by their Aſſembly, *were conſulted with: I have, to the beſt of my Knowledge, given a true and juſt Account of what Import you are to this* Nation, *by Increaſing of* Navigation, *Conſuming the* Woollen-Manufactory, *of all Sorts of Apparel, Houſhold-Goods,* &c. *that are made in* England; *and that which was formerly* Foreign Commodities, *and coſt us Conſiderable yearly, by your Induſtry, is become Native, the Nation freed from that Charge, and the* Conſumptioner *ſaves, at leaſt, one Half of his Expence, for the like Quantity; beſides the great Advantage this* Nation *receives by your* Goods *exported, being over and above our Conſumption; and,* Laſtly, *all the Riches you get in the* Indies, *by your great Care, Labour, and Induſtry, is brought to* England, *and here it centers.*

If you will be pleaſed to rectify my Errors, that I through Ignorance may have committed, that our Legiſlators *may be more fully ſatisfied, that you are, and ever muſt be* Engliſhmen, *and that you are much more beneficially employed there, for the Benefit of this* Nation, *than any the like Number in* England; *that every Hardſhip that is put upon you, that makes your* Goods *dearer in* Foreign Markets, *or leſſens the* Conſumption *in* England, *is a Leſſening to the Trade of* England, *and, conſequently, prejudicial to every Subject in* England: *And, if this ſmall* Treatiſe *meets with your kind Acceptance, I ſhall think myſelf very happy, and ſhall always be ready to demonſtrate, that I am your Well-wiſher, and, Gentlemen,*

Your moſt humble and faithful Servant,

DALBY THOMAS.

CHAP. I.

THere is nothing more frequent amongſt the Generality of Mankind than is the Drawing wrong Concluſions from right Premiſſes, whereby the moſt conciſe and trueſt Maxims and Sayings, that wiſe Men upon ſolid Thinking have contrived to guide us, like Landmarks, in the Search of Truth, are perverted by wrong Applications, to drown our Underſtandings in the Gulph of Error.

Thus, becauſe Truth itſelf is not truer, than that People are the Wealth of a Nation, thoſe who have not Time, Experience, and Skill, to examine the Fund of that undeniable Verity, though, in other Things, Men of excellent Underſtandings, are apt to infer, that all, who ſet Foot out of the Kingdom, are in ſome Degree a Diminution of its Wealth, and thence take for granted, that the *American* Colonies occaſion the Decay both of the People and Riches of the Nation; when, upon a thorough Examination, nothing can appear more erroneous, as I doubt not to make plain to every Man, though my principal Deſign is to convince the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, who, being the Contrivers of our Statutes and moſt concerned for the Preſervation of its Grandeur, ought rightly to be informed, for fear our Laws in Time take a contrary Byaſs to our Trade and Navigation, which are undeniably our Glory and Strength, as well as the only Fountain of our Riches.

To make this Point clear, it is neceſſary to conſider and examine four Things.

1. What is *real* Wealth.
2. What is *imaginary* Wealth:
3. How theſe are *acquired:*
4. How they may be *loſt.*

To diſtinguiſh rightly in theſe Points, we muſt conſider Money, as the leaſt Part of the Wealth of any Nation, and think of it only as a Scale to weigh one Thing againſt another,

or

or as Counters to reckon Riches by, or as a Pawn of intrinſick Value, to depoſit in lieu of any Neceſſary whatſoever.

True, ſolid, and real Wealth, therefore, in Reſpect to the Nation, is the Land, and what is upon, or under its Surface, as uſeful Buildings, Trees, Quarries, Mines, *&c.*

Thus by a good Computation, made by Sir *William Petty*, which we will take for granted till there appears a better, we may reckon the preſent Rent of Land and Houſes to be ten Millions of Pounds, *per Annum*, which at twenty Years Purchaſe amounts to two-hundred Millions of Pounds.

The People of this Nation conſume annually, in neceſſary Meat, Drink and Cloaths, computed from their Numbers, Manner of living, and uſual Price current of Things, about fifty Millions of Pounds, annually, which is about ſix Pounds ten Shillings a Head.

The imaginary Wealth therefore of the Nation, which conſiſts in Labour, Trade, and Negotiation, is four Times as much as the real, and, preſerved in its natural Channels, is to be reduced to the ſame Value in Purchaſe as Land; whereby we may allow, that the intrinſick Worth of the People and Kingdom, as they now ſtand together, is a thouſand Millions of Pounds.

The Money in Species of the Nation, though the Scale by which the Whole is valued and weighed, amounts not to ſix Millions.

Now ſuch as do account the Lands and Buildings of the Nation more valuable, becauſe real, than the Negotiation, becauſe accidental and imaginary, will find themſelves miſtaken, ſince Lands and Houſes, without People, are of no Value at all, and to a naked and uninduſtrious Nation very little more, ſo that Labour, Invention, Trade, and Negotiation are the only Cauſes of, as well as Supports to that we call Riches.

This is ſo ſelf-evident that it will be ſuperfluous to illuſtrate it by many Examples or Compariſons between Civil and Barbarous Countries.

Therefore we muſt conſider, that when it is ſaid, People are the Wealth of a Nation, it is only meant, laborious and induſtrious People, and not ſuch as are wholly unemployed, as Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, Servingmen, and Beggars, *&c.* Or which is worſe, employed only in diſturbing the Induſtrious and Laborious, as Pettifoggers, Informers, Catchpoles, and Thieves; and, though the firſt Sorts may be neceſſary, as harmleſs Spurs to Conſumption, Learning or Virtue, or as Objects of the good Will, mutual Love, Pity and Compaſſion of human Nature, as well as Increaſers of the Numbers by Children, yet the fewer ſuch the better; whereas the laſt ſhould by all imaginary Ways be diſcouraged, tamed, or deſtroyed, as the worſt of Vermin in a well-governed Commonwealth.

We muſt likewiſe conſider, that the Value of every Thing uſeful to the Neceſſities, Luxuries, or Vanities of this Life, is meaſured by the Induſtry and Labour either of Body or Mind, which is neceſſary to their Acquirement, whereby Things of little or no Price in one Country, by the Time ſpent, Labour and Hazard of thoſe which carry them to another, become dear.

From all which it is plain that only induſtrious and laborious People are the Riches of any Nation, and it will as naturally follow, theſe Laborious or Induſtrous, who employ their Talents to moſt Advantage, are of moſt Value to ſuch Nation.

And though a Man, whoſe Skill amounts to no more than to earn three Pence a Day by his continual Labour, can no Ways add to to the Wealth of a Kingdom like ours, becauſe it will not ſupply his neceſſary Conſumption, yet ſuch a Man is a leſs Burthen to it, than one totally idle, and may increaſe the Number by Children.

So again, one that conſtantly by his Labour can earn ſix Pence a Day only, and conſumes juſt ſo much, as he is not advantageous to the Nation's Wealth, ſo he is no Burthen neither, and occaſions its Increaſe.

But that Man, who, by Induſtry and Labour, not only maintains himſelf and Family, but makes himſelf rich, is, to the Proportion of his Wealth, juſt ſo much Addition to the intrinſick Value of the Kingdom.

I have the more enlarged upon this Head, that I might lead the Mind of the Reader, by a natural Chain of Conſequences, rightly to underſtand the true Original and everlaſting Support of Wealth, which is nothing elſe but Labour.

As for ſuch Perſons who by the Faculties of the Mind only acquire Riches to themſelves, as Soldiers, Lawyers, Divines, Bankers, Retailers, Victuallers, *&c.* They, though neceſſary Callings, are no Increaſers of the Nation's

tion's Wealth, nor is the Kingdom more rich by the Fluctuating and Circulation of Money among ſuch, than one of them would be by putting his Money out of one Cheſt into another, or ſhifting it from one Pocket to another.

But where Soldiery becomes the Trade of a People, as among the *Switzers* and *Scots* it is, who ſerve Abroad for Money, and bring it Home to purchaſe Lands there, it is of equal Benefit to any other Labour, by increaſing the Rates and Value of the real Wealth of thoſe Countries, which, as amongſt all other Civil Nations, is Land and Houſes.

I doubt not but the Reader by this Time will perceive, that in what Way ſoever a Man employs his Labour and Induſtry, either at Home or Abroad, ſo that at laſt he increaſes the Value of the real Wealth of the Nation, he is, in the Proportion of ſuch Increaſe, a Benefit thereunto.

And, on the Contrary, he that labours not at all, or ſo much as not to increaſe the intrinſick Value of his Country, is juſt good for nothing.

To leave this Truth plain beyond Diſpute, I beg the Doubter but to conſider, that if all the laborious People of the Kingdom left Working, and were to live upon the natural Produce of it, to be diſtributed to them in equal Proportions by Way of Charity, as Pariſh-poor and Beggars are now ſupported, how long it would be before the Nation became neceſſitous, naked and ſtarving, and conſequently the Land and Houſes worth nothing.

A ſhort Reflexion would make him ſenſible that a very few Years of Idleneſs would compleat the Matter; whence he can no longer doubt, but that Labour and Induſtry, rightly applied, is the ſole Cauſe of the Wealth of a Nation; that Money is only the Scales or Touchſtone to weigh or value Things by: And that Land itſelf would yield no Rent, but as Labour employed for the Support of Luxuries, as well as Neceſſities, did find a due Encouragement and Increaſe.

In ſhort it is plain hereby,

1. That real Wealth is Land and Houſes;
2. That imaginary Wealth is the laborious People.
3. That the real and imaginary Wealth both increaſe only, as Induſtry is rightly applied by great Numbers of laborious People: And not by increaſe of People only.
4. And the Increaſe of People, wilfully or accidentally idle, is ſo far from being national Riches, that it is the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt Way to inevitable Poverty, Famine, and Nakedneſs, and muſt decay the Value as well of the real, as imaginary Wealth of the Nation, proportionably to the Decay of Induſtry.

Thus Civil Wars, Diſorders, and Changes in the Government of Nations, by the many which become Soldiers, and others that ceaſe labouring in their Trades and Induſtry, for Want of Security, inſenſibly impoveriſh Countries, much more than thoſe ſlain in ſuch Changes do; by Reaſon that thoſe that die, as they add nothing, do conſume nothing in the Commonwealth; whereas the idle Living add nothing, and conſume much to its Deſtruction.

I ſhall ſay no more therefore on this Subject, but haſten to the Conſideration of which Hands are beſt employed to the Advantage of the Wealth of this Kingdom, as our Trade and Negotiation now ſtand.

Firſt then, the Premiſſes conſidered, we may lay down as an undeniable Verity, that thoſe Men who add moſt by their Labour to the Increaſe of the intrinſick Wealth of the Nation, either real or imaginary, and conſume, leaſt are beſt employed.

Again, on the Contrary, thoſe that conſume moſt, and add leaſt, are worſt employed.

Now it will be impoſſible, in the ſhort Method I deſign, to enumerate and clearly diſtinguiſh between every Sort of Employment; wherefore I ſhall content myſelf only to hint at ſome few Ways wherein Men ſeem to do little, and yet are well employed, and others wherein they are very buſy and laborious to little or no Purpoſe.

To begin then as Nature did in the Cultivators of Land and Conductors of Cattle.

The Husbandman's Life not only ſeems but is extremely careful, laborious, and painful: The Graſier's and Shepherd's, on the Contrary, both ſeems and is a very careleſs, quiet, and eaſy Way of ſpending Time.

Yet, though the firſt Sort are uſually paid moſt Wages, and conſequently can afford and do conſume moſt upon themſelves, the laſt notwithſtanding are of much more Value to the Commonwealth.

For

For two-hundred Sheep, or twenty Cows, require but forty Acres of good Land, and one Man's eaſy Care for a Year's Paſture, the Profit of which by the Increaſe of Lambs, Calves, Wool, Butter, Cheeſe, *&c.* and the Meliorating the Wool by Manufacture, is of four Times at leaſt more Advantage to the Commonwealth, than the ſame Number of Acres employed in Tillage, which requires the conſtant Drudgery of two Men and four Horſes at leaſt; beſides, that the greateſt Part of what is produced by Tillage is conſumed in the Nation; whereas manufactured Wool from Sheep, Tallow, Leather, Shoes, Butter, Cheeſe, Salt, Beef, and many other Things, ariſing from Paſture, are ſtaple Commodities for Tranſportation, which fetch us back Silver, Gold, and foreign Goods, uſeful to the Ornament and Pleaſure, if not Neceſſities of Life: I muſt affirm, the Commodity which is tranſported is the only true Increaſe of National Strength and Wealth; and that Sort of Reformers who would have nothing made, uſed, or conſumed, but what Nature abſolutely requires, are but ſhort-ſighted and narrow Thinkers, as well in Politicks as Religion: And though they may adorn their Opinions and Argument, with the Names of *Lycurgus*, *Cato*, and other ſoure Reaſoners, yet all their Diſcourſes tend to no more but to reduce Mankind back to be Sheep-ſkin-weavers, Acorn-eaters, and Water-drinkers; again, the bountiful God of Nature ſupplying every Country of the World, with what is fully ſufficient to ſuſtain Life.

Therefore to ſay, as many are apt to do, that *England* can live of itſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of any foreign Nation, is to give it not the leaſt Commendation beyond any other Country; but to ſay, and that truly, that *England*, by the Induſtry of its Inhabitants employed in Shipping, Plantations, Mines, Manufactures, Paſtures and Tillage, doth not only abound in all Sorts of Commodities, as, native Meat, Drink, Cloaths, Houſes and Coaches, fit for the Neceſſities, Eaſe, and Ornaments of Life, but can outvy leaſt Nations of the World, for the vaſt Plenty in Varieties of Wines, Spices, Drugs, Fruits, Silks, Pictures, Muſick, Silver, Gold, precious Stones, and all other the Supports of Grandure and Delight, that is to ſpeak it, a truly civiliſed and glorious Nation indeed.

And though ſome Men through falſe and envious Opticks look upon theſe Things as Baits to Vice, and Occaſions of Effeminacy, if they would but impartially examine the Truth of Matters, they would diſcern them to be the true Spurs to Virtue, Valour, and the Elevation of the Mind, as well as the juſt Rewards of Induſtry. For,

It is certain, upon a right Scrutiny, a Man ſhall find more Profaneneſs, Diſhoneſty, Drunkenneſs, and Debauchery, practiſed in naſty Rags, bare Walls, and Ale-houſes, than in rich Habits, Palaces, or Taverns; and as Plenty, Splendor, and Grandure can have no other Fountain but Wiſdom, Induſtry and good Conduct; ſo Shabbineſs, Indigence, and Contempt rarely ſpring from any Thing but Folly, Idleneſs, and Vice: And where it happens otherwiſe by unexpected Frauds, Shipwrecks, Fires, Inundations or Maims, the Shame of Suffering it becomes the Nation's Reproach, ſince the Rarity of theſe Accidents would make the Burden which cruſhes a Particular ſcarce felt, when laid by a right Method on the Commonwealth, as I ſhall endeavour to make appear hereafter.

But, before I return again to the Conſideration, which Part of the People are beſt employed for the publick Good, I muſt, from what is premiſed, conclude, that, as all, who are not miſchievouſly employed or totally idle, are of ſome Benefit to the Commonwealth, and ſhould find due Encouragement, ſo thoſe ought to be moſt protected and leaſt diſcouraged, by the Laws, who are moſt uſefully buſy, for the Increaſing the Value of the real and imaginary Wealth of the Nation: Thus, as I ſaid before, the Shepherd and Grazier is to be preferred before the Plough-man and Thraſher.

So the Miner is to be preferred to the Shepherd and Grazier, becauſe all he produces, for Tranſportation, is clear Gains to the Publick, whereas but Part of the others doth ſo: The Mariner is to be preferred to the Miner, and the like to ſuch who contribute moſt to foreign Trade; but in *England* the Merchant-Adventurer is to be encouraged and preferred before the Mariner, or any other Artiſt, Trade, or Calling whatſoever: For though his Labour ſeems a Recreation rather than a Toil, and conſiſts chiefly in a regular Methodiſing of a punctual Rotation of Credit, and Change of Commodities from one Place to another; yet conſidering that the whole Produce of Nature and Art would be but dead Matter without a proper Motion to conveigh it to its true End,

which is Conſumption: All other Callings receive their Vigour, Life, Strength, and Increaſe from the Merchant, Commodities riſing in Eſteem or Value, as they are rightly diſtributed from Place to Place, and loſing their very Nature as well as Worth, when by overſtocking the Market they become contemptible, or periſh for Want of Uſe or Conſumption: Wherefore our Laws ſhould be ſo contrived as never in the leaſt to diſcourage or check any Conception or Endeavour of the venturing Merchant, to whoſe extravagant and hazardous, as well as prudent and cautious Undertaking, this Nation chiefly owes all its Wealth and Glory: And it is a mighty Pity that all Laws for Cuſtom and Duties, as well as for regulating Navigation, erecting Companies, judging Maritime Controverſies, granting Letters of Mart and Reprizal, and for encouraging Manufactures and Societies of Handicrafts, ſhould not firſt be debated, prepared, and begun in a great Council of Trade, to conſiſt of Members elected and deputed by every Plantation, Maritime City, Company, Conſtitution and Trade, which would deſire to ſend Members to it: And from thence after a free and full Examination be repreſented to both Houſes of Parliament for their Approbation or Diſlike.

For Trade is of that Nature, that it requires frequent Pruning, Lopping, and Reſtraining, as well as Cultivating and Cheriſhing, and thrives much better under proper and rightly applied Reſtraints, Duties, Taxes and Exciſes, than in a general Looſeneſs; which being ſo, is it poſſible that a poſitive Tonnage and Poundage, like ours, ſhould hit all Accidents; attend the Changes and Mutations it receives, both at Home by the Plenty and Scarcity of our Native Commodities, or Abroad by the like Ebbs and Floods as well as the Laws in Foreign Nations made or changed concerning it?

Or how indeed can the Divines, Lawyers, Nobility, and great Gentry of the Kingdom be nice Judges, and right Diſtinguiſhers between the claſhing and tangling Intereſts of ſo great a Myſtery as univerſal Trade, when few or none of them have ever had the leaſt Occaſion to inſpect or experiment any Part of it?

The Defect therefore of a free and able Council of Trade in this Nation, though it cannot deſtroy, yet wonderfully retards and hinders the natural and genuine Increaſe of Navigation and Merchandiſe, and conſequently of Rents.

But, for Want of that, I will preſume to go on in explaining the right and wrong Application of Men's Induſtry, as they reſpect in general the Wealth and Grandure of the Nation, or in particular the Intereſt of our *American* Colonies, in many of which I doubt not to demonſtrate: One labouring Man is of more Advantage to *England*, though out of it, than any thirty of the like Kind can be within it.

To explain which, I will take a ſhort View of our Sugar-Plantations, and the Nature of that Trade, to whoſe particular Advantage and Intereſt, after the Kingdom's, I principally ſacrifice my preſent Pains.

I therefore, with all Submiſſiveneſs imaginable, deſire our Legiſlators to conſider,

1. That the greateſt Conſumption of Sugar is made by themſelves, and the reſt of the rich and opulent People of the Nation, though uſeful to all Degrees of Men.

2. That the Quantity of it, yearly produced within thoſe Sugar Colonies, is not leſs than Forty-five Thouſand Tons, *Engliſh* Tonnage, each comprehending twenty Pounds to the Ton.

3. That about the Moiety of that is conſumed in *England*.

4. That the Medium of the Value of conſumed Sugar, at the preſent Price current, is four Pence a Pound.

5. That the Quantity conſumed in the Nation, at that Price, amounts to Eight-hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, and upwards.

6. That the other Moiety ſent to foreign Markets, after it has employed Seamen, and earned Freight, is ſold for as much, and conſequently brings back to the Nation in Money or uſeful Goods annually Eight-hundred thouſand Pounds, which is more than any one other Commodity doth.

7. Conſider too, that, before Sugars were produced in our own Colonies, it bore three Times the Price it doth now; ſo that, by the ſame Conſumption, at the ſame Price, except we made it ourſelves, we ſhould be forced to give in Money, or Money's Worth, as, Native Commodities and Labour, two Millions four-hundred thouſand Pounds for the Sugar we ſpend, or be without it to ſuch a Degree of Diſadvantage of Well-living, as that Retrenchment would amount to; we muſt conſider too, that the Spirits ariſing from Moloſſes which

which is ſent from the Sugar Colonies to the other Colonies, and to *England*, which, if all were ſold in *England*, and turned into Spirits, it would amount annually to above five-hundred thouſand Pounds, at half the Price the like Quantity of Brandy from *France* would coſt; and will yearly increaſe, as Brandies are diſcouraged; and by moſt are held wholeſomer for the Body, which is obſerved by the long Living of thoſe in the Colonies that are great Drinkers of Rum, which is the Spirits we make of Moloſſes, and the ſhort Living of thoſe that are great Drinkers of Brandy in thoſe Parts.

The Indico coming thence amounts to fifty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

The Logwood, for which we formerly paid the *Spaniards* an hundred Pounds *per* Ton, now comes under fifteen Pounds, and amounts to a thouſand Ton annually.

The Cotton, for which we paid formerly above twelve Pence *per* Pound, now comes at five Pence Half-penny *per* Pound, and amounts to a thouſand Ton *per Annum*, beſides the Hands it employs in manufacturing it.

The Ginger amounts to four-thouſand Ton *per Annum*, and is not the ſixth Part in Price of what the Nation paid formerly for that Commodity, or for Pepper inſtead of it.

Not to ſpeak of the many Drugs, Woods, Cocoa, Piemonto, and Spices, beſides raw Hides, *&c.* which come from thoſe Parts, nor of the great Quantity of the Gold and Silver we have of the *Spaniards* for *Negroes*, and the *Engliſh* Manufactory carried by our Sloops from our Colonies to them.

So that it is Demonſtration, the Nation ſaves and gains by the People employed in thoſe Colonies four-hundred Millions Sterling *per An.*

Now if it be conſidered that in all thoſe Sugar Colonies there are not ſix-hundred thouſand white Men, Women, and Children, it neceſſarily muſt follow, that one with another, above what they conſume each of them earns for the Publick above ſixty Pounds *per Annum*.

Whereas, if the Rent be ten Milllions,

And the Conſumption fifty Millions,

Then by reducing Labour and Conſumption to a proper Balance with the Produce of Rents, and ſuppoſing the imaginary Wealth of the whole Kingdom to increaſe in Time of Peace, the tenth Part annually, that will be but four Millions, which does not amount to twelve Shillings a Head clear Increaſe of Wealth, one with another, above neceſſary and conſtant Expences; from which it follows beyond Controverſy, that Hands, employed in the Sugar Plantations are, one with another, of one-hundred and thirty Times more Value to the Common-wealth than thoſe which ſtay at Home.

To this I eaſily foreſee will be readily objected, for Want of Conſideration, that thoſe there conſume nothing of native Commodities, which if they did as theſe do which ſtay at Home, their Conſumption would amount to three-hundred and ninety-thouſand Pounds annually, at ſix Pounds ten Shillings *per* Head, as afore-ſaid, and would conſequently increaſe the Rents at leaſt a Fourth of that.

But to this I muſt remind the Reader that I have demonſtrated, that whatever is conſumed by idle Men, can never increaſe either the real or imaginary Wealth of the Nation, and that nothing but the Overplus or Conſumption can be reckoned additional Wealth, which, according to our reaſonable Computation, cannot be above two Shillings a Head, one with another; ſo that, if we would grant that thoſe in the Colonies did conſume nothing of our home Produce, the Loſs by Want of them here could amount only to one Million two-hundred thouſand Shillings annually, which is ſixty-thouſand Pounds.

But, on the Contrary, this is ſo far from being true, that, one with another, each white Man, Woman, and Child, reſiding in the Sugar Plantations, occaſions the Conſumption of more of our native Commodities, and Manufactures, than ten at Home do.

This cannot be doubted by thoſe that will conſider the great Quantity of Beef, Pork, Salt, Fiſh, Butter, Cheeſe, Corn, and Flour, as well as Beer, *Engliſh* Mum, Cyder, and Coals, conſtantly ſent thither, of which Commodities for the Uſe of themſelves or Blacks, they have little or none of their own Produce. Conſider too, that all their Powder, Cannon, Swords, Guns, Pikes, and other Weapons; their Cloaths, Shoes, Stockings, Saddles, Bridles, Coaches, Beds, Chairs, Stools, Pictures, Clocks, and Watches; their Pewter, Braſs, Copper, and iron Veſſels and Inſtruments; their Sail-cloth and Cordage, of which, in their Building, Shipping, Mills, Boiling, and Diſtilling-houſes, Field-labour and domeſtick Uſes, they conſume infinite Quantities, all which are made in and ſent from *England*; not to ſpeak of the great Number of Drudging and Saddle-horſes they take off, as well as of that Sort of

People who would in their Youth be conſumed in Idleneſs, or worſe, at Home, but there become uſeful to increaſe the Nations, Numbers, and Wealth both.

Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that there are in thoſe Colonies at leaſt five Blacks for one White, ſo that, allowing the Whites to be ſixty-thouſand, the Blacks muſt be three-hundred thouſand, all whoſe Cloaths and *European* Proviſions, coming from *England*, increaſes the Conſumption of our native Commodities and Manufactures in a large Proportion. But the Axes, Houghs, Saws, Rollers, Shovels, Knives, Nails, and other iron Inſtruments and Tool, as well as the Boilers, Stills, and other uſeful Veſſels of Copper, Lead, and Pewter, which are waſted, conſumed, and deſtroyed by the Induſtry and profitable Labour of that mighty Number of Slaves, are not eaſily to be computed, but muſt plainly and beyond all Contradiction be of great Advantage to the Nation, as well as to thoſe induſtrious People employed at Home in making them.

If theſe Things, with the vaſt Quantity of Shipping that thoſe Colonies employ, be in the leaſt reflected on, it will open the Eyes of the moſt unexperienced Perſon in the Trade, to diſcern the mighty Advantage the Nation receives from thoſe People which go to thoſe Colonies, and the great Obligation there lies upon our Legiſlators to ſtudy their due Improvement, Safety, and Increaſe.

For, beſides all the Benefits demonſtrably coming to the Nation as aforeſaid, they are in ſome Kind Maritime Armies, ever ready not only to defend themſelves but to puniſh the Exorbitances, Incroachments, Piracies, and Depredations of any inſulting neighbouring Nation; nor is it to be imagined in what Awe thoſe Colonies, rightly managed, might keep our *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Dutch*, *Daniſh*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Hamburgh* Rivals, for Wealth and Maritime Power, from entering into any Treaties, Alliances, or Undertakings, to our Diſadvantage.

What has been ſaid ſhall ſerve for an Introduction in General to the more particular Parts of the Nation's Intereſt in the *American* Trade, and the due Encouragement it ought to receive from the Laws, which may naturally make us the moſt rich and flouriſhing Part, as well as the undoubted Arbitrators of *Europe*, if not of all the Maritime Nations of the World. And, in the *next* Place, I will ſhew what Diſcouragements thoſe Colonies lie under at preſent.

CHAP. II.

THE better to explain this to every Capacity, it will be neceſſary to make a ſhort Hiſtory of Sugar, that, the Invention, Planting, and divers Uſes of it being known, the Reader may thereby make a more perfect Judgment of the National Intereſt therein.

To which Purpoſe it is firſt to be conſidered, that the *Europeans*, five-hundred Years ſince, were perfect Strangers to the Uſe of it, and ſcarcely knew its Name; but the *Venetians*, about that Time, being the great Traders in *Eaſt-India* Spices, Gums, and Drugs, did, amongſt other Rarities, introduce Sugar, which the Phyſicians ſoon found to anſwer all the Ends of Honey, without many of its ill Effects; ſo that it quickly became a Commodity in mighty Eſteem, and, though the Price was ten Times more than now, yet it prevailed ſo faſt, and the Conſumption of it became ſo great, that an ill Way of Making, Planting, and Curing of it was, about three-hundred Years ſince, found out and practiſed in *Greece*, and ſome other neighbour Nations, where the Heat of the Sun could in any Degree ripen the Cane.

But no Nation made ſo conſiderable a Progreſs therein as the *Portugueſe*, who having, with ſome Succeſs, improved the Art of Planting it in their *African* Colonies and Iſlands, did, at laſt, make it their main Buſineſs in *Braſil*, becoming thereby the only Nation that ſet the Price upon it to all the Parts of the World, until the *Hollanders* grew their Rivals for Power and Profit in that Part of *America*.

But about fifty Years ſince, during the War between thoſe two Nations in *Braſil*, a *Hollander* happened to arrive from thence upon our Iſland of *Barbadoes*, where, though there were good Sugar-canes, the *Engliſh* knew no other Uſe of them than to make refreſhing Drink for that hot Climate, intending, by planting Tobacco there, to have equalled thoſe of the *Verina's*, on which, Ginger, Cotton, and Indico

dico they meant to rely; but this *Hollander*, underſtanding Sugar, was by one Mr. *Drax* and ſome other Inhabitants there drawn in to make Diſcovery of the Art he had to make it; ſince which Time, by the many ingenious Men the laſt Civil War neceſſitated to ſeek their Fortunes in that new World, there have been found out ſo many ſeveral Sorts of Mills, Coppers, Boilers, Stoves, Pots, and other Tools and Engines, for Planting and Preſſing the Canes, Boiling-up, Separating, Cleanſing, and Purifying the Juice and Sugar, as well as for drawing Spirits of admirable Uſe from the Moloſſes, that we at preſent exceed all the Nations in the World, in the true Improvement of that noble Juice of the Cane, which, next to that of the Vine, exceeds all the Liquors in the World. And, as our Nation has been ever famous for meliorating Inventions of all Kinds, ſo in this we have gone ſo far, that, notwithſtanding the many Diſcouragements, thoſe Planters do at preſent and have heretofore lain under, yet they apparently ſet the Price of it in all *Europe*, to the Kingdom's Pleaſure, Glory, and Grandure; which are all more advanced by that, than by any other Commodity we deal in or produce, Wool not excepted; as I doubt not but to demonſtrate beyond all Diſpute, before I end theſe Papers; which that I may the better do as well as ſhew clearly the mighty Intereſt the Nation has in preſerving our *Weſt-India* Colonies, I will give the Reader a clear and ſhort Account of a Sugar, a Cotton, a Ginger, and Indico Plantation, as they are now managed in *Barbadoes*; and then ſet down a ſhort Scheme of the Raiſing and Producing Tobacco, which though in itſelf, perhaps, not abſolutely, if at all neceſſary to Well-living, yet, having prevailed ſo far upon the vitiated Humours of Men, as we ſee it has, is of great Concern to us, as well for bringing in Wealth as employing Multitudes of Men in Manufacture and Navigation, which no Man can diſpute but to be a true National Intereſt.

One-hundred Acres of Land, employed in a Sugar-plantation, will require fifty black Slaves and ſeven white Servants to manage it.

There muſt be ſix Horſes and eight Oxen for two Teams.

There muſt be an Overſeer at twenty Pounds *per An.* a Doctor and Farrier at twenty Pounds *per An.* and a Carter at twelve Pounds *per An.*

Twenty of the hundred Acres muſt be ſet a-part for Paſture, Proviſions, and a Nurſery for Canes to plant with.

Forty of the remaining Acres return a Crop one Year, and Forty the next, and ſo alternatively, being conſtantly now to be replanted after every Cutting, whereas, when the Ground was firſt broke up, the ſame Canes would yield two, three, or more Cuttings, before they were replanted, to the wonderful Eaſe and Advantage of the firſt Planters.

There muſt be a Wind-mill which turns great iron Rollers, between which the Cane is preſſed.

There muſt be a Boiling-houſe, and in it Boilers, Coolers, Receivers and Ciſterns, to which belong Ladles, Scummers, Lamps, *&c.*

A Still-houſe with Ciſterns, Stills, Worms, Worm-tubs, *&c.*

A Curing-houſe, with earthen Sugar-pots, Drips, and Ciſterns for Moloſſes.

A Drying-houſe with Neceſſaries.

A Houſe for the neceſſary Fuel, employed in Boiling and Stilling.

A Houſe for Knocking out, Packing, and Storing of Sugar.

A Dwelling-houſe, with Houſes for Servants and Negroes.

A Houſe for Cattle, beſides Carts, Hooks, Houghs, and other planting Utenſils, the firſt Coſt whereof will with the utmoſt Huſbandry mount to Five-thouſand Six-hundred and Twenty-five Pounds, the Wear and Tear whereof will not be leſs annually than ſixty Pounds.

A Plantation of a Hundred Acres well ſtocked and provided as aforeſaid, and managed to its full Height, without thoſe accidental Caſualties which often happen, may probably produce annually eighty Hogſheads of Sugar of a Thouſand Pounds Weight each Hogſhead, that is, Two-thouſand Pounds Weight of *Muſcovado* Sugar, from each Acre, and of Moloſſes, twenty Hogſheads of Seven-hundred Pounds Weight each Hogſhead.

This Sugar in the Iſland may be valued at ten Shillings *per* Hundred, as it may be at Home at twenty Shillings, that being, as the Price has gone ſince the additional Duty was laid, the Medium of what *Muſcovado* Sugars have yielded; all which with the prime Coſt as well as the Moloſſes Rum, *&c.* ſhall be brought to a rational and equal Balance, after a little more has been ſaid of the Manner of Planting, Making, and Refining Sugars.

The firſt Thing is done to that Ground deſigned for Planting, is with Houghs by the

Labour

[illegible]ur of Negroes to open and looſen the Surface of the Earth, to prepare it for the Plants.

There are commonly two Seaſons, rainy and dry; the rainy begins in *May* or *June*, and ends in *December* or *January*, all which is ſpent in houghing, dunging, and planting the Canes.

The dry Seaſon is ſpent in cutting the Canes, grinding them at the Mills, boiling up the Liquor and making thereof *Muſcovado* Sugar; all which muſt of neceſſity go Hand in Hand together, for the Cane muſt be preſſed as it is cut, or the Juice dries in it; the Juice muſt be boiled up to its proper Conſiſtency for Graining as ſoon as preſſed, or it will ſoure and periſh; the Grain muſt be ſeparated ſpeedily, whilſt hot, for the Moloſſes, or they will cling together, ferment and grow ſoure in Time again, or be at beſt but fit for the Still. But as for Refining and Stilling, that any Seaſon is fit for.

Thus it is to be obſerved, that the Blacks are always employed either in houghing, dunging, and planting in the wet, or in cutting, carrying, grinding, boiling, *&c.* in the dry Seaſons.

There are divers Ways of producing new Plants, as, by cutting the Root of an old Plant, by laying a Cane in the Ground, by planting the Top of a Cane cut off, or by taking a Shoot from a Knot of a Cane, many of which will have five or ſix, that, put in the Ground, will grow; but the general Way is, from thoſe that have been ſet in the Nurſeries; for, from one Root, there will proceed divers Shoots, all fit for Planting, as, nine or ten, and ſometimes twenty.

The Ground being prepared, Holes are made therein, and in every Hole Dung put, and then a Plant, which, in eighteen Months, or thereabouts, becomes fit for Cutting; ſo that, half a Year being ſpent in gradually Planting forty Acres, ſix or ſeven Acres a Month will be ready ſucceſſively to be cut in the proper Seaſon: So that eighty Acres is the juſt Employment for the continual Labour of fifty Blacks, and ſeven Whites, in the Field, and for three others for Overſeeing, Carting, and Curing the Plantations.

When the Canes are preſſed, by paſſing through the Rollers of a Wind-mill, there runs from thence a great Quantity of pleaſant Juice, which being put into Boilers, by the Heat of the Fire, having evaporated the Flegm or watery Matter to ſuch a Time as it becomes of a proper Conſiſtency, then they throw it into a Mixture, conſiſting of ſome Material fit to cleanſe it, and prepare it for Graining; all the Time it is boiling, with large Copper Scummers, they take off the Scum, which conſtantly riſes in great Quantities, until it be fit to empty into Coolers, from whence it is again ſhifted into earthen Pots, with Holes in their Bottoms, and Pots, they call *Drips*, under them, for receiving the Moiſture called *Molloſſes*; which, in about a Month's Time, will be ſeparated from that which is then called *Muſcovado Sugar*, being of a pale, yellow Colour; this is then knocked out of the Pots, and put into Caſks for Tranſportation.

This Sort of Moloſſes is either boiled up again, to extract from it a Sort of a duſkiſh, pale, grey Sugar, called *Panneels*, or ſent in Caſk for *England*, as the Sugar is.

The Scum that ariſes, with all the Waſhings of the Boilers, Coolers, Pots, and other Inſtruments employed in that Buſineſs, is preſerved in great Ciſterns, where it will ferment, and becomes fit for Stilling.

The Spirits proceeding from Moloſſes, and this Effect of good Huſbandry, is called *Rum*, being a noble intoxicating Liquor, which the *Negroes*, as well as *Engliſh* Servants, but too much delight in; and the Planters themſelves prefer ſome Sorts of it to any Brandy, either for Punch, or other Uſes, where Spirits are needed.

And, with Truth, this may be ſaid of the Sugar-cane, that it produces nothing but what is of great Uſe to Well-living; the Vertues of Moloſſes, formerly ſold only in Apothecaries Shops, by the Name of *Treacle*, being now ſo well known, both to the Diſtiller and Brewer, that a great Part of their Eſtates are owing to it: Nor can it be imagined, how many new Ways are found daily for venting and conſuming uſefully the various Products of a Sugar Plantation: The ſeveral Shapes, it appears in at Chriſtenings, Banquets, and rich Men's Tables, being but the leaſt of its good Qualities, though of great Delight, as well as Ornament; and ſhould the Art of Making it be ſo diſcouraged, as to take its next Flight to the *Dutch*, or *French*, as it did from *Portugal* to us, the Loſs would prove of the like Conſequence, which is no leſs than the Decay of the greateſt Part of their Shipping, and the Fall of Half their Revenues; they being forced

to

to abate ten *per Cent.* Duty lately, to get ſome to be exported, and that with little or no Succeſs.

And yet, inevitably will this Miſchief happen, if great Care be not taken to preſerve thoſe Colonies.

But, to return to the further Hiſtory of a Plantation, and making and improving Sugars, it is to be remembered, that, to compleat a Sugar-work of an hundred Acres, the neceſſary Charges, as aforeſaid, will be—In fifty Blacks, One-thouſand Two-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Seven white Servants, beſides three Artiſts, which are paid Wages, One-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Five Horſes, One-hundred and twenty-five Pounds.

Eight Bullocks, One-hundred Pounds.

Land, Houſes, Mills, Veſſels, *&c.* All other Tools and Implements, Four-thouſand Pounds.

In all, Five-thouſand Six-hundred and twenty-five Pounds.

Which Plantation ordinarily may produce, as aforeſaid, annually, in *Muſcovado* Sugars, eighty Hogſheads; in Moloſſes twenty-eight Hogſheads; both which, in the *Weſt-Indies*, at the Medium of the Price now current, will yield Five-hundred and forty Pounds: So that ten white Servants, employed as aforeſaid, earn Five-hundred and forty Pounds, which is Fifty-four Pounds a Head.

The *Engliſh* Clothes and Proviſions ſuch ten Whites and fifty Blacks conſume, is, one with another, forty Shillings a Head, and amounts to an Hundred and twenty Pounds.

The Wear and Tear of the Tools, and neceſſary Supplies of a Plantation from *England*, is at leaſt ſixty Pounds.

In all, an Hundred and eighty Pounds.

So that, conſidering the ten white People in a Plantation are the ſole Cauſe of that Conſumption, it is eighteen Pounds each, which, as I ſaid before, is a far greater Conſumption on the native Commodities and Manufactures of the Nation, than Labourers at Home make; it ought to be conſidered too, that, in this Balance, I have not computed the firſt Coſt of the Materials that ſet all theſe uſeful Labourers at Work, nor the Profit has ariſen to Navigation, nor the Merchant-Adventurer, in ſending thither near a Million of Slaves, whoſe firſt Coſt, to the Planter, has been eight Millions of Pounds, at leaſt, and took off of our Manufacture to buy them in *Guinea*, about forty Shillings *per* Head, which amounts to two Millions; not to ſpeak in this Place neither of the rich Clothes, Houſhold-ſtuff, and other Neceſſaries, the Maſters of theſe numerous Servants conſume upon themſelves, which, without an exact Account or Scrutiny into every Particular, muſt ſatisfy the moſt prejudiced Perſon, that the People there, both for Addition of Wealth, and Conſumption of Commodities, are better employed than thoſe which remain at Home.

But to add to a Plantation, as aforeſaid, the Advantage ariſing by the Refining Sugar, there muſt be laid out, in a Refining-Houſe, Coppers, and all other neceſſary Materials, at leaſt Three-hundred Pounds. There muſt be ten Blacks, and no Whites, if the Boilers can refine, which is eaſy to learn.

The Manner thus: They take their *Muſcovado* Sugars, and put it into Refining-coppers mixed with Lime-water, where, as it boils over a gentle Fire, much Scum will ariſe, which is taken off conſtantly, till it becomes a ſufficient Conſiſtency, for mixing it with the Whites of Eggs well beaten up; which being done, in order to clarify it, it is then boiled to a proper Height, for refined Sugar, and turned off into Coolers, and thence put into ſuch Pots with their Drips, as was ſaid of *Muſcovadoes*: When theſe Pots have ſtood dripping eight or ten Days, then Clay, properly tempered, is put upon the Pots, which is renewed as Occaſion requires; this forces down the Moloſſes, ſo that in ſeven or eight Weeks theſe Sugars ſo improved will be fit for Caſking.

The Moloſſes, thus iſſuing from refined Sugar, is boiled up again, and, operated as before, produces a Sugar called *Baſtard Whites*, the laſt Moloſſes being only fit for the Still.

Note, That little or Nothing of the Quantity is waſted in the refining, but remains in the Sugar Moloſſes or Liquor, from which Spirit is produced.

But let it be obſerved too, that by the additional Stock of ten Blacks, which coſt Two-hundred Pounds; Houſe and Neceſſaries Three-hundred Pounds; neceſſary Proviſions for ten Blacks Twenty Pounds; Wear and Tear Thirty Pounds; Intereſt for the firſt Coſt at ten Pounds *per Cent.* Fifty Pounds: In all an Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* a Plantation is near doubled; ſo that it is plainly the Intereſt of the Nation, that all Sugars ſhould be meliorated before Exportation; the Profit whereof would be above Fifty *per Cent.* annually

ally to the Nation, more than now it is, and is all gained by the *Hollanders* and *Hamburghers*, who refine our *Muſcovado* Sugar in their Countries cheaper by the Draw-back upon *Muſcovadoes* than we can; ſo that they underſel us in all Foreign Markets in our own Commodity, moſt of the Sugar ſpent in *Germany*, *France*, and other Nations being refined; the Profit of which Meliorating as well as the Navigation being loſt to the Kingdom: And it is as reaſonable to ſuffer Wool to go out unmanufactured as *Moſcovado* Sugar. But more of this when I come to propoſe the Method for preſerving thoſe Colonies, and this ſhall likewiſe ſuffice to explain the Nature and Produce of a Sugar Plantation.

Thus it appears by all that has been ſpoken, of a Sugar Plantation, that the firſt Coſt, beſides the Labour, Skill, Care, and Induſtry, amounts to Five-thouſand, Six-hundred, Twenty-five Pounds; and that the Produce thereof, at the preſent uſual Price current of Sugar amounts not to five-hundred and forty Pounds; out of which deduct the conſtant Charge, One-hundred and fifty Pounds *per Annum*, the yearly Value is Three-hundred and Ninety Pounds which is not 7 *per Cent.* for his Money, and yet this neither is not certain to ariſe. The making of Sugars, and fitting them for Market, being ſubject to many Contingencies more than are ſet down in the Hiſtory before-going; for the Plants in the Ground are very often ſubject to be devoured, wounded, and torn by Ants, or undermined and deſtroyed at the Roots by Mugworms. Too much Rain, or too much Drought, in either Seaſon, is a certain Diminution of the Crop, if not a total Deſtruction of the Plants; nay, if the Rains come too late, which often happens, a whole Year's Planting is loſt: When all theſe Miſchiefs are eſcaped, and the Canes of a conſiderable Heighth, then are they liable to be twiſted, broke, and totally ſpoiled by the furious Hurricanes, that once in three or four Years, like a Fit of an Ague, ſhake the whole Iſlands, not only do the Crops an Injury, but ſometimes tumble down and level their Mills, Work-houſes, and ſtrongeſt Buildings; but, eſcaping all theſe, as the Canes ripen, they grow more and more combuſtible, and are thereby ſubject to the Malice and drunken Rages of angry and deſperate run-away Negroes, as well as ſo many other Accidents of Fire; the Fury whereof, when once got into a Field of Canes, is extremely quick, terrible, and ſcarcely to be reſiſted before it has deſtroyed the whole Parcel; but when they are brought to full Perfection for Cutting, and the Planter's Expectation as ripe as they, if unſeaſonable Rains happen, or that no Winds blow, then do they all rot and periſh in the Ground: The Slaves and Servants all ſtand idle, looking upon their Maſter's decaying Fortune, and at laſt are only employed in clearing the Ground again from that uſeleſs Rubbiſh, in which all that Year's Hope is periſhed: Not to mention after all theſe Miſchiefs, under which moſt Planters have many Times ſmarted, all thoſe Accidents, or Storms, and Pirates in bringing their Commodity to Market, nor, which is worſt of all, their Loſs by breaking Cuſtomers, who not only run away with all their Produce, but with the Freight, Factoridge, and Cuſtoms, which have been paid for thoſe Sugars they were truſted with, thereby ſubjecting the induſtrious Planter to new and unforeſeen Debts and Intereſt for them, from whence he expected the Reward of all his Labour: Nay, beſides all has been ſaid, ſometimes Diſeaſes amongſt Slaves and Cattle will in a very ſhort Time ſweep away a whole Year's Profit, beſides the conſtant Charge of recruiting the natural Decay of all living Creatures.

Cotton is a Commodity of great Value, and the Planting of it of mighty Advantage to the Common-wealth, becauſe we have it thereby one Third Price leſs than formerly, when we imported it from Foreign Parts: Its Uſes are too many to be enumerated in the ſhort Method I have propoſed; let it ſuffice therefore to ſay, that the Spinning, Weaving, and Working it into Fuſtians, Dimities, and many other uſeful Stuffs, beſides what is ſpent in Candles, employs a Multitude of Hands, and gains the Nation annually.

The Manner of Planting it is thus: A hundred Acres of Land cleared, and kept for a Cotton-Plantation, require fifty Hands, whereof five muſt be White Men-Servants, for the Benefit of the Militia, otherwiſe all but two might be black Slaves.

It is planted in Rows as our *London* Gardeners ſet their Damaſk Roſes, to make Money of them, and riſes to much about the ſame Height in one Year; and ſome few Months Time after its Seeds are put into the Ground, which is to be done in the wet Seaſon, when Sugar Canes are planting; but ſometimes it begins

begins ſooner, or later, according to the Judgment of the experienced Overſeer. But the ſame Hands, employed in Sugar, can never be employed in planting and gathering Cotton, for, when it is ripe, and the little Bags it is contained in are opening, it is a conſtant Labour and Attendance from Morning to Night for the Servants to go to and again in the Intervals between the Rows it is planted in, to take them at a critical Time, otherwiſe it immediately damages.

There are two Sorts of it called *Ravell* or *Vine*, that is, yellow or white; the Yellow is generally eſteemed the largeſt Staple.

An Acre of Ground planted therewith may produce from Four-hundred to Two-hundred Pounds Weight, according as it hits; ſo that a Hundred Acres, well looked after, may produce Thirty-thouſand Pounds Weight of Cotton, which at Six-pence a Pound, as it may yield, amounts to One-hundred and fifty Pounds.

Ginger is an uſeful Spice, for many Things, and in ſeveral Caſes ſo anſwers the End of Pepper, that it is obſerved to riſe and fall as that does.

It is planted by taking ſmall Pieces from the great Races, and placing them orderly in Trenches or Holes, as our Gardeners plant Peaſe, and it is done in the ſame Seaſons that they plant Sugar Canes.

An Acre of right Ground, well planted, will produce Two-thouſand Pounds Weight of Ginger, which, by its Bulk in *Engliſh* Tonnage, is accounted two Tons at leaſt.

A hundred Acres require Seventy-five Hands, be they black or white Servants; but there muſt, by the Laws, always be a ſufficient Number of white Men-Servants, in Proportion to the black Slaves, otherwiſe all Blacks would ſerve, which is much cheaper than the other

I have not ſet down all the Caſualties Cotton and Ginger Plantations are ſubject to, for fear of ſwelling my Treatiſe beyond its deſigned Bulk; therefore let it ſuffice to ſay, they are ſubject to many, though not the ſame Caſualties, both from the Alteration of Seaſons and other Matters, as Sugars are.

Indico is more produced in *Jamaica*, than in any other Colony, by Reaſon of the great Quantity of *Savanna* Lands there, for it thrives beſt in light ſandy Ground, ſuch as thoſe *Savanna*'s or great Plains be: The Seed of it, from whence it is raiſed, is yellow, and round, ſomething leſs than a Fitch or Tare; the Ground being made light by Houghing, Trenches are made therein, like thoſe our Gardeners prepare for Peaſe, in which the Seed is put about *March*, which grows ripe in eight Weeks Time, and in freſh broken Ground will ſpire up about three Feet high, but in others not more than eighteen Inches; the Stalk is full of Leaves of a deep green Colour, and will, from its firſt Sowing, yield nine Crops in one Year; when it is ripe, they cut it, and in proportionable Fats ſteep it twenty-four Hours; then they clear it from the firſt Water, and put it into proper Ciſterns, where it is carefully beaten, and then is permitted to ſettle about eighteen Hours: In theſe Ciſterns are ſeveral Taps which let the clear Water run out, and the Thick is put into Linnen-Bags of about three Feet long, and Half a Foot wide, made commonly of *Ozenbrig* Cloth, which being hanged up, all the liquid Part drips away: When it will drip no longer, it is put into wooden Boxes, about three Feet long, and fourteen Inches wide, and an Inch and a half deep: Theſe Boxes they place in the Sun till it grows too hot, and then take them in till the extreme Heat is over, continuing thus to do till it is ſufficiently dry: In Land that proves proper for Indico, the Labour of one Hand in a Year's Time may produce between Eighty and an Hundred Pounds Weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen Pounds *per Annum* to the Planter, if no Accident happens: For Indicoa, as well as all other Commodities of thoſe Parts is ſubject to many; thoſe moſt common to it are Blaſting and Worms, to which it is very ſubject.

Cocoa is now no longer a Commodity to be regarded in our Colonies, though at firſt it was the principal Invitation to the Peopling *Jamaica*: For thoſe Walks the *Spaniards* left behind them there, when we conquered it, produced ſuch prodigious Profit with little Trouble, that Sir *Thomas Muddiford* and ſeveral others ſet up their Reſts to grow wealthy therein, and fell to Planting much of it, which the *Spaniſh* Slaves, who remained in the Iſland, always foretold would never thrive, and ſo it happened; for, tho' it promiſed fair, and throve finely for five or ſix Years, yet ſtill, at that Age, when ſo long Hopes and Care had been waſted about it, withered,

and died away, by ſome unaccountable Cauſe; tho' they impute it to a black Worm, or Grub, which they find clinging to its Root. The Manner of planting it is in Order like our Cherry Gardens, which Tree, when grown up, it much reſembles: It delights in Shade, ſo that, by every Tree, they place one of Plantain, which produces a Fruit nouriſhing and wholeſome for their Negroes: They, by Houghing and Weeding, keep their Cocoa Walks clear from Graſs continually, and it begins to bear at three, four, or five Years old, and, did it not almoſt conſtantly die before, would come to Perfection in fifteen Years Growth, and laſt till Thirty, thereby becoming the moſt profitable Tree in the World, there having been above Two-hundred Pounds Sterling made in one Year of an Acre of it: But, the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards* being gone by Age, and few new thriving, as the *Spaniſh* Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Thoſe Slaves give a ſuperſtitious Reaſon for its not Thriving, many religious Rights being performed at its Planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to ſee: But it is probable, that wary Nation as they removed the Art of making Cochineal, and curing Venelloes, into their Inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of thoſe Iſlands in the *Indians* Time, and forbad the Opening of any Mines in them, for fear ſome Maritime Nation might thereby be invited to the conquering them, ſo they might likewiſe in their tranſplanting Cocoa from the *Caracus* and *Guatemala* conceal wilfully ſome Secret in its planting from their Slaves, leſt it might teach them to ſet up for themſelves, by being able to produce a Commodity of ſuch excellent Uſe for the Support of Man's Life, with which alone and Water, ſome Perſons have been neceſſitated to live ten Weeks together, without finding the leaſt Diminution of either Health or Strength: But, though much more might be ſaid, yet this ſhall ſuffice for the Hiſtory of Cocoa, with this Addition only, that it grows on the Trees in Bags or Cods of greeniſh, red, or yellow Colours, every Cod having in it three, four, or five Kernels, about the Bigneſs and Shape of ſmall Cheſnuts, which are ſeparated from each other by a very pleaſant refreſhing white Subſtance, about the Conſiſtence of the Pulp of a roaſted Apple, moderately ſharp and ſweet, from which, when ripe, its Nuts are ſeparated, and, by Drying, cured.

Piemento is another natural Production of thoſe Iſlands, but principally in *Jamaica*, from whence many call it *Jamaica* Pepper, from the Place and Figure of it; the Trees that bear it are generally very tall and ſpreading, ſo that the Trouble of climbing them, to gather it, would make it incredibly dear, and thoſe, that be left generally growing in the Iſland, Mountains and Woods, which are not taken up for Planting, but remain in the King's Hands: Their Way is to go with their Slaves into the Woods, where it is Plenty, and, cutting down the Trees, pick it off from the Branches, ſo that no *Piemento* comes into *Europe* twice from one Tree; and, it happening often to miſs for two or three Years together, what it produces at preſent muſt be accounted an accidental Benefit to the Planters, rather than any Thing to be relied on as a national Advantage, or conſtant Encouragement.

The like may be ſaid of *Lignum Vitæ*, or *Guaiacum*, of red Wood, and ſeveral Sorts of other Trees, which come thence, for; the more comes, the leſs remains, and the Time required for the growing of thoſe hard Woods, in the Room of thoſe cut down, is, in human Reaſon, ſo many Hundreds of Years, that the Propoſing to plant them would be rather a Proof of Madneſs, than Foreſight; it being obſervable, that in thoſe ſpreading Woods, where never Ax was handled for cutting them down, nor Carriage came to remove them, nor Fire to burn them, there cannot be found one Dotard or periſhing Tree of any uſeful Kind, if of any at all.

To make and manage a *Virginia* or *Maryland* Plantation for Tobacco, every Hand employed therein muſt be furniſhed with an Ax, a Saw, and other Inſtruments for felling Timber, and grubbing up its Roots.

When the Ground is cleared of Trees, and Rubbiſh, then it is broke up with Houghs, and afterwards with thoſe, and Spades, brought into little Hillocks, like thoſe Moles turn up, into every one of which is placed one Plant, ſo that they grow about three, four, and five Feet aſunder.

The Tobacco Plants are raiſed from its Seed ſowed in Nurſeries of Hot-beds, ſkilfully prepared for that Purpoſe in the Months of *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*, and are drawn thence

thence and planted in the prepared little Hills in the Months of *May* and *June*, and will be ready for Cutting in *July* or *Auguſt* following: But, all the while from its Planting, it is carefully to be watched, and every Plant, that is perceived to be dying, muſt be taken away, and a freſh one ſet in the Hill, from whence the dead or dying Plant was removed.

Tobacco Plants are very ſubject to be undermined, eaten and deſtroyed by a Grub or Worm that breeds about its Root, which ſometimes, in ſpite of all the Care and Skill of the moſt ingenious Planter, will deſtroy its whole Crop, nor do they eſcape ſome Miſchief from it; ſo that a Tobacco Plantation from *January*, that they ſow, the Seed, till *Auguſt*, that they cut it, is a continual Care and Field Labour, in Sowing, Planting, Houghing, Weeding, Worming, Succouring, and Renewing; it has ſeveral Accidents attending it, till it be cut and carried into the Curing-Houſe, where it is hanged Plant by Plant at an equal Diſtance till it become Powder-dry; at which Time of the Year that Country is ſubject to great Fogs and Miſts, which makes it become waxy, and, if it riſes again, then it is fully cured, and becomes fit to be caſked; all Sweet-ſcented requires about three Weeks Time, and *Oroonoko* about ſix Weeks Time; and, in about three Weeks more after its Caſking, it ſhews itſelf whether it be well cured or no: For, tho' the experienced Planter knows certainly whether his Tobacco be well or ill cured, the Purchaſer cannot, and may be wronged, if he buys it in leſs than three Weeks Time after its Caſking; for, if it had not been perfectly dried, it will certainly rot, periſh, and become good for nothing: So that not only the prime Coſt, but the Freight Home may be loſt: And this the Neceſſities of the Planter ſometimes only occaſion, for, by making too much Haſte not to loſe his Market, many Times the whole Year's Labour and Expectation is totally loſt; and the Care therein is very great, for there is not a Leaf of Tobacco put on Board the Ship that is well cured, but has paſſed at leaſt ſix and thirty Times through the Hand of the Planter or Labourer: They ſhip it out from the Month of *October* till *April* following; the annual Exportation, from all the Tobaoco-Colonies, being an hundred and forty Thouſand Hogſheads, at four-hundred and fifty Pounds Weight to a Hogſhead.

The Plantations are generally made into ſmall Parcels, not above eight or ten Hands at a Place, being the moſt beneficial and true Way, both for making the Tobacco, and raiſing Proviſions for them, and the Curing-houſe muſt not be at a Diſtance from the Grounds where the Tobacco grows.

The Price of every Pound Weight of Tobacco, imported into the Nation before we planted it, was from about four Shillings to ſixteen Shillings a Pound, and now the beſt *Virginia* is not above Seven-pence to the Merchant, of which the King has Five-pence.

Two Thirds of the Tobacco brought from thoſe Colonies is exported to Foreign Markets, which at about three Pounds the Hogſhead (which is the leaſt the Nation gets by it) amounts to above Two-hundred Thouſand Pounds, beſides the great Quantity of Shipping it employs.

It is not ſo little as a Million the Kingdom ſaves yearly by our Planting Tobacco; ſo that, reckoning the white People in our Tobacco-Colonies to be a Hundred-thouſand Men, Women, and Children, they, one with another, are each of them twelve Pounds a Year Profit to the Nation.

There are, in thoſe Colonies, by a probable Computation, about Six-hundred Thouſand *Negroes* and *Indians*, Men, Women, and Children, and would be more, could they readily get *Negroes* from *Guinea*; every one of which conſumes yearly two Hilling-houghs, two Weeding-houghs, two Grubbing-houghs, beſides Axes, Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and other iron Tools and Materials, conſumed in Building and other Uſes, to the Value of, at leaſt, a hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds Sterling, in only Iron-work.

The Cloaths, Guns, Cordage, Anchors, Sails and Materials for Shipping, beſides Beds, and other Houſhold-goods conſumed and uſed by them, are infinite; nor is the Benefit of them to the Kingdom ſufficiently to be explained. Therefore let it ſuffice, in one Word, to ſay, that the Produce and Conſumption, with the Shipping they give Employment to, is of an infinite deal more Benefit to the Wealth, Honour, and Strength of the Nation, than four times the ſame Number of Hands the beſt employed at Home can be.

And thus much more I ſhall ſay for the Colonies: As they are, to the Nation, the moſt uſeful and profitable Hands employed,

and the beſt Trade we have, both to the Conſuming the Woollen-Manufactory of *England*, and the Encouraging of Navigation; ſo thoſe, that go thither as Servants, if they are induſtrious, and juſt to their Maſters, they live much eaſier than in *England*, and much more likely to get Eſtates; of which there are many Precedents; and alſo they have been a great Relief to many Men (whoſe Misfortunes have forced them to leave their own Country) who, by their Carrying thither the Remains of their ſhipwrecked Fortunes, have recovered their loſt Eſtate, and very much conduced to that Increaſe of Wealth to this Nation, as well as to the Increaſe of Shipping, which are the only true Bulwarks of this Nation.

That the courteous Reader may readily ſee the Benefit to *England*, the Hands employed in the Colonies are, I have here made, in the Nature of a Table, what fifty *Negroes*, with ſome few white Hands (which are rather for Security, than otherwiſe) can make; what Tonnage; what Value it produces in *England*; what Cuſtom it pays to his Majeſty: It is to be underſtood, that all they produce is clear Gains to *England* (except ſome Linnen, Wines, and Brandy, which are brought from foreign Markets:) The reſt is either Freight, Cuſtom, Charges of Merchandiſe, Apparel, and Neceſſaries for the Plantations, or in Caſh, which either ſerves to ſupport the Planters, when in *England*, or is laid out in purchaſing Lands; beſides this, the Employing of ſuch a vaſt Number of Shipping and Seamen, the Benefit of which is well known to every *Engliſhman*. And, ſince the Plantations have been brought to this Perfection, the Conſumption of *England* ſaves at leaſt two Thirds, by the Abatement of the Price thoſe Commodities bore before they made them; for which they never draw from *England* Gold, or Silver; but, on the Contrary, by Exportation of what is there made, over and above, our Conſumption does either occaſion the Inriching of *England*, by Monies brought from foreign Parts for the Sales of their Goods, or by bartering for other Goods, which muſt have been purchaſed by Monies, or we muſt have been without them: By the Hands employed in thoſe Colonies, foreign Commodities became native, to the great Inriching of *England*, as aforeſaid, and to the Leſſening the Riches and Strength of all other *European* Nations, that produce the like Commodities.

An Account of what Advantage Hands, employed in the Colonies, are to this Nation per Annum.

	White Men.	Blacks.	Will make	Which is in *Engliſh* Tonnage.	Value in *England.*	Pays Cuſtom.
			C.		£.	£. s. d.
Of Sugar ——	10	50	800	40	at 20 *s. per C.* is 800	at 4 *s.* 10 *d. per C.* is 193 06 8
Of Moloſſes —	—	—	280	14	at 8 *s. per C.* is 112	at 9 *d. per C.* is — 10 10 0
The Exciſe of Moloſſes, when made into Spirits.	—	—				at 6 *d. per Gall.* is — 56 00 0
Total —	10	50	1080	54	912	259 16 8
			£.			
Cotton ——	5	50	33000	41¼	at 6 *d. per lb. is* 785	
Ginger ——	5	50	15000	7½	at 20 *s. per C.* is 134	at 1 *s. per C.* is — 6 14 0
Indico ——	5	50	5500	23	at 4 *s. per lb.* is 1100	at 5 *s. per C.* is — 13 15 0
Total —	15	150	53500	71¾	2019	20 19 0
			C.		£	
Tobacco Sweet-ſcented —	21	50	1430	143	at 7 *d. per lb.* is 4689	at 5 *d. per lb.* is — 3340 05 0
Oroonoko ——	21	50	1712	214	at 5 *d. per lb.* is 3954	at ½ *d. per lb.* is — 395 07 0
Total —	42	100	3142	357	8643	3735 12 0

CHAP. III.

FRom what has been ſaid of the Nature and Manner of managing Plantations, is demonſtrated, beyond all Scruple, that thoſe Hands employed in our Colonies are, for their Number, the moſt profitable Subjects of theſe Dominions, as well to the Ends of Conſumption and Delight, as for Increaſing the Wealth, Power, and Glory of the Nation.

Theſe apparent Truths being once known to, and generally allowed of by our Nobility and Gentry, it is ſenſeleſs to imagine there could be one Man amongſt all our Legiſlators, that ſhould be ſo malicious to the Kingdom, as to deſire, or endeavour, the Diſcouragement, much leſs Ruin of ſuch uſeful Subjects, as the Planters are: But, for Want of Experience in, or Intelligence of their Manner of Living, and Employing themſelves in Plantations, the beſt-meaning and moſt upright Patriots and Lovers of their Country, by wrong Application of that right Maxim, *People are the Riches of a Nation*, may be moſt apt to ſtudy Reſtraints, Impoſitions, and Severities on their Trade and Negotiation, to their preſent Diſcouragement, and future Ruin: Which, having, in ſome Degree, happened already, is the only Cauſe I have uſed my Endeavours for clearing thoſe general Miſtakes, and for laying down ſome few uſeful Rules for the Support and Encouragement of them all, but eſpecially the Sugar-plantations, in whoſe Happineſs I, being moſt at preſent concerned, think myſelf moſt obliged to be ſerviceable to my Power, as well as to clear my Reputation; which, amongſt other well-meaning Gentlemen,

men, is reflected on, for deſigning a common Factory for keeping up the Price of their Product, and a joint Stock of Monies to ſupply, at common Intereſt, every induſtrious Planter's Wants, till his Goods could be ſold; which, when rightly underſtood, muſt force Forgiveneſs, if not Applauſe, from the moſt partial Oppoſer of the Deſign.

The better to clear which Points, it is neceſſary to obviate, That the Diſcouragements, the Sugar-plantations lie under, have, for three Years laſt paſt, furniſhed Matter of Complaint to all Perſons concerned in that Commodity, as well Planter as Merchant, as it is evident by the ſolemn Addreſſes, which were made to the Court on that Subject ſince the Paſſing the Act which lays an additional Duty upon Sugar.

The Decay of thoſe Colonies being granted by all Parties concerned in that advantageous Negotiation, it will be neceſſary to be certain of the Cauſe, before proper Remedies can be found out, much leſs applied to that increaſing Diſtemper.

For, though, in Groſs, it may be concluded, that the additional Duty occaſioned the Miſchief, yet thoſe, who contrived that Revenue for the Crown, did not intend the Burden thereof ſhould have fallen on the Planter or Merchant, but on the Conſumptioner; which then had not been the leaſt Inconvenience or Diſcouragement, either to Planting or Trade, and, conſequently, a more equal and leſs miſchievous Tax could not have been laid upon the Nation.

But the Price of Sugar before the Act, compared with that ſince, and the general Fall of Plantations, demonſtrates, beyond Contradiction or Diſpute, that the whole Burden falls on the moſt induſtrious, moſt uſeful, and beſt employed People, for their Numbers, that can be found in all his Majeſty's Dominions, which are thoſe of the Sugar-colonies; beſides the Inequality of the Thing, that Sixty-thouſand induſtrious People, which, the Parliament intended, ſhould pay nothing, are, by Accident, made to bear an Impoſition deſigned to be laid on the voluntary Conſumption of eight Millions.

That the Matter of Fact is this, it cannot be denied by the moſt Partial and Intereſted, againſt what has been propoſed for the common Factory; though the natural Averſion, moſt Men have to new Invention, joined with the private Intereſt of ſome few Men who are Factors at Home, Lazineſs of Thought in ſome, and Weakneſs of Underſtanding in others, will, I am ſenſible, make it difficult, if not impoſſible, to eſtabliſh the moſt compendious and proper Remedy for that lingering Diſtemper.

But this I dare boldly affirm, That what was then preſcribed carried along with itſelf evident Proofs of its Innocency and Well-meaning, ſince nothing therein could poſſibly take Effect, until every ſeveral Sugar-colony in *America* had, in their General Aſſemblies, conſidered and approved every Part of it.

For, without the Sanction and Laws of every ſeveral and individual Colony, by their Acts of Aſſembly, the Whole and every Part of the Propoſal was utterly inconſiſtent and unpracticable, as thoſe, who will give themſelves Leave to examine it, will undeniably find.

So that, if it may be ſuppoſed, that the Colonies themſelves are proper Judges of what they ſuffer, want, and would have, it cannot be denied, but that their Minds muſt beſt appear in General Aſſemblies.

From whence it conſequently follows, that, though the Propoſition might not be practicable, by Reaſon of the many different Intereſts it was to unite, yet that the Propoſers were innocent, and ſacrificed their Labour, Expences, and Time with a laudable Intention.

To leave, therefore, that Matter in the State it is, I will proceed to obviate the true and genuine Cauſes of the preſent Diſcouragements, thoſe Colonies lie under; which may be reduced to three general Heads.

1. That, which is neceſſary to the Beginning, Increaſe, and Support of a Plantation, comes to them much dearer than it might.

2. That what they produce by Planting is forced to be ſold at Market much cheaper than can be afforded, to the Nation's Loſs, as well as theirs.

3. That what they produce is carried to foreign Markets at a much greater Charge, than they might carry it for.

To make it evident, that what they want to begin, increaſe, and ſupport a Plantation, comes to them much dearer than it might, I muſt deſire the Reader to conſider, from what

what has been ſaid concerning a Sugar-plantation, that the main Support of that, as well as all other Wealth, is Labourers: That theſe Labourers, in Plantations, are either white Servants, or black Slaves: That the white Servants are either ſuch as are hired for Wages, or aſſigned for a Term of Years. Now, if it appears, that, in the preſent Method, all theſe ſeveral Sorts of Labourers come to the Planter one Third dearer than they need, then it muſt follow, that there is a Burden on that Employment, as heavy, as if above Thirty *per Cent.* were laid, by Way of Tax, upon their whole Induſtry.

That the Caſe of moſt Planters is this, as well in white Servants as Slaves, and alſo in moſt of the Tools, and Neceſſaries, for managing a Plantation, is too much felt, to be doubted by all that are concerned in that Trade, or are experienced in Planting: But, to make it clear to others, I muſt beg them to conſider, that few Men leave their native Country willingly, who have enough conveniently to ſupport themſelves in it, except carried away by Ambition, or immoderate Avarice, two Paſſions little known, or practiſed in *America*.

That therefore thoſe who generally go thither comply with ſome urgent Preſſure in their Fortunes or Circumſtances at Home; ſo that, let them carry with them as good Underſtandings or ſtrong *Genius's* and Inclinations to Planting, as is poſſible, yet they muſt not hope to reap, unleſs they ſow; and Wheat, or any other Sort of Grain, is not a more neceſſary Seed for its own Species, than Wealth is Seed to Wealth: The *Spaniards* have a Proverb to that Purpoſe, which ſays, *He, that will bring the* Indies *Home, muſt carry the* Indies *thither*. It will not be unneceſſary to explain the general Cauſes of their firſt Thriving, that the unexperienced Reader may have a juſt Idea of the Conveniences, and Inconveniences, have attended thoſe Places, by the many Changes have happened in the Government, and Laws, of this Kingdom, ſince the Beginning of the late Civil Wars.

To do which, we will make a ſhort Reflexion on the unaccountable Negligence, or rather Stupidity of this Nation, during the Reigns of *Henry the Seventh*, *Henry the Eighth*, *Edward the Sixth*, and Queen *Mary*, who could contentedly ſit ſtill and ſee the *Spaniards* rifle, plunder, and bring Home, undiſturbed, all the Wealth of that golden World; and to ſuffer them with Forts and Caſtles to ſhut up the Doors and Entrances into all the rich Provinces of *America*, having not the leaſt Title, or Pretence of Right, beyond any other Nation, except that of being, by Accident, the firſt Diſcoverers of ſome Parts of it, where the unprecedented Cruelties, Exorbitances, and Barbarities, their own Hiſtories witneſs, they practiſed on a poor, naked, and innocent People, which inhabited the Iſlands, as well as upon thoſe truly civiliſed and mighty Empires of *Peru* and *Mexico*, called to all Mankind for Succour and Relief againſt their outrageous Avarice and horrid Maſſacres: Therefore for a Nation ſituated like ours for Trade and Navigation, being, by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the neareſt Eaſtern Neighbour to that Weſtern World, to ſit ſtill, and look upon all this, without either Envy, or Pity, muſt, I ſay, remain a laſting Mark of the Inſenſibility of thoſe Times, and the little Knowledge our Forefathers had of the true Intereſt of Mankind in general, or of their own Country in particular.

Nor did we awake from this Lethargy, and wonderful Doſing, by any prudent Foreſight, or formed Counſel and Deſign, but ſlept on, until the ambitious *Spaniard*, by that inexhauſtible Spring of Treaſure, had corrupted moſt of the Courts and Senates of *Europe*, and had ſet on Fire, by civil Broils and Diſcords, all our Neighbour Nations, or had ſubdued them to his Yoke, contriving too, to make us wear his Chains, and bear a Share in the Triumph of univerſal Monarchy, not only projected, but near accompliſhed, when Queen *Eliſabeth* came to the Crown, as all Hiſtorians of thoſe Times do plainly make appear: And to the divided Intereſts of *Philip the Second*, and Queen *Eliſabeth*, in perſonal more than national Concerns, we do owe that Start of her's, in letting looſe upon him, and encouraging thoſe daring Adventurers, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Rawleigh*, the Lord *Clifford*, and many other Braves that Age produced; who, by their Privateering, and bold Undertaking, like thoſe the *Buccaneers* practiſe, now opened the Way to our Diſcoveries, and ſucceeding Settlements in *America*; which ſince, as it were by Chance, occaſioned only by the Neceſſities of many, wrought upon by the Example, Wiſdom, and Succeſs of ſome few Particulars, without any formed Deſign, Help,

or

or Aſſiſtance from our State-Councils, or Legiſlators, in leſs than one Century, hath throve ſo well, that they are become the Example, and Envy, and might be the Terror of all our Neighbour Maritime Nations; and do undoubtedly maintain above Half that vaſt Quantity of Shipping we employ in foreign Trade; ſo that it can be from no other Cauſe, but Want of Information, that many of our Laws, as well as Court-Maxims and Practices, run oppoſite to their Encouragement, Protection, and Increaſe.

The Beginning of our *American* Settlements was made in the latter End of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, by the Encouragement of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who undertook the Planting of *Virginia*, and firſt brought the Uſe of Tobacco into *England*; but that, nor any other Colony of ours in the *Weſt-Indies*, did promiſe much Succeſs, either to the Nation, or Undertakers, until the Reign of King *James the Firſt*, whoſe Peace with the Crown of *Spain* reſtrained thoſe bold Privateers, who before, by harraſſing the *Spaniſh* Colonies, and maſtering their rich Ships of Plate, had become very wealthy, as well as numerous: But, much againſt the Will of moſt of them, but principally of ſuch who had not ſufficiently made their Fortunes, this Peace obliged them to change the Proſpect of their future Conduct from Rapine and Spoil, to Trade and Planting; ſo that, in a very ſhort Time, a conſiderable Settlement was made in the Northern Parts of *America*, to the great Increaſe of good Shipping in the Kingdom: By this Means a general Notion of having enough profitable Lands in thoſe Parts of the World, for nothing, ſo infected the whole Kingdom, that not only the neceſſitous and looſe Part of the Nation flocked thither, but many Non-conformiſts did ſollicit his Majeſty for Leave to make a Settlement together, under Privileges and Liberties, both in Civil and Church-Matters, by a Conſtitution of their own. This Combination King *James* prudently conſented to, and confirmed by his Letters-patent, wiſely foreſeeing, that, tho' a Species of a Common-wealth was thereby introduced into his Dominions, yet the Dependence thereof muſt be upon the Crown for Protection, and conſequently that Part of his Subjects, then called *Puritans*, would not be totally loſt to the Nation, as they muſt be, if driven for ever to remain in foreign Countries. Thus began that numerous Colony in *New-England*, where, under frugal Laws, Cuſtoms, and Conſtitutions, they live, without applying themſelves to planting any Tobacco, or other *American* Commodities, except for their own private Uſe. But, by Tillage, Paſture, Fiſhing, Manufactures and Trade, they, to all Intents and Purpoſes imitate *Old England*, and did formerly much, and in ſome Degree do now, ſupply the other Colonies with Proviſions in Exchange for their Commodities, as, Tobacco, Sugar, *&c.* which they carried to foreign Markets, how conveniently for the Nation's Intereſt I ſhall not determine, being no Enemy to any Kind of honeſt Induſtry: But this cannot chuſe but be allowed, that, if any Hands in the *Indies* be wrong employed for domeſtick Intereſt, it muſt be theirs, and thoſe other Colonies, which ſettle with no other Proſpect than the like Way of Living: Therefore, if any, ſuch only ſhould be neglected, and diſcouraged, who purſue a Method, that rivals our native Kingdom, and threatens, in Time, a total Independency thereupon.

But, as this cannot be ſaid of our Tobacco Colonies, much leſs is it to be feared from our Sugar Plantations, except, by groſs Miſtakes at Home, we at laſt force them to part with their black Slaves to the *Spaniards*, and betake themſelves to the ſole Planting of Proviſions, and Living upon their Eſtates; which, ſhould it happen, would be the greateſt Blow to our Navigation, and conſequently to the Rents, that the Kingdom ever received, ſince it was a trading Nation.

This Digreſſion, I hope, may be pardoned, ſince it explains a little the Difference of our National Intereſt in the ſeveral Sorts of *American* Colonies.

Nor would I be ſuppoſed to be ſo ignorant, to think, that no Kind of Colonies can empty, and conſequently ruin, the Nation: No; there is a natural Boundary to all worldly Matters; and it becomes the Wiſdom of Legiſlators truly to diſtinguiſh the depending and profitable, from the detached and undermining Colonies, and rightly apply Lenitives and Corroſives accordingly.

To return therefore to thoſe within the Tropicks which are principally ſuppoſed by making Sugar; the Beginning of their Settlement was without the leaſt Proſpect of ſucceeding in that Commodity, the Art of making which, as I ſaid before, being, by meer Accident,

Accident, gained in *Barbadoes* by a *Hollander*, ſomething more than Half a Century ſince: And, as it was the Happineſs of thoſe Iſlands to learn it from a *Dutchman*, ſo the firſt and main Supporters of them in their Progreſs, to that Perfection they are arrived to, exceeding all the Nations in the World, is principally owing to that Nation, who, being eternal Prolers about, and Searchers for moderate Gains by Trade, did give Credit to thoſe *Iſlanders*, as well as they did the *Portugueſe* in *Braſil*, for black Slaves, and all other Neceſſaries for Planting, taking, as their Crops throve, the Sugar they made: Thus with light, but ſure, Gains to themſelves, they nouriſhed the induſtrious, and conſequently improving Planters, both before, and during the Civil Wars in theſe Iſlands; the Fame of whoſe good Fortune being ſpread at Home, many ingenious Gentlemen, who had unfortunately followed the Royal Intereſt, conveighed the Remains of their ſhipwrecked Fortunes thither; amongſt which Colonel *Henry Walldrond*'s Father, with himſelf, and others his Relations of that Family, were not inconſiderable, either for Quality, Induſtry, or Parts; ſo that, by them, and many undone Cavaliers who followed their Example, new Improvements and Experiments were daily added to the Art of Planting, Making, and Refining Sugar, which were taken from them by the *Dutch*, till Sir *George Aſkew*, with a Squadron of Ships, removed the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* from governing there, for his exiled Majeſty *Charles the Second*, and reduced the Iſland to the *States* Obedience: Soon after which the *Dutch* War happening, all further Trade with that Nation ceaſed, by whoſe Help, they being then ſtrong enough to ſubſiſt of themſelves, their future Dealing returned to its proper Center, which was Trading with their native Country; ſince which Time that Iſland, which contains but Acres, and not more than Five and twenty thouſand white Inhabitants, has produced, in Commodities, above thirty Millions *Sterling*, and paid in Duties to ſupport the Government, at a modeſt Computation, above three Fourths of a Million, which will ſeem incredible to thoſe that have not employed Thoughts on it.

I have rather mentioned Colonel *Henry Walldrond* for one Inſtance of ſuch as our Civil War drove Abroad, becauſe, in his particular Caſe and Sufferings, great Inferences may be made for explaining the many Inconveniences thoſe Colonies are now ſubject to, as well as becauſe he has been one who did endeavour to obviate the Miſchief attended the Act for additional Duty upon Sugar, and was moſt zealous in his Applications at Court for Relief to his Fellow-planters, even whilſt he ſtruggled under ſuch ſevere Oppreſſions of Power as might have reduced to Deſpair the greateſt Courage; and to him, and his continual Endeavours for their Benefit, all the Planters in the *Indies* owe their Thanks at leaſt; for he not only made the Court ſenſible of the great Miſtake they lay under, both by the laying and unjuſt Manner of collecting that additional Duty, which, at leaſt, will prove a Caution to future Councils, for their Conduct in a like Caſe, but was at great Labour and Charge, in Conjunction with myſelf, and other Gentlemen, intelligent Perſons in that Affair, to invent, if poſſible, a proper Remedy for their languiſhing Condition; which can never be but by ſome ſuch Way, as may furniſh them with ſufficient Money, and Credit, on their Induſtry and Commodities, as may enable them to buy their Neceſſaries at reaſonable Rates, and ſell their Produce at a ſaving Price, neither of which it is poſſible for them to do at preſent.

For tho', to do Right to the *African* Company, they have been wonderfully kind in the Credit they have given the Plantations, and that, rightly managed, a Company is able to ſupply them with Negroes cheaper than a looſe Trade could; yet, the Complaints the Company continually make of the Colonies bad Pay, and the Complaints of the Colonies for being ill ſupplied with Negroes, allowing both true, it will be neceſſary to enquire into the real Cauſe of both Inconveniencies before proper Remedies can be propoſed.

To ſtate the Caſe truly, it is to be conſidered, that when the Company was firſt erected, with Excluſion to all others for trading in *Guiney*, the Conſequence thereof was never foreſeen by the Planters, for, if it had, they could not have failed complaining againſt its Eſtabliſhment upon the Foundation of ſuch Privileges they now pretend to; nor could any Invention in the World have appeared a more pernicious Monopoly, than that would have been judged to be upon a free Examination, before Cuſtom and Neceſſity had reduced the Colonies to a ſervile Dependence thereupon.

For, let it be granted there was a Kind of a prudent Neceſſity in the Government here, to unite a Company for ſecuring the Gold and Teeth Trade in *Guiney*, and that it was in the Power of the Crown to prohibit all others, but ſuch Company, to trade, within the Limits aſſigned them by their Charter; yet this did not at all reach the Plantations at firſt, nor did ſeem to prohibit them from buying Slaves at the beſt Market, as ſince it has been interpreted: For, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, the Conſequence of that Interpretation ſeems to me to be an Inlet to all Manner of Monopolies.

For why ſhould not the Crown, by the ſame Rule, make a Company, who ſhould have only Power to trade thither in Iron-ware, and another for Wine, the like for Mum, or any other Commodity they want, as to prohibit bringing thither Slaves but for the Company's Account; for the Caſe, to all Intents and Purpoſes, is the ſame; for it is beyond all Diſpute known, that the Colonies, under a free, open, and looſe Trade for Negroes, did flouriſh and increaſe before the Company was erected.

It is certain, that they could ſtill be ſupplied plentifully at two Thirds the Price the Company makes them pay.

It is as undeniable, that the Company doth not ſupply them with the full Numbers they want, and could have, did not the Company ſhut all Doors to their Supply.

And it cannot be denied, but in theſe few Heads are included all the ſeveral Inconveniencies ſo complained of in a Monopoly.

I. For hereby a looſe Trade is turned into a reſtrained, which leſſens the Numbers of Shipping that would trade to *Guiney*.

II. That comes dear to the Subject, that might be cheap.

III. And a uſeful Commodity to the Increaſe of Wealth is not to be had in a ſufficient Quantity.

It is alledged, that ſome Part of the Trade of *Guiney*, conſidering who are our Rivals in it, cannot be preſerved without Force, and that the Caſtle muſt be maintained, or that Part of the Trade loſt, and that the Caſtle, *&c.* cannot be ſupported but with great Coſt, and that that Charge falls extremely heavy upon ſo ſmall a Stock, as that of the *African* Company.

The Conſequence of which Premiſſes is, They will always be neceſſitated to keep up the Price of Negroes one Third more than otherwiſe we need, (tho' the Caſtles are not ſupported, or little or no Ways uſeful to the Negroe-trade, they keeping no Forts, and ſeldom Factors, at thoſe Places where the Negroes are moſt bought at.)

I confeſs, a ſtrong Argument for the Company, but a ſowre one for the Colonies, which ſeem hereby deprived of their Birth-right, the Liberty of the Subject, and their Poſſeſſion, which conſiſted in a looſe Trade.

The Premiſſes conſidered, the Planters may therefore juſtly deſire that the National Intereſt in the *Guiney*-trade, the Forts, *&c.* may be equally ſupported by all the Nation, as our Navy's neceſſary Forts and Gariſons at Home are, and not fall ſolely on their Labour and Induſtry: For the neceſſary Supply of Negroes to the Colonies annually ſhould not be leſs than Twenty-thouſand Pounds.

Therefore upon a fair Repreſentation of the Charge of the Caſtle, *&c.* it cannot be queſtioned but the Parliament will provide for their Support, if it appear a National Intereſt, to preſerve the Colonies, and that Trade, as no Doubt it is.

But, as I hinted before, another Cauſe of their Selling dear is the bad Pay they complain of in the Colonies, and it may not be without Cauſe that the Company complain: Not that the Colonies give Occaſion for it, as Matters now ſtand.

For, the Country not being able to get Negroes, but at one Third too dear, and Negroes being the main Prop of a Plantation, it neceſſarily follows, the Planter muſt be neceſſitous, and thereby forced to ſell his Produce cheap, not being able, through Poverty, to keep his Commodity by him, until it will yield a ſaving Price.

Thus the true Cauſe of his Selling cheap is his Buying dear, and both together keep the induſtrious Planter, who is not got aforehand in his Affairs, always indigent, and in Debt to the Company: This Debt being, as they alledge, near Three-hundred thouſand Pounds, keeps the Company's Stock, which at firſt was not more than a Hundred and ten thouſand, always out of their Hands; the Intereſt of which,

which, with the Charge of the Caſtle, falling upon ſo narrow a Stock as Four-hundred thouſand Pounds. This, riſing at laſt upon the Plantations, makes their Burden grievous at preſent, and muſt, at laſt, prove inſupportable, as the Debt increaſes, for that, and their Neceſſities, will keep Pace together, except ſome ſpeedy Remedy be found for them both.

All this taken a-part, and duly conſidered, it will appear probable to all thinking Men, that the Plantations muſt ſpeedily be ruined, and the Commodities, ſo profitable to the Nation, fluctuate into the Hands of ſome neighbour Colonies, who do not ſtruggle under the like Inconveniences; for which Time the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*, and many other Nations are at Watch, and do at preſent increaſe, proportionably to our Diſcouragements. In this diſmal Proſpect we muſt let them ſtand, until we come to conſider of proper Remedies for theſe and the following Inconveniencies.

Another Inconveniency, attending them, proceeds from the wrong Notion which has infected our Judges, as well as the leſs intelligent Gentry, that the People which go thither are a Loſs to the Nation.

This, with ſome other more malicious, but as weak, Suggeſtions, has occaſioned ſevere and terrible Sentences about Exporting white Servants on Pretence of Spiriting; ſo that many have been forced to ſend for thoſe who have been tranſported thither, to produce again before the Judges to acknowledge their voluntary Tranſportation.

This occaſions new Offices, new Fees, and new Methods for ſending Servants thither; all which increaſes their Price in the *Indies* very conſiderably, and falls, as bad as a Tax, on the Induſtry of the Planter; beſides, makes Servants ſo ſcarce, that an univerſal Languiſhing of ſuch Plantations as are growing happens thereby; and that Want of white Servants, for a Term of Years, occaſions the Increaſe of Wages to thoſe they are forced to hire at great Rates, to ſupply that Defect: This Increaſe of Wages is not only a new Burden upon the preſent Planters, but leſſens their Numbers, many chooſing rather to ſell their Induſtry and Labour, to ſupport themſelves under others, than begin Planting themſelves under ſuch viſible Incumbrances, as daily increaſe upon Employment.

Thus one Inconveniency begets another, to the Ruin of the preſent, and Diſcouragement of future Planting, which, before I have done, muſt more and more appear as national a Concern as any our Council can be buſied about.

It is true, many of the firſt Comers, eſpecially in *Barbadoes*, are got above the Danger of Ruin, by theſe, and other following Miſchiefs, that daily muſt, if not prevented, increaſe upon all who are not in the like Circumſtance for Wealth; and, peradventure, to ſuch, the Proſpect of this general Decay promiſes a good Return and Recompence, for all the Inconveniencies they at preſent feel in the Abatement of the Value of their Plantations.

For ſome of them may, perhaps, conſider, that, as the Debts of the Colonies increaſe to the *African* Company, the Ruin of neceſſitous Planters muſt follow, as they tumble the Quantity of Sugar, produced, muſt diminiſh; and, as that happens, the Price muſt riſe; ſo that their own Plantations, being ſure to ſtand, muſt likewiſe improve at laſt, proportionably to the general and national Loſs beſides: That they are ſure, as Plantations, Negroes, and Stock come to be ſeized for Debt, they will be ſold for leſs than their half Value, and can be no Men's Money, but theirs who have it to ſpare; that this hath, and doth daily happen, and muſt, more and more, if no Remedy be found out, is ſo certain, that none intelligent, among the *American* Merchants and Factors, but know many ſad Examples of that Kind; ſo that, if the Price ſhould riſe by Abatement of Quantity, though convenient for ſome overgrown Planters, and wealthy Merchants, it tends to nothing leſs than the Decay of Shipping, Leſſening the Numbers of white People, and Driving them to the *Dutch* Plantations.

Another great Diſcouragement, thoſe Colonies lie under, is the arbitrary Power and Practices of the Governors there, and the Court at Home, which ſome have, to their Undoing felt, and all are liable to.

I will inſtance, in the Caſe of ſome few, that the Reader may the better judge of the Condition of them all.

In the Year 1669, Colonel, ſince Sir *Henry Morgan*, commonly called *Panama Morgan*, for his glorious Undertaking and Conqueſt of the *Spaniards* of that Place, by fewer than twelve-hundred Men, without either Horſe or Pikemen, to oppoſe, in fair Fight, above Six-thouſand Foot, and Five-hundred Horſe, which he did, and afterwards took and ranſacked a

Town, that had baffled, when not half ſo ſtrong, the famous Sir *Francis Drake*, who attacked it with Four-thouſand. This Man, as great an Honour to our Nation, and Terror to the *Spaniards*, as ever was born in it, notwithſtanding he had done nothing but by Commiſſion of the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*, and had received their formal and publick Thanks for the Action, was, upon a Letter from the Secretary of State, ſent into *England* a Priſoner; and, without being charged with any Crime, or ever brought to a Hearing, he was kept here, at his own great Expence, above three Years, not only to the Waſting of ſome Thouſands he was then worth, and bringing him into great Debts, but to the Hinderance of his Planting, and Improvement of his Fortune by his Induſtry, towards which, none in that Place, was in a fairer Way; ſo that under thoſe Difficulties, and the perpetual Malice of a prevailing Court-Faction, he waſted the remaining Part of his Life, oppreſſed, not only by thoſe, but by a lingering Conſumption, the Coldneſs of this Climate and his Vexations had brought him into, when he was forced to ſtay here.

Another remarkable Example of the like Inconveniencies they have been, and are liable to, is that of the beforementioned Colonel *Walldrond*, who, upon a bare Suggeſtion againſt him, made by a Man fairly tried before a Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, wherein he was but one, though the firſt in Commiſſion, was commanded from *Barbadoes* hither, where he has been detained above three Years; and, at laſt, upon a full Tryal, at an Aſſizes in the Country, where his Adverſary was powerful, and himſelf utterly a Stranger, there was given againſt him but thirty Pounds Damage, and that, for no other Reaſon, but that the Court-Judge was pleaſed to over-rule this Plea:—Whereby ſuch a Diſorder, Ruin, and Diſtraction of his Wife, Children, Family, Plantation and Eſtate, has happened to him, that, as the Calamity is not to be expreſſed, and, for ſome Reſpects, is not fit to be related, ſo it could never have been ſupported by any Man, but one of an extraordinary Fortitude and Underſtanding, which he has demonſtrated by his conſtant Endeavours, under his unjuſt Oppreſſions, to ſerve the publick Intereſt of thoſe Colonies, and rightly to repreſent their ſad Condition at Court, eſpecially that of *Barbadoes*, who was ſo kind and juſt to him, at his Coming thence, as by the Repreſentative Body of that Iſland, together with his Majeſty's Governor and Council, to make a Preſent unto him of Five-hundred Pounds *Sterling*, in Acknowledgment of his good Service he had done that Country, together with a publick Declaration of his juſt Proceedings in that Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and eſpecially in this Caſe, he was brought over upon; and this I muſt further obſerve to the Reader, that it was not the leaſt Crime of State was ſo much as alledged againſt him, for Baniſhing him from *Barbadoes* into *England*, but merely private Malice, ſupported by the partial Tyranny of ſome great Men, occaſioned all his Sufferings.

I ſhall not mention the numerous Examples of Men that have been thus ſent from their Habitation and Induſtry in thoſe Parts, but ſhall content myſelf with theſe two notorious Inſtances of the hard Caſe thoſe well-employed Members of the Nation are in; for any Man, who would think it deſtructive to Liberty and Property, to be baniſhed into *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, or any other Colony from *England*, muſt believe it is as great an Oppreſſion to be kept from thence, againſt his Will, when all his Fortune and Eſtate not only lies there, but, for Want of his own Management, is liable to infinite more Caſualties and Loſs, than any Eſtate in *England* can be.

Another Inconveniency, attending the Colony, is their being forced to bring their Commodities firſt into *England*, before they can carry it to any foreign Market; which would appear, upon a true Examination, not the leaſt Advantage to the Nation, but a great Loſs, as I ſhall demonſtrate, when I come to propoſe proper Remedies for theſe, and many other Inconveniences the Colonies at preſent ſtruggle under, which might be removed with greater Profit, both to the Crown and Kingdom, than to them.

Thus, in ſhort, it appears, that Buying the neceſſary Matters for Beginning and Supporting a Plantation One-third dearer, than might in a right Method be afforded them, is one great Diſcouraging to Planting.

A *Second* is, that, ſome of them being neceſſitous,

ceſſitous, they are all forced to ſell their Produce much cheaper, than they can, under that Burthen, afford them.

A *Third*, for Want of a ſufficient Stock or Credit, they are not able to meliorate their Sugars to a Degree fit for Conſumption, whereby ſo beneficial an Art is thrown away upon our *Hamburgh* and *Holland* Neighbours, to the mighty Increaſe of their Wealth and Navigation, by our Neglect, as well as inconvenient Cuſtoms and Laws.

A *Fourth*, by being ſubject to the Inconveniency of Complaints, Suits, and Removals into *England*, for Matters ſufficiently cogniſable in thoſe Parts; to all which, I ſhall only add to this Section two more.

The *Firſt*, a Want of a true Method for Preſerving the Eſtates and Plantations of deceaſed Perſons, for the Uſe of their Relations or Creditors in *England*.

And, *Laſtly*, by the great Quantity of Commodities that are ſent out of the Leeward *Carribee* Iſlands, and ſold to the *Dutch* at low Prices, for private Lucre; for thoſe People, ſaving all the Duty, as well as the Four and Half *per Cent.* there, as the Cuſtoms in *England*, and having Goods in Barter for them directly from *Holland*, can afford their Sugar much cheaper than their Neighbours; ſo that there go out of that Back-door for *Holland*, under the Name of St. *Euſtace Sugar*, above a Thouſand and Five-hundred Hogſheads of *Muſcovado* Sugar, which, refined with great Advantage to that Nation in *Holland*, keeps the Markets low in all foreign Parts; the proper Remedies for all which Inconveniencies I ſhall ſtrive to propoſe in my *next* Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

BY what has been ſaid before, I will take it for granted, that the Reader diſcerns clearly, how much to the Advantage of the Nation all thoſe Hands are employed which go to our *American* Colonies, and principally ſuch as tranſport themſelves and Servants to the Sugar-plantations, as likewiſe how many inconvenient Diſcouragements they at preſent ſtruggle under.

The firſt Remedy to which Inconveniencies, that I ſhall preſume to propoſe, is what we moſt certainly are very defective in, for the greateſt Concern of the Nation, which is for all Sorts of Trade, I mean, an able, diligent, impartial, and conſtant ſitting Council of Trade, where all Sorts of Proviſions, concerning it, might freely be debated, and thoroughly examined, before they come into Parliament or Council; for ſuch a Conſtitution would be an infallible Touch-ſtone, to try the intrinſick Value of all Notions and Projects, that Mankind can invent, either for the general Good, or particular Advantage: It being almoſt impoſſible for the Privy-council, or Committees of Parliament, in the Methods they proceed by, ever to inform themſelves rightly of any one difficult Matter that comes before them.

For, let but a thinking Man, any Ways verſed in Trade, but reflect, how many interfering Accidents there belong to that Myſtery, and how many various Shapes every Branch of it has taken before it arrived to Perfection, and they will conclude it impoſſible, for Noblemen and Gentlemen, by ſhort Debates, partially managed, as they are uſually before them, ever to arrive to a perfect Underſtanding of the Matters in Queſtion; for Want of which, their Judgments are abuſed by Clamour, Importunity, Prejudice, Partiality, or ſome other prevailing Byaſs; and ſeldom or never, if the Matter be of Importance enough to require Debating, ever come to a right Deciſion, whereby, at laſt, the Secretary, or Clerk, to ſuch a Board, becomes the only Oracle to it; and, as he feels the Cauſe heavy or light, weakly or potently backed, can read its Deſtiny before one Argument is heard, concerning the Matter in Iſſue, be it of never ſo conſiderable Conſequence.

That this is true, all Men, who have ever been concerned to attend this Kind of Aſſemblies, can infallibly witneſs; but withal, one would wonder, that a Nation ſo concerned for their Intereſt, as ours, wherein there are few Men, that will make a Step in any conſiderable Dealing,

Dealing, without the Advice of ſome Council learned in the Point: That the Government of it, which ſhould conſiſt of the wiſeſt of them, ſhould take upon them to alter and change the Shape of the greateſt Concerns of the Whole, without the impartial Advice of ſome continually active and ſollicitous in the Myſtery of it; but, this being ſo, it is no Wonder our Laws and Council-Book Orders are ſo often forced to be changed, for being in direct Oppoſition to a National Intereſt; therefore, as the firſt great Remedy to the Grievances attending our Colonies, I do propoſe, that a Council of Trade may, by Act of Parliament, be eſtabliſhed, to conſiſt of a Preſident, Vice-Preſident, and ſome convenient Number of Members, who may continually be ſitting to hear, debate, and examine all Sorts of Propoſals and Difficulties that ariſe about Trade; and that they may have ſuch Salaries out of the publick Purſe, as may make the Buſineſs worth wiſe Men's Attendance; that no Propoſal whatever ſhould there be refuſed to receive a Debate, and two or three Hearings, or more, as the Matter imports; that nothing ſhould be diſmiſſed with a Refuſal, but with the Reaſons the Council had for doing it, annexed to the Propoſal: That no Judgment of theirs ſhould be final or concluding, but ſubject to Review either there at the Privy-Council or Parliament, when Anſwers were, in Writing, made and exhibited againſt ſuch Reaſons: And that nothing ſhould be advanced either in Parliament or Privy-Council, that concerned the Plantations, foreign Negotiation, Manufactures, Trade, or Patents for new Inventions, which had not been weighed and examined, if not approved of, in mature Debates at that Council, when eſtabliſhed.

If ſuch a Board as this was erected under Members of large *Genius's*, and proper Rules, it would ſave me, and every other Man concerned for the Publick, the Pains I and they take in Writing on this Sort of Themes; and the Memoirs, Debates, and Reſolutions of that ſo neceſſary Aſſembly would be the undoubted Rules for guiding all Commerce, as well as laying on of proper Impoſitions upon Trade: But, for Want of ſuch a Court to have Recourſe to, I am forced to appeal to all Mankind, by a more troubleſome and tedious, as well as leſs ſignificant Method, that is, Writing a Book; which may, if not lead to a Remedy for the Plantations, at leaſt ſhew I deſigned nothing elſe, when I entered into the Undertaking I formerly mentioned.

To haſten therefore to my deſired End, I would propoſe as one effectual Way to help the Plantations, that a ſufficient Fund of Money might be lodged there, to which as to an infallible Bank every Planter might have Recourſe, for Credit, proportionable to the real Value of any he has to give in Security, be it Land, Stock, or Goods; now, that the Want of a Stock of Money, in the Plantations, is a great Hinderance to their Increaſe, is plain from the great Debt due from them to the *African* Company, which, as it increaſes, does more and more make the Company incapable of ſending them ſufficient Numbers of Negroes, at an equal and moderate Price, as it does them to pay for them when they arrive: But, was there a ſufficient Bank upon the Place, to which every Man, at the common Intereſt of the Place, might have Recourſe, that Grievance would naturally end, and a Plantation, like all increaſing Things, would thrive by its proper Nouriſhment, Money.

But it is objected, that the legal Intereſt of the Colonies is ſo high, that it gives ſufficient Encouragement to monied Men to lend their Money there, without a joint Stock or great Fund to be provided, and ſent thither only for that Purpoſe: But Experience as well as right Reaſon evince the Contrary, for we ſee, and the *African* Company ſufficiently find, that Money and Credit are the Things moſt wanted there, notwithſtanding the Height of Intereſt: For though a Man, that has three or four thouſand Pounds to put out, would be glad to have ten *per Cent.* rather than five for it, if it were equally legal and ſecure, yet will he not think it worth While to leave his Native Country, Friends, and cuſtomary Relations, to follow extraordinary five *per Cent.* to the *Barbadoes*: Or, if he did, would there lend it at Intereſt, but would, as others do, endeavour to employ it in more profitable Ways: And then to ſend it thither, or to any other Colony, without going himſelf, is too hazardous for any prudent Man to venture; but, if a ſufficient joint Stock was united under proper Rules and Privileges, for the Uſe of all the Plantations, there is no Doubt but the bare Encouragement of that extraordinary Intereſt would ſufficiently invite monied Men into the Society; when, without the leaſt perſonal Care or Poſſibility of Hazard, their Buſineſs

muſt

muſt of Neceſſity be rightly negotiated by thoſe proper Methods all Companies conſtantly take for the common Intereſt of the Society: And, as nothing could be of more Advantage to the Colonies, than a ſufficient Credit for every Man that had a Stock to have Recourſe to, ſo nothing could be more neceſſary for the Publick to do for them, than to unite ſuch a Stock for their Uſe; which was one and the main Branch of the Undertaking, and would have anſwered the End of their Wants, which is to buy what they want for ready Money, at reaſonable Rates, which now all Men know the needy Planter can no Ways do.

To compaſs the ſecond End, which is to enable the Planter to ſell his Commodity at a full ſaving Price, a common Factory is abſolutely neceſſary; for, whilſt there are both poor and rich Men in the World, their Intereſts, in divided Dealing, muſt of Neceſſity claſh. The poor Man muſt ſell his Commodity at the Price his preſſing Occaſions force him to comply with, and the rich Man muſt at laſt come to the ſame Price, or never ſell at all, when, perhaps, the Conſumption of the Commodity, dealt in, would not be a Jot more or leſs for twenty *per Cent.* Difference in the Price; that this is the Caſe in Sugar, Tobacco, and ſome other Plantation Commodities is certain, ſo that nothing places the Duty, laid by Parliament, on thoſe Things to be borne by the Planter, but the neceſſitous Seller, who muſt take the firſt Chapman's Money; or the neceſſitous Factor which is all one: That this is plain, they will all confeſs that oppoſed a common Factory; ſo I ſhall expoſe all that Myſtery, aiming more to do the Buſineſs, and juſtify my own Candour, than to anger any Man concerned either for his Reputation or Profit.

Wherefore let it ſuffice on this Head to ſay, that a common Factory, if practicable and made equal, would keep up a full ſaving Price in any Commodity whatever, as well as Sugar, and alſo would place any Duty the Parliament could invent upon the Conſumptioner, and not on the Maker or Dealer in it: And, that the common Factory intended was practically and equally deſigned, will to every diſintereſted Man appear, who will but examine the Draughts prepared to be offered to the Aſſemblies of the ſeveral Colonies, to whoſe Approbation or Diſlike they were abſolutely to be ſubmitted, before any joint Stock could have been united for their Service: Nay, I dare further affirm, that no able or conſiderable Factor but muſt have found his Account, by Employment in the common Factory, equal to his Buſineſs in his particular Dealing, ſince all the Perſons to be employed therein were always to be nominated by the ſeveral Colonies, and to have been accountable to the Planters for their Produce.

But, leaving that Matter at preſent, I do affirm, that nothing can ever keep up the juſt Price of Sugars, and other *Weſt-India* Commodities, like an equal common Factory; and that, well ſettled, would ſecure the Planter againſt all Accidents of new Impoſitions, let them be what they would, provided it is paid back upon Exportation, and a proportionable Advance were placed on the ſame Commodities coming from Foreign Parts; by which, as an equal Standard, the Parliament too would ſecure the Nation from being impoſed upon by any exceſſive Price.

Another mighty Benefit, both to the King, Planter, and Merchant, would accrue by a common Factory, if the Cuſtoms and Impoſitions on their Commodities were reduced to a Commutation of ſo much *per Cent.* upon Sales, as was proportionable to them, for hereby the Importer would not be burthened with paying down and riſquing his Duty in truſting his Chapman, nor could the King loſe the leaſt Part of what was due to him, which Conveniencies were provided for by another Branch of the ſaid Undertaking.

But to paſs again from that, I ſay, nothing can enable the Planters to buy Neceſſaries cheap, like a ſufficient Bank of Credit, nor nothing keeps up the Price of the Commodity, as Plantations increaſe, like a common Factory.

In the *next* Place, to remedy another Inconveniency attending thoſe Plantations, which is, being forced to bring their Produce firſt into *England* before they can ſend it to Foreign Markets.

But, if they had the Privilege to carry thoſe Commodities directly Abroad, which were fully meliorated, free from paying any Duty or Cuſtom, and ſuperfluous to our own Conſumption, the Crown, which is the great End of the Conſtraint, could not in the leaſt ſuffer, and we with Profit might gain all Foreign Markets, and ſet the Price of thoſe Commodities Abroad; which we cannot now do, being;

ing liable to a greater Charge by longer Voyages, double Riſques, and the Expence of Time and Labour, in loading and unloading ſuch Goods, which was alſo provided for in another Branch of the ſaid Undertaking.

To prevent the Incroachment and Miſrepreſentations of Governors and malicious Men, againſt the induſtrious Planter, Merchant, and Inhabitants of thoſe Colonies, Itinerant Judges might be ſent annually, fully impowered to inſpect, examine, and repreſent Matters to the Privy-Council at their Return; and finally to determine any Appeals from the ſupreme Courts and Councils there; to conſtitute which Juriſdiction, it might be neceſſary, that three or more of the Members of the Council of Trade, having not the leaſt private Intereſt or Dealing in thoſe Colonies, might be ſent out, attended by a Regiſter or Clerk of that grand Aſſize with a Man of War, firſt to touch at *Barbadoes*, next at the *Leeward Iſlands*, next at *Jamaica*, then at *Carolina*, ſo on through *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Penſylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-England*, and ſo from thence Home: The major Part of them to be paramount in all Civil Caſes to all Governors, wherever they reſided; that, immediately on their Arrival, the Aſſemblies ſhould meet and ſit, by whom they might receive a full Account of the Wants, Defects, and Requeſts of each Place, and alſo examine the ſeveral Adminiſtrations of Goods belonging to Perſons in *England* by the Death of Relations, and other Matters, and prevent Injuſtice or the Neceſſity of fetching Perſons thence from their Families or Buſineſs on any Complaints in *England*; that they might be obliged to hold a Sort of Term, for three Weeks before Setting out, to receive Oaths of Witneſſes to be uſed in Evidences there, as alſo Pretences to Eſtates of Perſons deceaſed, and Controverſies about Bills of Exchange, or any other Matters which occaſion Delay now, and diſcourage Dealings in thoſe Parts; that none of thoſe Judges ſhould go two Years ſucceſſively together, but that a Rotation of that Employment as near as may be, ſhould be appointed amongſt the Members which compoſed the Council of Trade; that they ſhould have ſufficent Salaries for their Trouble, and not be ſuffered to receive any other Fee, Preſent, or Reward, beſides Meat and Drink, whatever infinite Number of Conveniencies might ariſe to thoſe Plantations by ſuch a laſt Reſort: The Manner as well as the full Juriſdiction I will omit, being neceſſary to be more enlarged upon, than I am willing in the ſhort Method I have propoſed to myſelf.

In the *next* Place, I cannot chuſe but think that the Judges, after ſuch a Court was eſtabliſhed, might omit taking Cogniſance of thoſe malicious and troubleſome, rather than neceſſary Complaints, about Carrying People to the *Indies*, any Man concerned being there upon the Place able to make his Complaint, and receive full Damages for any Abuſe put upon him for an unvoluntary Tranſportation or Non-performance of the Contract made with them: This would open the Gap to many People's going thither, than which I have proved nothing can be of more Advantage to the Common-wealth; ſo that, by ſaving many troubleſome Fees, and other Dangers, in ſending white Servants, they might be had much cheaper by the Planter to his great Encouragement.

In the *next* Place, begging Pardon of the *African* Company, if I err, I cannot ſee an honeſt Reaſon, why the Planters ſhould not be at full Liberty to buy Blacks at the beſt Market they can, the Act of Navigation preſerved; for is their Patent alone a ſufficient Juſtification to ſo perfect and miſchievous a Monopoly, as that Inhibition they pretend to ſeems to be? For, though they may give many Reaſons to warrant that united Stock and ſole Trading in *Guiney* to them, yet I cannot ſee that can hinder black Slaves to be brought to the Plantations by an *Engliſh* Ship from any other Place: But this I am ſure of, that, ſince they may be had by private Merchants one Third cheaper than the Company will afford them, they ought to be at Liberty to have them, ſince the Nation is ten Times more Gainer by the Labour of the Blacks, than the Company is by their Price; and one Third more of Blacks employed in Planting, which would follow, if they were one Third cheaper, would alſo enable them to ſell the Produce of the Colonies one Third cheaper, by which Means they would be able to ruin all other Foreign Colonies; and in Time we may, by cheap Selling, get the whole Trade of Sugar into our Hands; which muſt be ſuch a National Profit by this, and our former Computations, that no Argument on the other Side for the Company's Intereſt can in the leaſt balance:

Beſides,

Beſides, if it ſhould be allowed, that the Company furniſhes the Sugar Colonies with more than they are well paid for, at the Price they take, yet they do not bring them in all one Third ſo many as they could employ, and do furniſh the Tobacco Plantations with none at all (except what are firſt agreed for in *England*, and then the Merchant pays extravagantly, and the Planter muſt advance for the Merchant's Encouragement, and ſo pay a double Profit) who would, if they had them at a moderate Price, quickly double their Numbers to a mighty Increaſe of Shipping and National Wealth: Thus the Prohibition and total Ingroſſing the Trade of Blacks, by the Company, does ſeveral Ways infinitely prejudice the Plantations and induſtrious Planters in them, as well as prejudice the Publick; but, if the Preſervation of the *Guiney* Trade be of ſuch Advantage to the Kingdom, that the Caſtles muſt be maintained, it is but reaſonable thoſe Publick Things ſhould fall equally on the Publick, and not be made ſo many Ways inconvenient to the moſt uſeful Part of it, which is the induſtrious Planter of *America*.

If it ſhould be found neceſſary to ſupport the *African* Company for the Good of the *Guiney* Trade, at the ſame Time no Doubt but that ſuch Care will be taken of the Colonies, that they ſhall be better and cheaper ſupplied than they have been yet: Therefore, with Submiſſion to the better Underſtandings of others, among the many Ways that may be thought convenient, I do humbly propoſe, that any Planters may have them delivered by Lots at a moderate Price in the Colonies, or that any Planter or Merchant, giving good Security for the Payment of their Money in *England* at a certain Time, may have Negroes at a certain moderate Profit to the *African* Company, put on Board their Ship at *Guiney*; or may have Goods of the *African* Company at a reaſonable Profit, to be paid in *England* at the Return of the Ship; or that they may have Liberty to go and trade thither, paying a moderate Sum *per Cent.* for Leave to carry their own Goods; for it is to be underſtood, that whatſoever Burthen is put upon the Negroe Trade, the Planter pays it, and it will ſo much leſſen the Increaſe of the Plantations.

And ſince by no diſcerning Perſon it can be denied but that the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies are of very great Advantage to *England*, it is not to be queſtioned but that our Legiſlators will think it worth their While to methodiſe that Commerce to the beſt Advantage, and to ſuffer no Hardſhip to be put upon the Planter, that they may be enabled to ſell their Commodities in Foreign Markets; the Benefit of which, to *England*, will quickly be ſeen, and in a few Years (is eaſily to be demonſtrated) that they will bear out all Nations that pretend to produce the like Commodities; and then a moderate Duty may laid on their Product for the Foreigners to pay, which will make Foreigners help to ſupport the Charge of the Nation, and no Way hurtful to the Planter; by what has been ſaid for the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies, may be ſaid for all Colonies that produce the Commodities of Foreign Nations, as Silk, Wines, Oils, *&c.* and any other Number of Men that will engage to plant and produce, in ſuch a Term of Years, ſuch a Quantity of Commodities that are Foreign Commodities, and not already produced in our Colonies, ought to be encouraged by this Nation; for no Trade can be ſo advantageous to this Nation, for the Increaſing of Navigation, and the Conſuming of our Woollen Manufacture, and indeed every Thing that is made or uſed in *England*, as Colonies, for they, being *Engliſh*, and having all their Commerce from *England*, will always be initiating the Cuſtoms, and Faſhions of *England*, both as to Apparel, Houſhold Furniture, Eating and Drinking, *&c.* For it is impoſſible for them to forget from whence they come, or ever be at Reſt (after they have arrived to a plentiful Eſtate) until they ſettle their Families in *England*, by which Means their Induſtry, Time, and Labour, are to be ſpent for the inriching the *Engliſh* Nation: Further I ſhall not enlarge, but leave what I have ſaid to the Judgment of every judicious Reader, to amend wherein I may be defective.

The Plague at *Weſtminſter* : Or, An Order for the Viſitation of a ſick Parliament, grievouſly troubled with a new *Diſeaſe*, called the Conſumption of their Members. The Perſons viſited are :

The Earl of *Suffolk*,
The Earl of *Lincoln*,
The Earl of *Middleſex*,
The Lord *Hunſdon*,
The Lord *Barkly*,
The Ld. *Willoughby* of *Parham*,
The Lord *Maynard*,
Sir *John Maynard*,
Maſter *Glyn*, Recorder of *London*.

With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be uſed for their Recovery ; ſtrictly commanded to be uſed in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations, throughout his Majeſty's three Kingdoms, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Printed for *V. V.* in the Year 1647. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

Let all the long-abuſed People of this Kingdom ſpeedily repair, for the Remedy of all their Grievances, to the High-Place *at* Weſtminſter, *and, ſo ſoon as entered in to the* Lords-Houſe, *let them reverently kneel down upon their bare Knees, and ſay this new Prayer and Exhortation following :*

O Almighty and everlaſting Lord, we acknowledge and confeſs from the Bottom of our Hearts, that you have moſt juſtly plagued us theſe full ſeven Years for our manifold Sins and Iniquities. Foraſmuch as we have not rebelled againſt you, but againſt the King, our moſt gracious Lord and Governor, to the abundant Sorrow of our relenting Hearts, to whoſe empty Chair we now bow in all Reverence, in Token of our Duty and Obedience. For we now too well (O Lord) underſtand that we have grievouſly ſinned, which hath made your Honours give us up a Spoil unto Robbers, *viz.* your *Committees*, *Sequeſtrators*, *Exciſemen*, and *Purſuivants* ; beſides your ſeveral Inſtruments of Torments, diſtinguiſhed by the various Names of *Colonels*, *Lieutenant-Colonels*, *Majors*, *Captains*, *Quarter-maſters*, and a certain Sort of putredinous Vermin, that you uſe to line Hedges withal, vulgarly called *Dragoons*, *Troopers*, and the like, O Lords ; theſe beſides your continual *Taxes*, *Collections*, *Aſſeſſments*, and the like ; a Burthen that breaks our Backs and very Hearts, which continually follow one on the Neck of another, beſides your Exciſes on our very Fleſh and Apparel, with every Particular belonging to our Trade and Livelihoods ; our Wives, our Daughters, our Sons, our Houſes, our Beds, our Apparel, our Horſes, our Hay, our Beeves, our Muttons, our Lambs, our Pigs, our Geeſe, our Capons, and the reſt

of

of our Goods are forced from us, upon *free Quarters*, as they call it; and we poor wretched and languiſhing Wretches, amounting to the Number of Millions of Millions, being ſufficiently humbled by all theſe Plagues and Puniſhments (cry to your Honours for Redreſs) beſides the large Portion of our Bloods which from the Earth cries unto your Honours, even as *Abel*'s did unto Heaven; ſo we to you, mighty Lords; we therefore humbly pray and beſeech you, that your Honours would be graciouſly pleaſed (in your omnipotent Power) to raiſe to Life again, but to half a dozen thouſand poor Widows, their dear Huſbands, and many fatherleſs Children, now in a languiſhing Condition, will for ever magnify your Honours for the ſame; or elſe your Honours muſt expect the Cry of the Widow to Heaven againſt you, the Curſe of the Fatherleſs, and the Cry of the Earth, which already begins to vomit up that *Blood* in your *Faces*, which ſo rebelliouſly and unchriſtianly you have ſtained her's withal; ſhe hath yet been a Place of Pleaſure unto you, yielding no contagious Air to infect you with thoſe conſuming Diſeaſes, that now reign amongſt your Honours, beſides ſo many Sorrows, Diſtractions, Diſorders or Paſſions, that viſit your Honours Conſciences; all earthly Creatures have been obedient unto you, mighty Lords. Finally, ſhe hath yielded all Things to your Contentment, and nothing to your Annoyance: We beſeech you therefore conſider the preſent Miſeries of our Bodies, as, Hunger, Thirſt, Nakedneſs, Want of our Limbs, Deformities, Sickneſs and Mortality; the Troubles of our Minds, as, Fancies, Fears, Perplexities, Anguiſhes, and other Imperfections; likewiſe the general Scourges that are amongſt us, as, Plagues, Wars, and a Thouſand other hazardous Calamities: Look but into our Hoſpitals, we beſeech you, and ſee *Lazars*, *Cancers*, *Fiſtula's*, *Ulcers*, and *Rottings*, with *Wolves*, *Sores*, and *feſtered Carbuncles*, *Frenzies*, *Palſies*, *Lethargies*, *Falling-Sickneſſes*, and *Lunaries*. On the other Side we beſeech you to conſider the Infirmities of our Minds; the furious Rages, Envies, Rancours, and Corroſives; the unplacable Sorrows and deſperate Paſſions; the continual Hell-Torments, and Remorſe of Conſcience (for our late forced Rebellion againſt our King) and infinite other ſprgitiſh Fits and Agonies you have brought upon us. Conſider, how you have made us incur the heavy Diſpleaſure of the moſt juſt and Chriſtian Prince * that ever reigned in this Kingdom; the Malice and Enmity of our Equals; the Contempt, Ignominy, and Reproach of all Nations; the continual Mocks and Scoffs we receive of our Inferiors; the Fraud and Treachery of all Sorts and Degrees; our frequent Moleſtations by Plunderings, Sequeſtrations, Loſs of Goods, Limbs, Liberties, Friends, Wives, and Children. Conſider what intolerable Uſage hath been to divers People, ſince the Beginning of theſe unnatural Wars, perſecuted by the Rage and Fury of you, who would be called *Chriſtians*, but indeed the worſt of *Tyrants*: What Spoiling of our Goods, Shedding of our Bloods, Oppreſſing of Innocents, Perſecution of godly and orthodox Miniſters †, *that the World was not worthy of*, as reverend *Armagh*, *Weſtfield*, *Featly*, *Shute*, and divers other learned and holy Men; in whoſe Places, what a Litter of Foxes have you put into God's Vineyard, who root up the tender Vines thereof; a Crew of ſuch Vipers, that are not worth ſo much as the Naming? What Deflowering of Virgins, Abuſing of Matrons, Compulſion unto Wickedneſs and Rebellion, and Terrifying from all Virtue and Chriſtian Obedience? What Inconveniences and Miſeries have enſued by theſe unnatural and bloody Wars? What Alteration of Eſtates and Religion, Subverſion of three flouriſhing Kingdoms, Slaughtering of his Majeſty's Subjects, Deſtroying of Cities, and Confuſion of all Order? That it is almoſt incredible, that ſo many and ſo ſtrange Calamities could befall ſo happy a People, as we lately were, in ſo ſhort a Space ‡. We humbly beſeech you to conſider theſe our juſt Plaints, and ſpeedily let us enjoy our King, our Religion, our Laws, our juſt Liberties and Eſtates, leſt the Anger of the Lord take Harneſs, and arm all the Creatures to the Revenge of his Enemies: He ſhall put on Juſtice for his Breaſt-plate, and ſhall take for his Helmet certain Judgment. He ſhall take Equity as an impregnable Buckler, he ſhall ſharpen his dreadful Wrath into a Spear, and the World ſhall fight with him againſt ſuch ſenſeleſs Perſons. His Throws of Thunderbolts

* K. *Charles* I.

† See a Liſt of theſe Miniſters ſo perſecuted and ejected, which immediately follows this Pamphlet.

‡ As ſeven Years.

ſhall go directly, and ſhall be driven, as it were, from a well-bended Bow, and ſhall hit at a certain Place. Againſt them ſhall the Spirit of Might ſtand, and, like a Whirlwind, ſhall divide them, and ſhall bring all the Land of their Iniquity to a Deſart, and ſhall overthrow the Seats of the Mighty.

Theſe are ſhrewd *Items*, high and mighty Lords, and may cauſe you to peach one another ſtill, and charge thorough and thorough, as well as round, yet the ſilly Commons will hardly be gulled ſo; they hope to recover their Wits again, and will now liſten to his Majeſty, as once they might have done and have preſerved their now loſt Eſtates; the twentieth Part, divided amongſt ſo many Sharers, comes but to a very little: *Waller's* might come to ſome twelve Butter-firkins full of Gold. *John Pym*, that louſy Eſquire, might have been a ſecond *Crœſus*, had he lived, and *Charles* his Son a very *Dives*, in Spight of *Lincoln's-Inn* Pump; but he fears no Peaching now, nor *Hambden*, nor *Strowd*, nor *Stapleton* neither; their *Charge* will hardly be drawn up till Doomſ-day in the Afternoon, and then the City ſhall receive their Debts on the publick Faith, and learn more Wit: By which Time Plundering will be out of Requeſt, and Sir *Politick-would-be's*, thoſe great Statiſts, that draw all into their own Coffers, and cry with the Devil, *All is mine*, will then find to their Coſts, that their Accompts are already caſt up, and their Reckoning then upon the Paying: In the mean Time, *whilſt Thieves fall out, true Folks may come by their Goods*. Therefore, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *Gladius ipſorum intret in corda eorum*, i. e. *Let their own Swords enter into their own Hearts*, and let their Deſtruction ariſe from themſelves; let them dig their own Graves; let them (as they have already) cut off thoſe Anchors, that ſhould preſerve themſelves from Shipwreck; let them, like inraged Dogs, break their Teeth on that Stone that is flung at them, not ſo much as looking at the Hand that flings it; whilſt we miſerable Wretches, in this Vaſſalage and Servility, are daily oppreſſed with ſo many inceſſant Afflictions, worſe than an *Egyptian Bondage*, we may cry out with the *Iſraelites*, *Ingemiſcentes propter opera vociferari*, i. e. *lamenting our intolerable Slavery*, cry out unto God, from whom (and not from your *Pharaoh*-like Honours) we muſt expect Deliverance. *Amen*.

Then let the Parties, if they find no Redreſs, turn unto the Houſe of Commons, and ſay, as followeth:

WE humbly beſeech you, the Knights and Burgeſſes, choſen and put in Truſt by your ſeveral Countries, to redreſs our Grievances (not to make us new Grievances, to cure our *Maladies*, not, in a deſperate Madneſs, to kill us inſtead of *curing us*) to keep us from robbing, not to rob us yourſelves. That you would, with the Eye of Compaſſion, look upon our manifold Miſeries, before recited, in Supplication to the Lords. We muſt acknowledge and confeſs, that you have done the Part of a *Body without a Head* *; and taken great Pains, though but to little Purpoſe, in pulling down Croſſes off the Churches, and Steeples, and breaking Glaſs-Windows, whilſt ye have erected greater Croſſes in our Religion and Eſtates, that makes (at this Time) the glaſed Windows of our Eyes to overflow. You have taken mickle Pains, in making Votes, Orders, and Ordinances, yet we never the better, but rather worſe and worſe; whilſt you are divided amongſt yourſelves, you have divided our Inheritance; and divided the King from his Royal Spouſe, Children, and Parliament, and would have divided him from his Honour, and Coronation-Oath; divided the Souls from our Bodies as well as our Shoes; divided Religion into a Thouſand Sects, Schiſms, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies, even againſt the Perſons in the Sacred Trinity: And now will you leave us in this Miſt of Errors and Calamities, and every one take Shipping, as lately *Waller*, *Stapleton*, *Nichols*, and many others? Which increaſeth our Fears, that you will give but an ill Account of ſo many of our Lives, ſo much of our Eſtates, &c. &c. &c. you may

* Foraſmuch as the *Houſe of Commons* repreſents the *Body* of the Nation, which are the People, over whom the King only is the *Head*.

gueſs

gueſs what I mean. You may give Loſers Leave (through lamentable Experience) to ſpeak, though I believe to little Purpoſe; therefore, *vale*, our Truſt is in the Lord, &c.

Here let all the People ſing Pſal. xliii. Judge and revenge, *&c. And then, facing about to* Henry *the Seventh's Chapel, let all the People rehearſe the Articles of their new reformed Faith; and after ſay, as followeth:*

MOſt holy Fathers, whether Univerſal, National, Provincial, Conſiſtorial, Claſſical Synodians, whoſe learned Conſultations, pious Debates, ſacred Concluſions, ſpiritual Decrees, evangelical Counſels, infallible Divinity, hath coſt us ſo many thouſand Pounds, for the Space of almoſt theſe five Years, to compoſe the two Tables of the Law and the Goſpel, the Ordinance for Tithes, and the Directory; we magnify your Sanctity, we adore your holy Reformation, and highly commend your unerring Spirits, for the great Pains you have taken in your ſeveral Sciences of Equivocations, mental Reſervations, falſe Gloſſes, Comments, Paraphraſes, Expoſitions, Opinions, and Judgments, that for a long Time have cheated and deluded us; for your pious Zeal and Affection for the Cauſe, in ſetting us on to kill one another, and freely to venture all, all but the Tenths, Tithes, Offerings, and Oblations; thoſe are yours *jure divino*; beſides all the fat Benefices and goodly Revenues that belong unto you, beſides the four Shillings a Day, and the Fees of your Claſſical Courts, and the ten Groats for Drinking at *Sundays*. We beſeech ye, by all theſe, pray againſt the plaguy Diſeaſes your Hypocriſy hath brought upon the two Houſes of Parliament, and the whole Kingdom, by Hereſy, Poverty, Impeachments, Charges, Baniſhments, and the like. *Amen.*

Then let the People ſing the forty-firſt Pſalm, and ſo depart.

A general Bill of the Mortality of the Clergy of *London*: Or, A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Miniſters of the City of *London*, who have been impriſoned, plundered, and barbarouſly uſed, and deprived of all Livelihood for themſelves and their Families, in the late Rebellion, for their Conſtancy in the *Proteſtant* Religion, eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their King, under that grand Perſecution. *London*, printed againſt St. *Bartholomew*-Day, 1661. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

THE Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s, the Dean, Reſidentiaries, and other Members of that Church, ſequeſtered, plundered, and turned out.

St. *Allhallows*, *Wood-ſtreet*, Dr. *Watts*, ſequeſtered, plundered, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors, and himſelf forced to fly.

St. *Allhallows*, *Barking*, Dr. *Laſield*, purſuivanted, impriſoned in *Ely-houſe*, and the Ships; ſequeſtered and plundered, afterwards forced to fly.

St. *All-*

St. *Allhallows*, *Lombard-ſtreet*, Mr. *Weſton*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Alphage*'s, Dr. *Halſie*, ſhamefully abuſed, his Cap pulled off, to ſee if he were not a ſhaven Prieſt, voted out, and dead with Grief.

St. *Andrew*'s, *Hubbard*, Dr. *Chambers*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Andrew*'s, *Underſhaft*, 1. Mr. *Maſon*, thro' Vexation forced to reſign. 2. Mr. *Prichard*, after that ſequeſtered.

St. *Andrew*'s, *Wardrobe*, Dr. *Iſaakſon*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Anne*'s, *Alderſgate*, Dr. *Clewet*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Auſtin*'s Pariſh, Mr. *Udall*, ſequeſtered, his bed-rid Wife turned out of Doors, and left in the Streets.

St. *Bartholomew*'s, *Exchange*, Dr. *Grant*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Bennet*'s, *Finch*, Mr. *Warfield*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Bennet*'s, *Grace-church*, Mr. *Quelch*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Bennet*'s, *Paul*'s Wharf, Mr. *Adams*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Bennet*'s, *Sherhog*, Mr. *Morgan*, dead with Grief.

St. *Botolph*'s, *Billingſgate*, Mr. *King*, ſequeſtered, and forced to fly.

Chriſt-church, Mr. *Finch*, turned out and dead.

St. *Chriſtopher*'s, Mr. *Hanſlow*, forced to reſign.

St. *Clement*'s, *Eaſt-cheap*, Mr. *Stone*, ſhamefully abuſed, ſequeſtered, ſent Priſoner to *Plymouth*, and plundered.

St. *Dionis*'s, Back-church, Mr. *Humes*, ſequeſtered and abuſed.

St. *Dunſtan*'s, *Eaſt*, Mr. *Childerly*, reviled, abuſed, and dead.

St. *Edmond*'s, *Lombard-ſtreet*, Mr. *Pagit*, moleſted, ſilenced, and dead.

St. *Ethelburga*'s, Mr. *Clark*, ſequeſtered, and impriſoned.

St. *Faith*'s, Dr. *Browne*, ſequeſtered and dead.

St. *Vedaſt*'s, *Foſter-lane*, Mr. *Batty*, ſequeſtered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead.

St. *Gabriel*'s, *Fenchurch*, Mr. *Cook*, ſequeſtered.

St. *George*'s, *Botolph-lane*
St. *Gregory*'s, by St. *Paul*'s
Dr. *Styles*, forced to reſign.

St. *Hellen*'s, Mr. *Milward*, turned out and dead.

St. *James*'s, *Duke*'s-place, Mr. ———, ſequeſtered.

St. *James*'s, *Garlick-hith*, 1. Mr. *Freeman*, plundered and ſequeſtered. 2. Mr. *Anthony*, his Curate, turned out.

St. *John Baptiſt*'s, Mr. *Weemſley*, ſequeſtered.

St. *John Zachary*'s, Mr. *Edlin*, ſequeſtered, forced to fly, and plundered.

St. *Catharine*'s, *Coleman-ſtreet*, 1. Dr. *Hill*, forced to reſign. 2. Mr. *Kilbuts*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Catharine*'s, *Cree-church*, Mr. *Ruſh*, turned out.

St. *Laurence*'s, *Jewry*, Mr. *Crane*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Leonard*'s, *Eaſt-cheap*, Mr. *Calf*, forced to give up to Mr. *Roborow*, Scribe to the Aſſembly.

St. *Leonard*'s, *Foſter-lane*, Mr. *Ward*, forced to fly, plundered, ſequeſtered, and dead for Want of Neceſſaries.

St. *Margaret*'s, *Lothbury*, Mr. *Tabor*, plundered, impriſoned in the *King's-Bench*, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors at Midnight, and he ſequeſtered.

St. *Margaret*'s, *New Fiſh-ſtreet*, Mr. *Porry*, forced to fly, plundered, and ſequeſtered.

St. *Margaret*'s, *Pattons*, Mr. *Meggs*, plundered, impriſoned in *Ely-houſe*, and ſequeſtered.

St. *Mary*'s, *Abchurch*, Mr. *Stone*, plundered, ſent Priſoner by Sea to *Plymouth*, and ſequeſtered.

St. *Mary*'s, *Aldermary*, Mr. *Brown*, forced to forſake it.

St. *Mary le Bow*'s, Mr. *Leech*, ſequeſtered, and dead with Grief.

St. *Mary*'s, *Bothaw*, Mr. *Proctor*, forced to fly and ſequeſtered.

St. *Mary*'s *Hill*, 1. Dr. *Baker*, ſequeſtered, purſuivanted, and impriſoned. 2. Mr. *Woodcock*, turned out and forced to fly.

St. *Mary*'s *Mounthaw* Mr. *Thrall*, ſequeſtered, and ſhamefully abuſed.

St. *Mary*'s *Somerſet*, Mr. *Cook*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Mary*'s *Wool-church*, Mr. *Tireman*, forced to forſake it.

St. *Mary*'s *Woolnoth*, Mr. *Shuite*, moleſted and vexed to Death, and denied a Funeral Sermon to be preached by Dr. *Holdſworth*, as he deſired.

St. *Martin*'s, *Ironmonger-lane*, Mr. *Sparke*, ſequeſtered and plundered.

St. *Martin*'s, *Ludgate*, Dr. *Jermin*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Mar-*

St. *Martin*'s, *Orgars*, Dr. *Walton*, aſſaulted, ſequeſtered, plundered, and forced to fly; Mr. *Moſſe*, his Curate, turned out.

St. *Martin*'s, *Outwich*, Dr. *Pierce*, ſequeſtered and dead.

St. *Martin*'s, *Vintry*, Dr. *Ryves*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and forced to fly.

St. *Matthew*'s, *Friday-ſtreet*, Mr. *Cheſtlin*, violently aſſaulted in his Houſe, impriſoned in the Compter, thence ſent to *Colcheſter* Jail, in *Eſſex*, ſequeſtered and plundered.

St. *Maudlin*'s, *Milk-ſtreet*, Mr. *Jones*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Maudlin*'s, *Old Fiſh-ſtreet*, Dr. *Griffith*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and impriſoned in *Newgate*, whence being let out, he was forced to fly, and ſince impriſoned again in *Peter-houſe*.

St. *Michael*'s, *Baſſiſhaw*, Dr. *Gifford*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Michael*'s, *Cornhill*, 1. Dr. *Brough*, ſequeſtered, plundered, Wife and Children turned out of Doors, his Wife dead with Grief; 2. Mr. *Weld*, his Curate, aſſaulted, beaten in the Church, and turned out.

St. *Michael*'s, *Queen-hith*, Mr. *Hill*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Michael*'s *Quern*, Mr. *Launce*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Mihcael*'s *Royal*, Mr. *Proctor*, ſequeſtered and forced to fly.

St. *Mildred*'s, *Bred-ſtreet*, Mr. *Bradſhaw*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Mildred*'s, *Poultry*, Mr. *Maden*, ſequeſtered and gone beyond Sea.

St. *Nicholas*'s *Acons*, Mr. *Bennet*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Nicholas*'s *Cole-Abby*, Mr. *Chibald*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Nicholas Olave*'s, Dr. *Cheſhire*, moleſted, and forced to reſign.

St. *Olave*'s, *Hart-ſtreet*, Mr. *Haines*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Olave*'s, *Jewry*, Mr. *Tuke*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and impriſoned.

St. *Olave*'s, *Silver-ſtreet*, Dr. *Booſie*, abuſed and dead with Grief.

St. *Pancraſs*'s, *Soper-lane*, Mr. *Eccop*, ſequeſtered, plundered, forced to fly, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors.

St. *Peter*'s, *Cheap-ſide*, Mr. *Vocheir*, ſequeſtered and dead with Grief.

St. *Peter*'s, *Cornhill*, Dr. *Fairfax*, ſequeſtered, plundered, impriſoned in *Ely-houſe* and the Ships, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors.

St. *Peter*'s, *Paul*'s Wharf, Mr. *Marbury*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Peter*'s *Poor*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, ſequeſtered, plundered, impriſoned in *Ely-houſe*, then in the *Tower*.

St. *Stephen*'s, *Walbrook*, Dr. *Howell*, through Vexation forced to fly.

St. *Swithin*'s, Mr. *Owen*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Thomas Apoſtle*'s, Mr. *Cooper*, ſequeſtered, plundered, ſent Priſoner to *Leeds-Caſtle*, in *Kent*, is dead with Grief.

Trinity Pariſh, Mr. *Harriſon*, ſequeſtered.

N. B. *In the Ninety-ſeven Pariſhes within the Walls, beſides St.* Paul's, *outed eighty-five, and dead ſixteen.*

Pariſhes without the Walls.

St. *Andrew*'s, *Holborn*, Dr. *Hacket*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Bartholomew*'s *Great*, Biſhop *Weſtfield*, abuſed in the Street, ſequeſtered, forced to fly, and is dead.

St. *Bartholomew*'s *Leſs*, 1. Mr. *Henſhaw*, 2. Mr. *Hall*.

St. *Bride*'s Pariſh, Mr. *Palmer*, ſequeſtered.

Bridewell Precinct, Mr. *Browne*, turned out.

St. *Botolph*'s, *Alderſgate*, Mr. *Booth*, ſequeſtered and plundered.

St. *Botolph*'s, *Aldgate*, Dr. *Swadlin*, ſequeſtered, plundered, impriſoned at *Greſham* Colledge and *Newgate*, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors.

St. *Botolph*'s, *Biſhopſgate*, Mr. *Rogers*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Dunſtan*'s, *Weſt*, Dr. *Marſh*, ſequeſtered, and died in remote Parts.

St. *George*'s, *Southwark*, Dr. *Hobſon*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Giles*'s, *Cripplegate*, 1. Dr. *Fuller*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and impriſoned at *Ely-houſe*. 2. Mr. *Hutton*, his Curate, aſſaulted in the Church and impriſoned.

St. *Olave*'s, *Southwark*, Dr. *Turner*, ſequeſtered, plundered, fetched up Priſoner with a Troop of Soldiers, and after forced to fly.

St. *Sepulchres* Pariſh, Mr. *Pigot*, the Lecturer, turned out.

St. *Tho-*

St. *Thomas*'s, *Southwark*, Mr. *Spencer*, ſequeſtered and impriſoned.

N. B. *In the ſixteen Pariſhes without the Walls, outed fourteen, dead two.*

In the ten Out-Pariſhes.

St. *Clement*'s *Danes*, Dr. *Dukſon*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and forced to fly.

Covent-garden, Mr. *Hall*, ſequeſtered and forced to fly.

St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, Dr. *Heywood*, ſequeſtered, impriſoned in the Compter, *Ely-houſe*, and the Ships, forced to fly, his Wife and Children turned out of Doors.

St. *Leonard*'s, *Shoreditch*, Mr. *Squire*, ſequeſtered, impriſoned in *Greſham* College, *Newgate*, and the *King*'s *Bench*, his Wife and Children plundered and turned out of Doors.

St. *Martin*'s in the Fields, Dr. *Bray*, ſequeſtered, impriſoned, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote Parts.

St. *Mary*'s, *White-chapel*, Dr. *Johnſon*, ſequeſtered.

St. *Magdalen*'s, *Bermondſey*, Dr. *Paske*, ſequeſtered.

Savoy, 1. Dr. *Balcanquell*, ſequeſtered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote Parts. 2. Mr. *Fuller*, forced to fly.

N. B. *In the ten Out-pariſhes, outed nine, dead two.*

In the adjacent Towns.

THE Dean and all the Prebends of the Abby-Church *Weſtminſter* (but only Mr. *Lambert Obaſton*) ſequeſtered.

St. *Margaret*'s, *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Wimberly*, ſequeſtered.

Lambeth, Dr. *Featly*, ſequeſtered, plundered, impriſoned, and dead a Priſoner.

Newington, Mr. *Heath*, ſequeſtered.

Hackney, Mr. *Moore*, ſequeſtered.

Iſlington, divers Miniſters turned out.

Stepney, Dr. *Stamp*, ſequeſtered, plundered, and forced to fly.

N. B. *In the adjacent Towns, beſides thoſe of the Abby-Church and* Iſlington, *outed five, dead one.*

The Total of the Miniſters of *London*, within the Bills of Mortality (beſides St. *Paul*'s and *Weſtminſter*) turned out of their Livings by Sequeſtration and otherwiſe, One-hundred and Fifteen.

Whereof were Doctors in Divinity, above forty.

And the moſt of them plundered of their Goods, and their Wives and Children turned out of Doors.

Impriſoned in *London*, and in the Ships, and in the ſeveral Jails and Caſtles in the Country, Twenty.

Fled to prevent Impriſonment, Twenty-five.

Dead in remote Parts and in Priſons, with Grief, Twenty-two.

About forty Churches void, having no conſtant Miniſter in them.

*USQUEQUO DOMINE**, *Revel.* vi. 10.

* How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our Blood, &c.

A briefe

A briefe and trve Declaration of the Sickneſſe, laſt Wordes, and Death of the King of *Spaine*, *Philip*, the Second of that Name, who died in his Abbey of S. *Laurence* at *Eſcuriall*, ſeuen Miles from *Madrill*, the Thirteenth of *September*, 1598. Written from *Madrill*, in a *Spaniſh* Letter, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* according to the true Copie. Printed at *London*, by *Edm. Bollifant*, 1599. *Quarto*, containing a Sheet and an Half.

This is the King of Spain, *whoſe Cruelties in the* Indies *and the* Netherlands *have recorded him among the moſt bloody Tyrants, and his continual Attempts to poiſon, aſſaſſinate, or dethrone Queen* Eliſabeth, *and to invade and conquer* England, *have rendered his Name odious to every true* Engliſhman: *And whoſe univerſal Character is a Compound of Pride, Ambition, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, Treachery, and Bloodſhed: For all which, by the ſhort Account following, you will perceive, that God called him to Judgment; and, by the Plague of* Lice, *declared his Deteſtation of that ſinful Prince, before he departed this Life. Yet, in this ſame Account, it is remarkable, that he was arrived to that State of hypocritical Inſenſibility, and Deluſion, that he thought all his Barbarities, Treachery, and Treaſons were doing God Service, and that himſelf was ready to depart this Life in the Favour of God.*

TO ſatisfie my Promiſe, and to giue Anſwere to your Letters, requiring my Aduertiſement of theſe preſent Occurrences, I pray you underſtand, that this Yeere, 1598, the Royal Maieſtie of our Lord, Don *Philip the Third*, being then but Prince, was upon S. *Iohn*'s Day, in the Market-place at *Madrill* *, to beholde the Bullbaytings †, and other Paſtymes which were there, at which Sports the King his Father (which is now in Heauen) was not preſent by Reaſon of the Paine of the Gout which ſore troubled him. His Highnes, being returned from the foreſaid Place, diſcourſed vnto his Father all that he had ſeene, whereupon his Maieſtie anſwered: I am right glad to ſee thee ſo pleaſant, for thou ſhalt neuer, ſo long as I liue, ſee me haue any Eaſe or Comfort in this my painfull Diſeaſe. And thereupon commaunded Preparation to be made for his remouing to *Eſcuriall*. Doctor *Marcado*, one of his ordinarie Phiſitions, tolde him, he ought not to ſtirre, leaſt the Extremitie of his Paine ſhould increaſe. The King anſwered, Seeing I muſt be carried thither, when I am dead, I had rather be carried thither, being aliue. So that in the End, to ſatisfy his Deſire, his Footmen took him vp vpon their Shoulders, and ſpent ſixe Daies in going thoſe ſeauen Miles; where, after that he came, he was better for ſome fewe Daies, though he was not able to ſtand, but was forced either

* al. *Madrid.*

† Bull-Feaſts, which are a Sport different from the *Engliſh* Bull-baitings; in as much as theſe are performed by Dogs; but the *Spaniſh* are the Recreation of Men on Horſeback, who, attended with running Footmen, to ſupply them with Lances, attack a mad Bull at full Liberty, and never quit him till they have killed him.

to ſit or to lie. But preſently the Goute reſeaſing him, accompanied with a Feuer, made him far ſicker than before ; his Phiſitions ſhewed all the Skil they could to giue him ſome Eaſe, but the Extremitie of Paine ſo increaſed, that preſently he entred into Conſideration of his Soule, by ſhriuing or confeſſing himſelfe, and receiuing the Sacrament, at which Inſtant he commaunded *Garcin de Loyaza* to be conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, which was performed by the Popes Nuncio, with all the Solemnities and Rites accuſtomed. There happened alſo to this good King, vpon his right Knee, a Bile, ſo angrie and ſwellinge, that he could take no Reſt ; his Phiſitions being amazed thereat, one *Elias*, a Phiſition of *Toledo*, by whoſe Aduice and Direction of others, one *Vergara*, a licentiate Surgeon, hauing applied all fit Meanes to ripen the Sore, opened it, and let foorth all the bad Matter therein contained ; ſoone after the which, there aroſe fower other Biles vpon his Breſt, which likewiſe were ripened, opened, and cleanſed ; this corrupt Matter bred a great Companie of Lice, which were very hard to be killed, he remaining in this mean Time ſo weake, that he was faine to be turned in Sheetes, and lift vp with fower Men, whileſt two other made all Things plaine, ſoft, and cleane vnder him. Ten Daies before he died, he fell into ſo great a Traunce (laſting fiue Howers) that it was eaſily perceiued, that his Life and vital Powers began to faile, which cauſed diuers Lords in *Madrill* to prouide Mourning Garments. Being returned to himſelfe, he ſaid to the Archbiſhop and to thoſe of the Chamber there preſent : My Friends and Subiects, your Sorrowes are of no Force to recouer my Health, for no humane Remedie can profit me. The chiefe Matter of your Care ought to be to prouide, in Time, all Neceſſaries for my Funerals ; and, in the meane Time I commaunde you to call hither your Prince, which ſhall be your future King, and fetch hither vnto me my Coffin that I ſhall be laide in, and place here, vpon this little Cupboord *, a dead Man's Skull crowned with my imperial Crowne ; all which was forthwith done. The Prince and the Infanta, his Siſter, being in Preſence, the King called for *Iohn Ruyz de Valaſco*, putting him in Minde of a Cofer †, which he had committed to his Cuſtodie, willing him to fetch it ; the Cofer was very little, yet, when it was brought, he cauſed it to be opened, and, taking foorth a pretious Stone of an infinite Value, cauſed it to be deliuered to his Daughter, ſpeaking thus vnto hir : My Daughter *Izabella Eugenia Clara*, receiue this Iewell, brought vnto me by your Mother, the which I beſtowe vpon you for my laſt Farewell. And then, turning him to the Prince, ſaid, Are you contented with this that I giue unto your Siſter ? Who anſwered, Yea, Sir, although you gaue her all that I haue. This Anſwere lyking the King very wel, he willed them to looke in the Cofer for another Paper, and, giuing it to the Prince, he told him, that therein he ſhould ſee the Forme how to gouern his Kingdome. Then they tooke out of the ſaid Cofer a Whip with bloudie Knots, which the King holding vp, ſaid, This Bloud is mine owne, and yet not mine but my Fathers, who is in Heauen, who made Uſe of this Kind of Exercife ; and therefore to make known the Value of it, and the Trueth of it, I thought good to reueale it vnto you. After this he commaunded a Paper to be taken from vnder his Pillow, which, being read by *Iohn Ruyz*, contained theſe Words : We, *Philip*, by the Grace of God, King of *Caſtile* and *Lion*, &c. hauing gouerned this Realme forty Yeeres, in the ſeuenty-firſt Yeere of mine Age, giue over this Kingdome vnto my God to whom it belongeth, and commend my Soule into his bleſſed Hands, to performe therewith whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie. Commaunding that this my Bodie, ſo ſoone as euer my Soule ſhall be ſeparated from the ſame, be embalmed ; then apparelled with a Royall Robe, and ſo placed in this brazen Shrine heere preſent, and that the Howers ‡ be kept, with all Rites and Ceremonies as the Lawe requireth, and I commaund my Funerall to be ſolemnized in this Manner : Before ſhall be borne the Archbiſhops Banner, then the Croſſe ; the Monkes and the Clergie preſentlie ſhall followe, all in Mourning Garments. The *Adelantado* ‖ ſhall beare the Royall Standard, trailing it vpon the Ground. The Duke of *Nayara* ſhall carrie the Crowne vnder a Canopie. The Marqueſſe of *Aguillar* ſhall carrie the Sword. My Body

* *al.* Cabinet. † *al.* a ſmall Box or Trunk.
‡ *i. e.* The Office of the Dead ſhall be performed. ‖ *Adelantado* is the Admirall of the Gallies.

ſhall

ſhall be borne by eight of my chiefeſt Seruants, all in Mourning Weedes, with burning Torches in their Handes. The Archbiſhop ſhall follow the Nobles, and our vniuerſal Heir ſhall follow on the one Side all in Dewle *. When they come to the Church, my Body ſhall be placed in the Herſe there of Purpoſe erected. All the Praiers and Deuotions ended, the Prelate ſhall place me in the Vault, my laſt Habitation, which ſhall be giuen to me for euer. All this performed, your Prince †, and third King of that Name, ſhall go to S. *Ieroſmes* ‡ at *Madrill*, there to keep the holy Ceremonies of the ninth Daie yeerely, and my Daughter, with my Siſter, her Aunt, ſhall go to the gray Nunnes barefoote. Then, ſpeaking to the Prince, he ſaide, Beſides all that which I haue heertofore ſpoken to you, I pray you haue a great Care and Regard to your Siſter, becauſe ſhee was my Looking-glaſſe and the Light of mine Eies. Keepe the Commonwealth in Peace, placing there good Gouernors to reward the Good and puniſh the Bad. Let the Marqueſſe of *Mondeiar* be deliuered out of Priſon, on this Condition that he come not to the Court. Let the Wife of *Antonio Perez* alſo be ſet at Libertie, ſo that from hencefoorth ſhee liue in a Monaſterie, and let her Daughters inherite the Patrimonie which ſhee brought. Forgiue thoſe which are Priſoners for Hunting, with all ſuch as are condemned to die (the Kings Pardon wanting) and ſo I giue my laſt Farewell to my Children, commending them to all Peace and Safetie. Then the Prince aſked Don *Chriſtofer de Mora*, for the Royall Key, commaunding him to deliuer it to him; who craued Pardon of his Highnes, becauſe it was the Key of all Truſt and Confidence, which hee could in no wiſe deliuer, without the Leaue of his Lord the King. Well, ſaid the Prince, it is ynough; and ſo went into his Chamber, whilſt Don *Chriſtofer*, returning to the King, whome he found a little cheered, ſaid vnto him, Sir, his Highneſs aſked of me the Royall Key, which I haue denied him, as hauing no Leave from your Maieſtie. But the King told him he had done ill. Not long after he fell into another Fit, whereupon he called for the extreme Vnction ‖, which was giuen vnto him by the Archbiſhop. Then he called for a Crucifixe which had beene kept ſafely in a Cheſt, which was the very ſame his Father held betweene his Hands, when he died, with the which he deſired likewiſe to die. Hereupon his Highneſs returned to his Father, at whoſe Comming Don *Chriſtofer*, vpon his Knees, preſented to him the Royall Key, which the Prince receiued, and gaue it to the Marqueſſe of *Denia*; whereupon the King ſaid to him, Remember, I commende vnto you Don *Chriſtofer* for the moſt faithfull Seruant which I euer had, and ſo haue Care of all the reſt, which I commende vnto you. And ſo he took his Leaue of him againe, imbracing him, at which Inſtant his Speech failed; and in this Sort he continued two Daies, and died vpon *Sunday*, the Thirteenth of *September*, about three of the Clocke in the Morning. The Body was buried vpon *Munday* the Fourteenth of that Moneth, about nine of the Clocke in the Morning, the Archbiſhop ſaying the Maſſe. The new King came from *Eſcuriall*, the Sixteenth of that Inſtant, leauing his Siſter at the gray Nunnes, and ſo went to S. *Ieroſmes*, the Court remaining in great Mourning and Lamentation, making Preparation for the great Funerall.

* *i e.* Mourning. † *Philip.* ‡ A Convent of *Jeronimite* Friars.

‖ A Sacrament of the *Romiſh* Church; it is Oil-Olive conſecrated by a Biſhop for the Anointing ſuch Perſons, of whoſe Life there is no Hope.

The Pacquet-Boat Advice: Or, a Diſcourſe concerning the War with *France*, between ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen and a *Frenchman*, betwixt *Calais* and *Dover*.

Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.

London, Printed, MDCLXXVIII. *Quarto*, containing Twenty-one Pages.

HAving received Advice from ſome of my Friends in *England*, that there was a little Cloud of Diſcontent ariſing, by Reaſon of the Jealouſies of the growing Greatneſs of the *French*, their many great and unexpected Conqueſts, which they ſeemed not only obſtinately reſolved to keep themſelves poſſeſſed of, but, by the Progreſs of their Arms, to enlarge and extend; and gueſſing, that, in all Probability, theſe Storms would not be allayed without ſome Showers of Blood, I began to unfix myſelf from my Reſidence at *Mompellier*, whither my Curioſity, and the Courſe of my Studies, had carried me; and my Intentions were to have ſpent ſome Time, and then to have paſſed over the *Alps* to ſee *Italy*, the Garden of the World.

But receiving Letters of freſh Date, giving an Account of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*'s Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, and his Majeſty's Calling of the Parliament ſooner than the general Expectation:

I began then to think, that there was ſomething at the Bottom of the flying Rumours. Being not willing to run the Hazard of being ill treated in *France*, where I had not ſo perfectly made myſelf Maſter of the Language as to paſs for a Native, and conſidering, that I had no Way to ſupport myſelf, but by Bills of Exchange, or Begging, if there ſhould be a War between the two Nations, I began to reflect how difficult it would be for me to ſecure myſelf of conſtant Supplies, and that, if I had them, poſſibly, I might run the Riſque of being ſuſpected and ſeized for an Intelligencer; and not daring to truſt to the Charity of a People who are ſo impoveriſhed, as generally rather to expect it from Strangers, than to afford it them, and where my very being an *Engliſhman* would deprive me of the Charity of ſuch as were able, ſince they would look upon me as an Enemy; and in Truth, fancying that I ſhould make a very ill Beggar, it being a Trade I had no Acquaintance with; upon theſe Conſiderations, I thought it more adviſeable to take my Leave of *France*, and to retire into my native Country: Upon which Reſolution I departed, with the firſt Conveniency that offered, for *Paris*, where, when I arrived, the Rumour was hot amongſt the *Engliſh*, that there would be a War, and that very ſpeedily, though the *French* were very mute and huſh about it.

Theſe Conſiderations made me think of ſtaying leſs Time than I intended at *Paris*, and therefore I made immediately for *Calais*, in order to my Coming over in the Pacquet-boat for *Dover*.

We went a-board with the Morning Tide, the Day proving exceeding fair, and the Wind which we had ſcarce enough, and not directly for us; it made our Paſſage ſomething more tedious; but, however, the Company were ſo civil to themſelves, and one to another, as to endeavour to ſhorten the Paſſage, by ſtealing ſome Hours in entertaining themſelves with Variety of Diſcourſes upon ſundry Subjects.

Amongſt the reſt, there was one Gentleman who ſtarted the Diſcourſe, concerning the preſent

ſent Rumour of the War, and deſired the Opinion of the Company about it, whether they did believe it would prove ſo in good Earneſt, or whether it was not only an Overture and Appearance. His Concern and Inquiſitiveneſs made me guilty of the ſame Humour, and rather becauſe, amongſt a great Variety of Entertainment, all the Company had diſcovered themſelves, as to their Deſigns and Profeſſions, and ſome of them without any Reſerve, even to their very Names, and the Places of their Habitation; yet I found this Perſon not ſo innocent and ſimply liberal, only he told us he was a Merchant in *Paris*, who had ſome Correſpondents in *England*, and that the News of the War had perſuaded him to croſs over the Seas, and ſo for *London*, to endeavour to ſecure his Effects there, in caſe there ſhould be a Rupture in good Earneſt, and that he had conſiderable Bills of Exchange upon the Account of ſeveral of the greateſt *French* Merchants in *England*. I gave him the Patience of Hearing, but, I confeſs, no great Credit to his Words; for methought his Mein, his Equipage, and his Diſcourſe, betrayed ſomething more in him, than meer Merchant; and I perceived he had been abroad upon other Affairs than thoſe of Traffick, for he gave us a punctual Account of the moſt conſiderable Actions of the preſent War in *Flanders* and *Germany*: But that which gave me the greateſt Suſpicion, was his frequent Mention of ſomething more than a bare Knowledge of moſt of the great Perſons of the Court of *France*, and particularly of Monſieur *Lovois*, and Monſieur *Colbert*, whom he called the great Patron of Merchants, Trade, and Induſtry, extolling him to Heaven, and proteſting, that, if his Deſigns took Effect, *France* would be the only *Emporium*, or Market of the World. This Jealouſy, that he did trade with theſe great Perſons only for Diamonds, having once infected my Imagination, I had a Curioſity to drive it as far as I could, with all the ſtudied Ignorance and Simplicity I was capable of, and pretending great Kindneſs to this Nation, a Folly too common, and uſually true with the *Engliſh*, who are wont, with a Kind of Witchcraft, to dote upon the *French*. So that we fell ſmartly upon the Subject of the War; and, in Regard I appeared moſt forward in my Civility, and ready to entertain his Diſcourſe, he thought he had met with a right *Engliſh* Spaniel; and therefore, making his Application particularly to me, Monſieur (ſaith he) you are an *Engliſhman*, and though you have ſpent ſome Time in *France*, yet, I doubt not, but by your Appearance, which ſeems to diſcover you to be no common Perſon, you have good Intelligence from Perſons of Condition; you will infinitely oblige the Company, and myſelf in a moſt particular Manner, if you will honour us with your Opinion, whether or no you do believe, that we ſhall fall from thoſe good Terms of Friendſhip and Alliance, which his Majeſty of *Great-Britain* has hitherto conſerved for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Sir, replied I, you ſet too obliging a Value upon the Opinion of a Stranger, but it is the uſual Effect of your Generoſity, which I ſhall in ſome Meaſure endeavour to merit, by my Obedience to your Commands: For I was willing to pay him with his own Coin. But, Sir, added I, your Queſtion is of too great Conſideration, to find a Reſolution from my private Opinion. Affairs of that high Nature are only tranſacted in the Cabinets of our great Maſters, and it may be it is no leſs a Point of Preſumption, than Folly, for us to concern ourſelves about them. Monſieur (ſaid he briſkly) what we ſay is only to divert our Paſſage, and to borrow an Hour or two from theſe ſlow Sails and the Wind, which uſes not at this Time of the Year to be ſo ſluggiſh. But, in my Opinion, there are ſeveral Reaſons which may be alledged to perſuade the World that this will not come to Blows.

Sir, ſaid a good blunt Gentleman, with a Scar of Honour in his Face, who lay all along in the Boat, and had not ſpoken till then, it may be you are not ſo well acquainted with the *Engliſh*, as I am; for my Part, I am not much concerned in Affairs of State, nor am I acquainted with the Counſels of Princes, but let me aſſure you, by what I have heard, and know, that, if it were put to the Vote of the People, *Whether a War, or no War with France*, I believe, not One in a Thouſand, but would be for a War.

Monſieur, ſaid the *Frenchman*, a little fired at his Diſcourſe, no Wonder at that; the People are like the Element which now carries us, full of Floods and Ebbs, and, it may be, they will To-morrow be as forward for a Peace, as To-day they are for a War: You *Engliſh* love to talk of Wars, but you hate to part with your Money to defray the Charge of it.

Sir,

Sir, ſaid the Gentleman, raiſing himſelf a little, I know not whether we can part with our Money, but we will part with our Blood freely: It is ſaid indeed you part with yours, and ſhoot golden Bullets, and make Uſe of Keys of the ſame Metal, which will open a Breach, or a Gate, into the ſtrongeſt Fortifications; but, Sir, we have been uſed to do it with Steel and Iron, and yet, give me Leave to tell you, I hope we ſhall be ſo wiſe, rather to part with our Money, than to keep it till the *French* come with armed Troops to collect it, as they do in their own Country; and I hope, yet before I die, to help to open ſome of the Gates of *Paris* with that hard Metal, and to hear the Drums beat the heavy *Engliſh* March through the Streets again, which once ſpoiled a Jeſt of one of your Kings.

Monſieur, ſaid the *French* Merchant, as he called himſelf, biting the Nails of his Thumbs, by which I knew he was angry, *Jerne Diabile*, you will find ſomething to do before you come there; the King of *France* has Two-hundred thouſand *Gens d'Arms*, and One hundred Sale of Ships, who will ſpeak Thunder and Lightning, and make bold to ſtop your Paſſage.

Meſſieurs (interpoſed I, not willing to have theſe Heats ſpoil our Converſation) be ſo obliging not to tranſport yourſelves into a Heat, about an Affair, which was only ſtarted for our Divertiſement; there is no War yet, and I hope none there will be. Sir, anſwered the *Engliſh* Gentleman fiercely, there is not, but I hope there will be, and that quickly too. This Gentleman, as I underſtood after our Landing, was an *Engliſh* Captain, a Soldier of Fortune, who was taken Priſoner going wounded from *Maeſtricht*, and not having wherewith to ranſom himſelf, according to the Rate ſet upon him, had been a long Time very ill uſed amongſt the *French*, but, having made Friends to procure a ſmall Ranſom, which they were willing to take, rather than none at all, having got his Liberty, was coming over to look for ſome Employ wherewith he might at once ſatisfy both his Neceſſity and Revenge: I gave him a little Sign, which he underſtood; and, being unwilling to hinder the Proſecution of the Diſcourſe, he laid himſelf down again, upon which I took up the former Argument of my *French* Merchant, and deſired him to favour us with the Reaſons that moved him to believe there would be no War.

Monſieur (ſaid he) can the *Engliſh* Nation poſſibly live more happily than at preſent they do, whilſt enjoying Peace they have the Commerce and Traffick of the whole World, without paying any Gabels, *Taxes*, I think, you call them? And would it not be a ſtrange Thing for them to put their Finger into their Neighbours Fire when there is no Neceſſity; when they have all the Aſſurances of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he has all the Honour and Eſteem for them imaginable, and that he would be ready to do them all the good Offices, as his Majeſty did in the late War with *Holland* in 1665, when the Count *D'Eſtrees* was ſent with a Squadron of gallant Ships to your Aſſiſtance againſt the *Dutch*.

Monſieur, ſaid I, People ſpeak variouſly of that Aſſiſtance, and I have heard ſome Perſons affirm, that Monſieur *D'Eſtrees* did the *Engliſh* more Prejudice than Kindneſs; and I remember, I ſaw a Letter, which affirmed, that the not Coming in of the *French* Squadron raviſhed an aſſured Victory from the *Engliſh*.

Upon which the Steerſman of the Veſſel would put in his Oar into the Boat: Marry, ſaid he, I was then a-board of the *London*, under Sir *John Harman*, and I ſaw never a Ship of the *French* ſtrike a Stroke; but, how do you call him, Monſieur *Martin*, he fought like a gallant Man Board and Board with the *Dutch*; but, they ſay, when he came Home, he was clapped up in the Tower of *Paris* for his Pains.

Friend, ſaid I, to him, you mean Monſieur *Martel*, and that he was made a Priſoner in the *Baſtile*; but it was not for Fighting, but for Diſobeying the Order of his Admiral. Monſieur, added the *French* Merchant, it was for ſome Language which he gave the Count *D'Eſtrees*, which did not become him to give, nor the other to receive: But, what ſignifies one idle talking Captain, who was juſtly puniſhed for his Inſolence? But, Monſieur, ſaid he, turning himſelf to me, if it were not the Advantage of Trade, which you do, and may enjoy, upon keeping up a good Underſtanding with the *French*, yet the Puiſſance of his Arms, which is ſo glorious beyond all that ever were before him, attended with a Thouſand Victories, a Thouſand Succeſſes, might perſuade you not to be ſo haſty to enter into a War

War with a Nation, ſo great, ſo potent, ſo fortunate, and who is not without Hopes ſtill of greater Aſſiſtances and Alliances, and, poſſibly, before long, you may hear that ſome other Princes have declared in Favour of *France*.

Sir, ſaid I to him, the Argument which you uſe to perſuade to Peace is that which, generally I ſuppoſe in *England*, is accounted the greateſt Motive of the War; the Wealth and Puiſſance, the Victories and Conqueſts of the *French*, is that which makes them looked upon as too great and dangerous a Neighbour, both in Peace and War; in Peace, becauſe they will certainly, they affirm, diminiſh their Trade and Treaſure, as they find by Experience; and in War, there is no Doubt, but their Greatneſs muſt needs make them ſenſible of their Danger, and they eſteem it, therefore, a Point of Prudence to endeavour, if poſſible, to arreſt the Courſe of their Deſigns, before they break all the Banks and ancient Limits, which were the Boundaries of their Anceſtors, and overflowing theſe Parts of the World with a Dominion, the Name of which is odious to the *Engliſh*.

Monſieur, reparted the *French* Gentleman, you do well to put it only by Way of Suppoſition (if poſſible) for I aſſure you, had you but ſeen the *French* Armies ſuch brave Men, ſuch gallant Captains,——

Upon which the *Engliſh* Captain, who, I thought, had been at his Repoſe, ſtarts up: What Men do you mean, pray, Sir? Are you not obliged to our Countrymen for your brave Atchievements you talk of; pray, who was it that took *Maeſtricht*? Are you not obliged to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the *Engliſh* for that Town? Who was it that ſaved Marſhal *Turenne* oftener than once in *Alſace*? And who was it that brought off his Army after that he was knocked on the Head? When theſe Men are drawn off from you, and when they come to fight againſt you, we ſhall hear of another Story.

Sir, ſaid I to him, all the World muſt allow, that the *French* are brave Men, well diſciplined, and that their Commanders are the moſt vigilant and expert Captains of the Age.

Pray, Sir, ſaid he ſhort upon me, are you an *Engliſhman Frenchified*, or a *Frenchman* in the Diſguiſe of an *Engliſh*? But, be an *Engliſhman* or a *Frenchman*, or what you will, I would tell you a Story of one of the gallant *French* Commanders, which will be Reaſon enough to perſuade all *Engliſhmen* to love them leſs than they do (if it be poſſible) and to fight with them, and beat them too, which is very poſſible; for, let them give you never ſo good Words at preſent, if ever you come within their Clutches, they will uſe you like Dogs, and worſe, for they will give you a Knock, but the Devil a Bit with it. I was a Captain at *Woerden*, when the *French* lay at *Utrecht*, and, if you will give me Leave, I will tell you of a brave Speech, which the Duke of *Luxemborgh*, now the Marſhal *Montmorency*, made to his Soldiers.

Monſieur, ſaid the *French* Merchant, interrupting him, pray, ſpare the Duke of *Luxemborgh*, I preſume you do not know him; for he is certainly the moſt obliging gallant Gentleman in the World.

Sir, replied the Captain, he may be what he will; I have ſeen him, and, if he were here, I would ſay what I have ſaid; and hope, as gallant as he is, if I can come near him for his Life-guard, to change a Piſtol with him loaden with a Brace of Slugs of good *Engliſh* Lead; and, though mine will not ſhoot ſo far as your *French* Piſtols (which they ſay are better for Battery than heavy Cannon) yet they will kill the gallanteſt *Frenchman* in the Army, if they have but the Luck to hit him three Inches underneath his Feather. And, for the Duke of *Luxemborgh*, I will juſtify,——

Hold, hold, noble Captain, ſaid I, you are a Man of War, we are all peaceable, and I beg the Favour of you, that you will allow us the Freedom of Diſcourſe; it is only to paſs away our Time till we come to *Dover*, it will not now be long; and therefore, applying myſelf to my Merchant, Sir, ſaid I, there is no Doubt but the *French* are a moſt potent Nation, and, if ſome other Princes of the Empire ſhould join with him, it would be a conſiderable Addition to his Power; but ſtill give me Leave to ſpeak in Favour of my Countrymen, the *Engliſh*, they are a People not to be deſpiſed; and, if it be true, which is ſaid, that there is a ſtrict Confederation between them and the *Hollanders*, they will outdo you far at Sea; and, if they cut off your Navy, they cut off an Arm from *France*, which one may ſay as the *Turk*, comparing the Loſs of the Battle of *Lepanto* to that of *Cyprus*, it is worſe cutting off the Head than cutting off the Hair, becauſe the one will grow again, but the other

never;

never; and beſides the ſtopping of your Trade, and keeping your Wines and other Commodities upon your Hands, will make your Money run upon the Lees, and is cutting the Nerves of War, as Money is always eſteemed. And, as this Power at Sea may well balance all that you can ſay of your Maſters, ſo the Armies, that *England* may add to thoſe of the Confederates at Land, will more than balance the Aſſiſtance you promiſe yourſelf; and yet ſome Perſons are of Opinion, that the Princes will ſtill maintain their Neutrality, till they ſee which Way the Dye of War will fall; you know it is ſafe Joining with the Victor, and, in the mean Time, they keep their Country free from Winter-quarters and Plunder; but, beſides all this, his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburgh* will now be at great Liberty, to aſſiſt the Confederates with thoſe brave Men who made themſelves Maſters of the obſtinate Town of *Stetin*.

Monſieur, ſaid the *French* Merchant, you ſpeak a great Meaſure of Reaſon, but we can difficultly perſuade ourſelves that you are in good Earneſt, though ſome Things have paſſed of late that begin to ſtagger a great many People. Yes, ſays the Captain, who could hold out no longer, I believe it doth ſtagger a great many People, and the *French* eſpecially. But that, ſaid the Captain, for all your Pretenſions of being a Merchant, I believe you are one of his Agents, who, with the Bills of Exchange you told us of, are going into *England*, to hold Intelligence, and ſow Jealouſies; that is a Sort of Merchandiſe which you have of late traded with very much in all Parts of the World; but it may be, before long we ſhall hear, that you are broke by the Diſcovery of your Correſpondence. And I hope thoſe *Engliſh* People, thoſe dull *Engliſh*, whom, you think, you can cheat and out-wit at your Pleaſure, will be ſo wiſe as to ſee your Tricks and Arts, and to underſtand that the Gold, you are ſo liberal of to ſome of them, is only to gild the Chains you intend to put upon them all. I am ſatisfied, if they knew you but half ſo well as I do, or had but ſeen your Kindneſs to the Province of *Utrecht*, after it had been wheedled into a Surrender, they would have little Reaſon to truſt to your Kindneſs.

Monſieur, ſaid the *Frenchman*, what is all this to the *Engliſh*?

Sir, ſaid the Captain, I think it is a fair Warning to the *Engliſh*, to ſtand upon their Guard, and to endeavour to put themſelves out of the Danger of falling under the Kindneſs of the *French*.

Pray, Monſieur, ſaid the *French* Merchant (being a little cooled with the rough Humour of the Captain) what are thoſe Uſages which the Province of *Utrecht* complains of?

Look you here, ſaid the Captain, with that he pulled a little Book out of his Pocket, written in *French*, intituled, *Advis fidele aux veritables Hollandois*, all this is true, and more than this I know to be true, when your gallant Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and the Surintendant *Robert*, had broken their Backs with Quarter and Plunder, and Payments, and Confiſcations, and the Devil and all, the Marqueſs *de Louvois* ſends them a Letter of Conſolation, a Cup of Comfort, an Egg broken into a Pale of Water, which you ſhall hear, if you have Patience.

Meſſieurs, I'ay receu voſtre Lettre 23 du mois paſſe, &c. but becauſe, Sir, ſaid he, you underſtand and ſpeak *Engliſh* ſo well, as to make you paſs for any Thing, if you can but leave your Shrug and your *Jernies* and *Bongres*, I will not trouble the Company with a Language I do love as little as it may be they underſtand, and therefore I will endeavour to teach the Marques to ſpeak *Engliſh*, for he is a civil, obliging, complaiſant Perſon.

" Meſſieurs, I have received your Letter " of the Twenty-third of the laſt paſt, by " which I have ſeen all the Reaſons which " you repreſent, to make me underſtand, " that the City and Province of *Utrecht* are " not in a Condition to ſatisfy the De- " mands, which Monſieur *Robert* hath made. " I do eaſily judge that you cannot do it " without great Trouble, but, ſince Neceſ- " ſity has no Law, and that the Armies of " the King muſt be maintained, you ought " to accommodate yourſelves to the ſaid Sieur " *Roberts*, ſo as to furniſh what he demands, " otherwiſe it is impoſſible, but you muſt fall " into a moſt grand Deſolation; and, to mend " the Matter, the honeſt Sieur *Robert* tells " them in ſhort, that, ſince they made ſuch " an Impoſſibility to raiſe the Money demand- " ed, he would cauſe Fire to be ſet to the " four Quarters of the City, and he would " light it in the Middle himſelf, *a fin de re- " duire en Cendre une ville, qui n' eſtoit qui a " charge & inutile au Roy mon Maiſtre*, to the " End I may reduce a City into Aſhes, which " is unprofitable, and a Charge to the King " my Maſter."

Is

Is this true or not, Sir?

Monſieur, ſaid the *Frenchman*, but what is all this to the *Engliſh?*

Sir, anſwered the Captain, I think it is a fair Warning to the *Engliſh*, to ſtand upon their Guard, and to endeavour to put themſelves out of the Danger of coming under the Power of the *French*, and, if poſſible, to put the *French* out of the Power of putting them in Danger.

Why, Sir, replied the other, the *French* have no Deſigns upon you, but only as your own Fears and Apprehenſions perſuade you.

What, cried the Captain, the *French* without Deſigns? You ſhall as ſoon find a Monkey without Tricks; from the Onion Porridge-man to the Marſhal you are all Politicians and Deſigners. You have, you ſay, an hundred Sail of Ships, and two-hundred thouſand Men, and you have no Deſigns nor ever had I warrant you to make yourſelves Maſters of *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *England* at laſt. But, by your Favour, Sir, you muſt paſs through Fire as well as Water, before it comes to that.

Well, Monſieur, ſaid the *Frenchman*, I hope for all this that there will be a Peace, and, it may be, I have ſome Reaſon for my Conjecture; I aſſure you, we Merchants are in Hopes, that you will not enter upon a War, which muſt be ſo great a Hazard and Charge to the Nation.

Sir, ſaid the Captain, you offer fair, but I cannot imagine, why you ſhould be ſo troubled for the Charge of the War, though I hope it will come to your Share at laſt to defray it, unleſs you are afraid we ſhould ſo impoveriſh ourſelves by a War, that, when you come to viſit us, we ſhould not be worth the Plundering, and *London* would be good for nothing, but a ſecond Fire, as *Robert* ſaid of *Utrecht*; and for my own Particular, and I hope all true *Engliſh* Hearts are of the ſame tough old Metal, you ſhall firſt try how you can digeſt our Steel and Iron before you taſte of our Gold and Silver.

I found my two Gentlemen were running into a Heat, and therefore I thought it better to make a Tack, as the Boat then did, to ſome other Diſcourſe, which we preſently did, and ſo paſt the Time till we came to *Dover* Peer.

As we parted, the Monſieurs bid us adieu, and, with the Grace of a Shrug particular to his Nation, he told me he ſhould be obliged infinitely, if he had the good Fortune and Honour to meet me upon the *Exchange*.

Farewell, ſaid the Captain, and have a Care I do not meet you ſcattering your Bills of Exchange in the wrong Place, and taking up News to ſend into *France*, *in lieu of which you will return us Suſpicions of your own Making, to ſet us together by the Ears at Home, that ſo you may be ſecured from us Abroad.*

The *Frenchman* gave him a Look full of Indignation, and away he went to take Poſt immediately for *London*; I was extremely pleaſed with the rugged, honeſt Converſation of this Captain, and therefore deſired, if his Affairs would permit, that we might be Companions for that Night at *Dover*, where I had ſome little Affair; he willingly conſented to my Propoſition, and ſo together we went to an Inn, where we had no ſooner taken a Room, but in came two Gentlemen of my Relations, who had promiſed to meet me there; I was very much pleaſed at their Arrival, and after mutual Civilities paſſed, and that we had, like *Engliſhmen*, made ſome Proviſion for Supper, without ever aſking what we ſhould pay for it, and got a Bottle of good *Canary* (for my Captain would drink no *French* Wine) we preſently fell to Chat.

The firſt Queſtion you may be ſure was, What News? And the Captain was in great Haſte, What, ſhall we have a War with *France?* Sir, anſwered one of my Friends, Men's Opinions are various as their Intereſts; but here is his Majeſty's Speech, which, it may be, is News to you; and, if you pleaſe to read it, you may make your Conjecture. Couſin, ſaid I, you miſtake, if you think it News, or if, in leſs than a Week's Time, we do not ſee in *Paris* every Thing of Moment that paſſes at *London*: The *French* trade in *Aleppo* Pigeons; nay, if we will believe them, they would perſuade us, that they tell beforehand what will be done.

That is an excellent Way of Intelligence, ſaid the other Gentleman; but, for my Part, I look upon it as a *French* Artifice; and I am confident, that that Trick of pretending to know every Thing, amongſt us, has done them conſiderable Service; for, certainly, it has given Occaſion for thoſe Jealouſies, which now break out amongſt us, as if there were a ſecret Intrigue betwixt the *French* and us, in order to ſome ſtrange Deſign; and nothing will

will beat it out of ſome People's Heads, but that this War is only for a Colour. Sir, ſaid the Captain, here came over with us one of their Whiſperers, Piſtole-droppers, News-makers, and away he is poſted for *London*, to fill ſome People's Heads with Proclamations of Peace, Popery, Arbitrary Government, &c. and others Pockets with *French* Money to ſwear it is true, they have Letters from *France* that confirm it.

Couſin, ſaid I, if the *French* can accompliſh this either Way, they have done their Buſineſs. I aſſure you, there is nothing they dread like a War with *England*. I ſaw, upon ſeveral Poſts in *Paris*, a ſevere Prohibition, ſo much as to mention ſuch a War; but, if they can drive it off with theſe Reports, by diſuniting the King and his Subjects, they are lucky People, and ſafe enough; and, if they can make a Peace underhand, though they give as much Money for it, as would almoſt maintain the War, yet they have their Aim.

Well, ſaid the Captain, I doubt nothing; I am aſſured from a good Hand, that, before I get to *London*, ſome Reſolution will be taken. I told you ſome Stories of the *French*, but I have more of their Pranks to acquaint the People with. Honeſt Captain, and Fellow-traveller, ſaid I, God ſend you good Luck; I dare ſay you will beſtow your Skill upon the *French* with a good Will; but Couſin, ſaid I, pray what's the Matter? Sir, replied he, they were wiſe that could tell you; and, for my Part, I have little Curioſity, and leſs Acquaintance with State Affairs; but ſome People, I find, are diſpleaſed: But, prithee, what's that to us? Let us drink and be merry, and let the World go which Way it will: By your Favour, Sir, ſaid the Captain, there are ſome People that are diſpleaſed, becauſe they reſolved beforehand to be ſo with every Thing; but I preſume, that you, and every *Engliſhman*, are ſo far concerned, that, if you do not look about you, the *French* will before long ſpoil both your Mirth and Drinking; what mean you? (anſwered the other) I hope they will not ſpoil our Drinking, by Cutting our Throats, as they ſay the *Danes* did, which brought in the Cuſtom of Pledging, or being pledged when one drank. Sir, ſaid the Captain, you may live and drink, and be merry in that Hope; but, for my Part, I do not intend to truſt them: I had rather cut ſome of theirs fairly, for I hate to have my Weaſand ſlit, unleſs it be in the Field.

Well, honeſt, brave Captain, ſaid I, your ill Uſage makes you in a Rage againſt the *French*, and you think the Quarrel moves too ſlow; but, Sir, you muſt conſider, this is an Affair of great Weight, and it is not good to make more Haſte than Speed. Sir, ſaid he, the greater Weight ſhould make the Motion more quick; you do not ſeem to underſtand the Worth of Time, nor the briſk Humour of the *French*, and, therefore, I have nothing to ſay to you; but, I hope, other People do, and will conſider it. Come, come, ſays my Couſin, what have we to do with theſe Matters? it was never well ſince there were ſo many little Stateſmen, and polite Politicians.

I believe moſt People are ſatisfied of the Neceſſity of a War, to reduce the World to the old Balance, and *France* amongſt the reſt, that ſo ſhe may be eaſy to her Neighbours, and they ſafe from her; And what would any Body deſire more? It is true, there have been ſome Jealouſies, which have clogged the Wheels of this great Affair; but I can aſſure you, when I came out of Town, it was generally hoped, that a little Time would bring all People to a good Underſtanding, Councils to Unity, and the Affair to a happy Period.

Sir, ſaid the Captain, this is a Word of Comfort, for I dare aſſure you, that the great Hopes of *France* are grounded upon our Diviſions, which they are not ſo ill Huſbands, but they know how to improve: I heard one of them the other Day ſay, that, he thought that of the great *Turk*, *Solyman*, might be applied to the *Engliſh*, who will be of one Mind (as he ſaid, the Chriſtian Princes would) when all the Fingers of his Hand were united into one.

Come, Captain, ſaid I, Unity, Secrecy, and Expedition, added to our Courage and Power, may do much; and I doubt not, but the Neceſſity, which ſeems to be upon us, will make them all meet: The Cauſe is good, for it is not for Sovereignty, but for Safety; not for Glory, but Security, and to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, from the Rapine and Ambition of the *French*; and he is no true *Engliſhman*, who will not heartily venture his Life and Fortune, in ſuch a lawful War.

Upon which, Supper came in, and, having

ing talked ourſelves into a good Opinion of Eating, we gratified our Palates, as well as the Place would afford; and, not long after, every one retired to his Apartment, where, I believe, the Captain dreamed of Drums, and Trumpets, and Cannons, and Granado's Storms, and Battles, for he made a horrible Noiſe in his Sleep, lying in the next Room to me; for my Part, like a Perſon not much concerned, I ſlept as heartily as the Soldier would permit me, who gave me ſeveral Alarms; and I can no more tell, what I dreamed, than I can tell certainly what all Men long ſo much to know, that we ſhall have a War with *France*, or ſuch a Peace as ſhall be ſafe and honourable for *England*, and all *Chriſtendom*.

An Account of the Reaſons which induced *Charles the Second*, King of *England*, to declare War againſt the States-General of the United Provinces, in 1672: And, of the private League which he entered into at the ſame Time with the *French* King to carry it on, and to eſtabliſh Popery in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as they are ſet down in the Hiſtory of the *Dutch* War. Printed in *French* at *Paris*, with the Privilege of the *French* King, in 1682. Which Book he cauſed to be immediately ſuppreſſed, at the Inſtance of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

Licenſed, *March* the 5th, 1689, by *James Fraſer*.

London, printed in 1689. *Folio*, containing fifteen Pages.

WHEN King *Charles the Second* declared War againſt the States of the United Provinces, in 1672, and aſſiſted the King of *France* by Sea, in the Proſecution of a War, which brought that great Commonwealth, and, with it, the Proteſtant Intereſt of this Part of *Europe*, ſo very near to a final Period: It was induſtriouſly and carefully given out, that Religion was not in the leaſt concerned in the Quarrel. The Honour of the King of *England*, and of his People, ſo inſolently trampled upon by the States-General; the Hindering of our *Eaſt-India* Trade, with the Affronts which were put upon our Merchants at *Surinam*; their Diſputing the Sovereignty of the Sea, and Refuſing to take down their Flag to our Ships, unleſs we would promiſe to engage actually in a War againſt *France*, were the Cauſes which were publickly pretended; and anſwerable Artifices were made Uſe of to engage the People to a Concurrence, which were carried on with ſo good Succeſs, that the Parliament conſented to allow ſuch Sums of Money, as ſhould be ſufficient for the Carrying on the Charges of that War.

Yet theſe Reaſonings were not ſo plauſible, but that moſt conſidering Men eaſily ſaw through them. Thoſe, that loved the Proteſtant Intereſt, could not with Patience endure to ſee the Triple League, which was the greateſt Fence of their Religion, againſt the growing Greatneſs of *France*, broken, and

new Leagues made with the King, whoſe Aim at an univerſal Monarchy was then as viſible, though the Effects of it had not been near ſo fatal as they are now. Therefore, other Methods were followed at Home; the Diſſenters were careſſed, and a Declaration of Indulgence was ſet out, wherein the King expreſſes ſo very great Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, *which he had ſo eminently profeſſed in his moſt deſperate Condition Abroad among* Roman *Catholick Princes* *, that he allowed to the Proteſtant Diſſenters the publick and free Exerciſe of their Religion, in Houſes ſet apart for that Purpoſe, which was only granted to *Roman* Catholicks in their own Houſes. And, leſt this might have too much alienated the Church of *England*, whoſe Members bore ſo great a Sway in that Parliament, that a Breach with them, at that Time, might have ſtopped his Deſigns upon *Holland*, in a great Meaſure, by their Refuſing to pay the Charges of the War, he declares, in the next Seſſion of Parliament †, *This Indulgence, ſhould not any Way prejudice the Church, but that he would ſupport its Rights and it, in its full Power.*

His Declarations, both at the Time when this War was on Foot, and even afterwards, as long as he lived, were outwardly ſo very paſſionate and warm for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of the *Engliſh* Government, that, unleſs ſuch frequent Repetitions of that, which, in good Manners, none would ſeem to queſtion, might look like Overdoing, and ſo breed Suſpicions, nothing could have ever ſhaken that Opinion, which was ſo firmly grounded in the Hearts of all his Subjects. He profeſſed ‡, that he ſhould eſteem it the moſt unpardonable Crime which could be committed againſt himſelf, to raiſe any Suſpicions of his Unſteadineſs in the Proteſtant Religion in the Minds of his People; and this reſtrained almoſt all his Subjects, who were ſo dazzled with his other Royal Endowments, that they could never be perſuaded to ſuſpect ſo much Artifice in a Prince, whoſe natural Goodneſs, and Sweetneſs of Temper, did ſo effectually charm all thoſe who had the Honour to be near his Perſon.

But though theſe repeated Proteſtations had wrought ſo intire a Confidence in the Minds of his People, that they reſted ſatisfied in the Sincerity of his Intentions, and interpreted all thoſe Actions which tended to the Supporting of the Popiſh Intereſt in *England*, to his Tenderneſs towards the Duke of *York* ‖, whom he reſolved never to abandon §, notwithſtanding the Importunities of his People, and the Safety of himſelf and his Kingdoms, ſeemed to require it: Yet the King of *France* was ſo tender of his Honour, as to conceal theſe private Treaties and Alliances, which, at his Sollicitations, the King entered into, againſt the United Provinces, and to the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Overthrow of the *Engliſh* Liberties: But he conſented ſo far to the Publication of an Account of the War with *Holland*, and of the Reaſons and Motives which engaged the two Kings to carry it on, that the Abbot *Primi*, who put out the Book in the *Italian* Tongue, was employed by Mr. *Colbert de Croiſſy*, and a Penſion was allowed him for his Pains, in publiſhing it alſo in *French*: Which Book was publiſhed by Authority at *Paris*, in the Year 1682. It is well known, how ſevere that Government is in Matters of that Nature, where nothing is ever publickly ſet forth of any Importance, as to the Church or State, but what perfectly agrees with the Inclinations and Intereſts of thoſe who are there ſo very abſolute. It was publickly known at *Paris*, that Mr. *L'Abbe Primi* had a Penſion from Mr. *Colbert de Croiſſy*: And, when Men are employed by Miniſters of State, to publiſh Accounts of the Tranſactions of the Government, their Writings are rather looked upon as Apologies, than Hiſtories: It makes no real Difference, whether what a Man writes, in ſuch a Caſe, be a Tranſlation or an Original, he will be ſuppoſed to have endeavoured to pleaſe thoſe who employed him; and all the fair Proteſtations of Sincerity, and Faithfulneſs, and Skill, which ſuch a Man can uſe, will be only looked upon as Words of Courſe, when once the Reaſons of his ſetting up for an Hiſtorian are publickly known. The Original of Count *St. Majolo* was printed in *Italian*; and the Privi-

* *Vid.* the King's Declaration of Indulgence, *December* 26, 1662. † *Feb.* 5, 1672. ‡ Declaration of Indulgence, *December* 26, 1662. ‖ A Papiſt, and his Brother. §§ To the Mercy of the Parliament, and Proteſtant Subjects of *England*, who, for the Safety of the King and Country, required his Excluſion from the Throne, at the Demiſe of his Brother the King.

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lege ran as well to the Printing it in *Italian* as *French:* Howſoever, I do judge, that the Name of Count *St. Majol*, was a Kind of Trick of the Abbot *Primi*, to talk of ſecret Alliances, of Breaking Leagues, of his Maſter's Perſuading the King of *England* to ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and of ſeveral other Secrets in the Negotiations of *Holland*, *England*, and *France*, in his own Name. For, when all is laid upon a Foreigner, one may ſpeak with great Aſſurance, and the Count *St. Majolo* will then anſwer for the very Things for which Monſieur *L'Abbe* receives his Penſion.

If our Miniſter at *Paris*, when this Book firſt appeared, had not, by a timely and a diligent Application, procured its being ſtopped, we might, without Queſtion, have had ſeveral other important Secrets publiſhed in the following Books (for we have only two Books of ten printed) which now we can only conjecture at. But the earneſt Complaints of my Lord *Preſton*, who was then Envoy from King *Charles the Second*, at *Verſailles*, prevailed ſo far, that the Book was immediately ſtopped, and the Edition totally ſuppreſſed, ſo that very few had ever heard of it, and much fewer, eſpecially in *England*, had ſeen it. And, to put a Face upon the Matter, Monſieur *L'Abbé* was thrown into the *Baſtile*; from whence, after a Mock-impriſonment of nine or ten Days, he was let out again. All that were at *Paris*, at that Time, knew the Story; and all, that were at all acquainted with the arbitrary Severity of the *French* Government, could eaſily ſee through the Grimace; which was the better covered, becauſe Count *St. Majolo* was to bear all the Blame; who, if he be not related to *Puffendorf's Monzambano* (another *Italian* Count, alſo) yet his Teſtimony might eaſily be over-ruled, and ſo could furniſh thoſe Perſons with a ready Excuſe, whoſe Intereſt it was, that ſuch Agreements, which were contrary to their open and publick Proteſtations, ſhould either never be known, or, if once divulged, not believed.

I ſhall not ſtand to compare the Matters of Fact which are here ſet down, with thoſe Reports which at that Time paſſed current in *England*; they are Things which fall within moſt People's Memory *; my Buſineſs is only to give ſuch an Account of our Proceedings, as was publiſhed at *Paris* with the Privilege of the King of *France*, as fully granted, as in any other Caſe whatever. Our Author † tells us, that the growing Greatneſs of the King of *France*, after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* was concluded, by the Mediation of the King of *England*, was ſo very terrible to the Queen-Mother of *Spain*, who was Guardian to her Son, *Charles the Second*, King of *Spain*, that ſhe employed her ableſt Miniſters, to perſuade *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, to join in an Alliance, for the Preſervation of the Peace, and the reciprocal Security of each others Kingdoms.

The *Hollanders*, he tells us, greedily embraced it, and ran into the Triple League with great Readineſs, not much concerning themſelves with *France*, which, they thought, could make no great Oppoſition to them by Sea; and, by Land, they were ſo fortified by the natural Fences of their Dikes, that they apprehended, on that Side, no Sort of Danger.

A conſtant Series of Succeſs againſt the *Spaniards*, who declared them a ſovereign and independent Republick in 1648, puſhed them on to great Inſolencies againſt the King of *France* ‡: They interpoſed in the Affairs of *Germany*, as if they had been immediately concerned ‖: They determined Peace or War amongſt their Neighbours, as they thought would be moſt for their own Intereſt: They threatened to ruin the Kingdom of *France*, by prohibiting any Commerce with *French* Manufactures, and ſcattered Medals and Pictures, very derogatory to the Honour of the *French* King. Their Buſying themſelves ſo much with the Affairs of *Germany*, was a Means to engage the Biſhop of *Munſter* to keep up his Army, after he had concluded a Peace with the Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfembuttel*, and to declare againſt the Incroachments of the *Hollanders* upon the Empire **: Which Opportunity the *French* King laid Hold of, to make an Alliance with him, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Furſtemberg*, and the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, againſt *Holland*; by which Means, he ſecured the Paſſes upon the *Rhine* and the *Maeſe*, which lay convenient for

* This being publiſhed in the Year 1689.
** Page 48.
† Page 18, 19. ‡ Page 21. ‖ Page 45.

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the Setting upon the *Hollanders* by Land, who till then had thought themſelves ſecure from any Attacks on that Side *.

He engaged the Emperor alſo to a Neutrality, and perſuaded him to ratify thoſe Alliances which the *French* King had already made with the Biſhops of *Munſter* and *Straſburgh*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Furſtemberg* †, with Aſſurances that he would not concern himſelf in thoſe Quarrels, unleſs either the Empire or the King of *Spain* ſhould be invaded.

The King of *England* was already very much diſſatisfied with the *Hollanders* ‡, and was willing enough to diſengage himſelf from the Triple League: For the *Hollanders* had refuſed to ſtand to thoſe Regulations about the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which had been concluded upon at *Breda*; and their Veſſels would not lower their Topſails to the *Engliſh* Men of War, and they diſputed the Sovereignty of the Sea, unleſs the King of *England* would declare for them againſt *France*, in Caſe of a Breach; which Things were very diſhonourable for the *Engliſh* Nation, and were great Inſtances of the Treachery of the *Hollanders*, and of the ſmall Aſſiſtance which the *Engliſh* could promiſe to themſelves from their Friendſhip ‖.

'*Colbert de Croiſſy*, the *French* Ambaſſador 'at *London*, urged § all theſe Things to the 'King of *England*; he put him in Mind of 'the Medals which the *Hollanders* publiſhed, 'wherein they attributed to themſelves all the 'Glory of concluding the Peace of *Aix la* '*Chapelle*, which had been obtained by the 'King of *England*'s Mediation; and told him, 'that this was the Time wherein he might 'take his Revenge upon a Nation, which had 'ſo little Reſpect for Kings; and that he never 'could expect a more favourable Opportuni-'ty **, ſince ſeveral *German* Princes had already entered into a League, and the King 'of *France* was ſufficiently powerful to ſatisfy 'all his Confederates in the Proſecution of 'this War, both as to their Advantage and 'Credit.' †† Theſe Things engaged the King of *England* to ſign a Secret Treaty with *France*; and, to make it the more firm, *Henrietta*, Ducheſs of *Orleans*, a Princeſs, whoſe Wit was equal to her Beauty, Siſter to the King of *England*, and Siſter-in-Law to the King of *France*, went over into *England* in 1670, and propoſed a Treaty to her Brother, in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King, wherein ſhe proffered to ſecure to him *an abſolute Authority over his Parliament, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the* Roman *Catholick Religion in his three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. But, ſhe ſaid, that, before this could be effected, there was an abſolute Neceſſity of abating the Haughtineſs and Power of the *Hollanders*, who only ſtudied to foment Diviſions amongſt their Neighbours; and to reduce them to the ſingle Province of *Holland*, of which the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be Sovereign, or, at leaſt, perpetual Governor; which would not be difficult for theſe two mighty Kings, when once well united, to accompliſh: So that, by this Means, the King of *England* might have *Zealand* to retire to, if there ſhould be Occaſion; and that the reſt of the *Low-Countries* ſhould remain to the King of *France*, whenever he ſhould be able to conquer them.

When the King of *France* had thus ſecured himſelf by theſe Alliances, he immediately began his Preparations for War, and filled his Stores, and raiſed Men, ſome publickly, and ſome under-hand, all over *France*, in *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and *England*.

* Page 52. † Page 57, 58. ‡ Page 58. ‖ Page 59. § Page 60. ** Page 61.

†† Ce qui engagea ce Prince à ſigner un Traité ſecret avec la France; & pour l'aſſeurer encore d'avantage Henriette d' Angleterre, Ducheſſe d'Orleans, Princeſſe qui avoit autant d'eſprit que de beauté, ſœur du Roy d'Angleterre, & belle ſœur du Roy de France, paſſa en Angleterre en 1670, & propoſa au Roy ſon frere, au nom du Roy tres-Chrêtien, de lui aſſeurer un autorité abſolue ſur ſon Parlement, & de reſtablir la Religion Catholique dans les Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Eſcoſſe, & d'Irlande. Mais elle diſoit que pour en venir à bout, il faloit avant toutes choſes abaiſſer l'orgueil & la puiſſance des Hollandois qui ne ſongeoient qu' à mettre la diviſion parmi leurs voiſins; & les reduire à la ſeule Province d'Hollande, de laquelle le Prince d'Orange ſeroit Souverain, ou au moins Gouverneur perpetuel, ce qui ne ſeroit pas difficile à deux grands Roys puiſſants & bien unis, & que par ce moyen le Roy d'Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui ſervir de retraite en cas de baſoin, & que le reſte des Pays-bas demeureroit au Roy de France, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maiſtre.

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'Though theſe Negotiations, and eſpecially with *England*, were carried on with all the Secrecy that Matters of that Importance required *, yet the *Hollanders* had ſuch Notices given, as did exceedingly ſurpriſe them. 'They 'could not imagine, that the *Engliſh* would quit 'the Triple League; they ſaid, this was a Re- 'port raiſed by the *French* to amuſe Mankind 'withal †; they thought, that the preſent 'Conduct of the King of *England* gave con- 'vincing Proofs to the Contrary: He had juſt 'before diſmiſſed out of his Port a Fleet of '*Dutch* Merchantmen, and ſome *Amſterdam* 'Veſſels beſides, and recalled Sir *George Down-* 'ing, his Miniſter at the *Hague*, for Speaking 'with too much Warmth to the States-Ge- 'neral ‡; ſo that, in ſhort, he ſeemed in all 'his Actions to declare, that his Intentions 'of keeping up a good Correſpondence with '*Holland* were ſincere.' However, the Breaches every Day grew wider and wider between *France* and *Holland*; and Matters were carried ſo far on both Sides, that the *French* King reſolved to begin the War the next Spring ‖; 'and in the mean Time he 'took ſecret Meaſures with the King of *Eng-* 'land §, to ſet upon them together, and to 'ſurpriſe them both by Sea and Land **. As 'for the King of *England*, he was exceed- 'ingly perplexed; there was Need of Money 'to carry on the Deſign, and that ſecretly 'too ††: He could raiſe none at Home, with- 'out calling a Parliament, and that could 'not be done without acquainting all *Europe* 'with his Deſigns; there was alſo great Fear 'of Oppoſition, both from the Miſunder- 'ſtandings, which in that *tumultuous Aſſembly* 'do for the moſt Part ariſe between the two 'Houſes, and from the Intrigues of the *Hol-* 'landers. For which Reaſons the King of 'France furniſhed him with ſuch Sums of 'Money, as were ſufficient to ſend out a con- 'ſiderable Fleet; and he adviſed the King of 'England (the better to conceal their Agree- 'ments) to keep a fair Correſpondence out- 'wardly with the *Dutch*, to appear firm to 'the Triple League, and declare that he ſet 'out a Fleet for no other Reaſons, but becauſe 'his Neighbours, and eſpecially the *French*, 'who made great Preparations in all their 'Ports upon the Ocean, ſtrengthened them- 'ſelves ſo very conſiderably by Sea ‡‡.

Yet all this was not carried on ſo ſecretly, but their own Reſidents at *London*, and the Miniſters of other Princes in King *Charles*'s Court, gave the *Hollanders* ſuch ſure Advertiſement of his altering his Meaſures, that they found it paſt all Queſtion. Penſioner *de Witt* fell in a Swoon in the Stadt-houſe, upon the Reading of a Letter, which gave him an Account of it ‖‖; and, as ſoon as he had recovered himſelf, he propoſed to ſend the *Heer Meerman* into *England*, to renew the old Alliances; who was immediately ſeconded by the Marquis *del Freno*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter §§, who was ſent thither on Purpoſe to join with him in making uſe of all Sorts of Arguments, which might oblige the King of *England* to break off his new Treaty with *France* ***.

But, all theſe Applications proving ineffectual, all Things tended to a War: It was known that the King of *England* had declared for *France*; and that, being provoked with the Uſage which his Subjects had received at *Surinam*, he had renewed a Treaty with *France* againſt *Holland*, and had promiſed to begin the War, provided that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would declare War againſt the *States* in the Beginning of *May* †††.

And though the Earneſtneſs which the King and the Duke of *York* ſhewed in the Proſecution of this Buſineſs was extraordinary, though they ſet out Ships, and manned them with all the Induſtry and Application poſſible; 'yet, becauſe 'the Government of *England* was mixed, ‡‡‡ 'or compoſed of Kings, Lords, and Commons, 'and that in the great Concerns of the Nation, 'or in Raiſing of Money, there was a Neceſſity 'of a Parliament; *which is, like the People of* '*whom it is made up, not always of the ſame*

* Page 65. † Page 75. ‡ Page 76. ‖ In the Year 1672. § Page 87.

** Le Roy d'Angleterre de ſon coté eſtoit embaraſſé, il faloit du ſecret & de l'argent pour faire reuſſier l'entrepriſe, & il ne pouvoit rien tirer de ſes peuples qu'en convoquant ſon Parlement, ce qui faiſoit connoitre ſes deſſeins à toute l'Europe, outre que cette Aſſemblée tumultueuſe par la mauvaiſe intelligence qui eſt ordinairement entre les deux Chambres & par les Intrigues des Holllandois pouvoit s'y oppoſer; mais le Roy tres-Chrêtien luy envoya des ſommes ſuffiſantes pour mettre en mur un flotte conſiderable, & luy conſeilla pour mieux cacher leur union de temoigner aux Hollandois qu'il vouloit bien vivre avec eux, de paroitre ferme dans les traitez de Triple Alliance, & de publier qu'il ne vouloit avoir une flotte qu parce ques ſes voiſins, & particulierement les Fancois, faiſoient de grands armemens dans tous le ports qu'ils avoit en ſur l'Ocean.

†† Page 88. ‡‡ Page 89. ‖‖ Page 91. §§ Page 93. *** Page 118. ††† Page 119.

Mind

'*Mind* * ; and that the Variableneſs of their 'Climate is even viſible in their Councils ; 'and, beſides, ſince the Ducheſs of *Orleans* 'died ſoon after her Return to *France* ; for 'theſe Reaſons the King of *France* did not 'much rely upon any Aſſiſtance from *England*, 'and ſo took his Meaſures in ſuch a Manner, 'that the King of *England* might be aſſured 'they muſt ſucceed, in Caſe he ſhould fail him; 'and therefore he would not ſuffer the Rage of 'the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch* at that Time 'to cool, but he rather endeavoured to plunge 'them into a War, by ſuch an Action as 'might correſpond to their earneſt Deſire of 'being revenged.'

And this Deſign ſoon ſucceeded ; for, the *French* having Notice of the Return of the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, which were then at Sea, they immediately acquainted the King of *England* with it †, 'and told him,' that this was a 'favourable Opportunity for him to engage the '*Engliſh* in a certain War : They told him, 'that ſuch a Prize would furniſh him with 'more Money in one Day, than he could get 'from his Parliament in a Year ‡ ; and, per-'haps, ſo great a Prize might put him, during 'the whole Courſe of the War, in ſuch a Con-'dition, as that he would not ſtand in Need 'of his Parliament ; and that he ought not to 'let ſlip ſuch an Opportunity, becauſe he cer-'tainly knew, that, what Succeſs ſoever it 'might have, yet his People, who always car-'ried themſelves very high upon a proſperous 'Turn of Affairs, who were ſenſible of Af-'fronts, would ſpare for nothing which might 'carry on the War, wherein they might ex-'pect to humble the *Dutch*, and to revenge 'the Wrongs of their Merchants, and of their 'Nation in general, upon thoſe who would diſ-'pute the Sovereignty of the Sea with them.

Upon theſe Sollicitations the King conſented, and ſent Sir *Robert Holmes* with nine Men of War into the Channel, to expect the Coming of the *Smyrna* Fleet ‖. And it had this Effect, that tho' the *Dutch* (who had ſome Notice of it before) did, in a thick, foggy Night, eſcape without any very conſiderable Loſs ; yet this engaged the *Engliſh* to a War, which was immediately hereupon openly proclaimed by the King of *England*, againſt the States-General ; which was earneſtly preſſed by Mr. *Colbert de Croiſſy*, who adviſed him not to delay, after the Striking ſo ſignal, as well as ſo unexpected a Stroke §.

How far the Cauſes alledged in the Declaration of War, which followed ſoon after, and the Reaſons by which the King endeavoured to perſuade his Parliament to a hearty Concurrence with him in it, agreed with theſe Motives, every Man may judge. Whoever conſiders the Carriage of the King of *France*, in other Things, will not wonder at ſuch a Piece of Treachery, as the Publication of theſe Secrets was, whilſt King *Charles* II. was alive : And I believe, that the Sending a Man to the *Baſtile* for ten Days, who was notoriouſly known to have been employed for this very Purpoſe, did convince as few People of the Falſhood of theſe pretended Alliances, as the Sending of Mr. *Skelton* to the *Tower* by King *James* II. did ; which was ſo very like, that one would think the Mock-proceedings againſt Mr. *L'Abbé Primi*, gave a Pattern to the King of *England*, to animadvert upon his own Miniſter, who, by the Confeſſion of the *French* Reſident at the *Hague*, acted, by his Majeſty's Order, only the Second Part of what the Abbot wrote.

* Page 120. † Page 121. ‡ Page 122. ‖ Page 123. § Page 132.

The

The wicked Plots and perfidious Practices of the *Spaniards* againſt the Seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, before they took up Arms: Being gathered out of ſeveral *Dutch* Writers, by a Lover of Truth, and an unfeigned Hater of Oppreſſion and Tyranny, the Bane of Commonwealths *.

Gentle Reader,

I Shall ſpeak ſo much touching the cruel, inhuman, treacherous, perfidious, yea, unnatural Practices of the *Spaniards*, in theſe Parts, and elſewhere, which may ſufficiently delineate him in his deſerved Colours, that whoſoever beholds him may mourn to ſee this *Hazael* ſo to tyranniſe over the Innocent, and that the Lord ſhould permit, and the Earth bear ſuch an unheard-of Monſter: Yet, notwithſtanding, much more might be added in ſundry other Particulars, as the *Dutch* Chronicles mention, and other Writers have well ſet out; amongſt which, although I myſelf be a Stranger by Nation to them, yet, ſince the Time of my Abode here, having attained ſome Underſtanding in the Language, I have thought fit to ſpeak ſo much, which, in my Reading, I have obſerved.

Firſt, Thou art to underſtand, gentle Reader, that the King of *Spain* was lovingly received here in the Seventeen Provinces, and a ſolemn Oath was taken on both Parts: The King, for his Part, ſwore to maintain all their Laws and Privileges, and they to him all due Homage and Allegiance: He preſently demanded of them a Sum of Money; whereupon the States did aſſemble, and collected for him forty Millions of Florins, of *Brabant* Money, to be paid in nine Years, and they paid it into the Exchequer; and, although it was more than they had paid before to his Predeceſſors, yet upon this he took great Diſpleaſure againſt them, and, as they write, he for this did hate them to Death.

But he pretended this to be the Cauſe of his Wrath, becauſe he ſaw, that there were ſome among them, that did defy the Pope and his Religion. But that could not be; for the City of *Aelſt* was as ſuperſtitious in that Religion, as *Rome* itſelf, for they did perſecute the Reformed Religion even unto Death; and yet, for all that, both they, and an hundred and ſeventy fair Villages that belonged unto them, were, by them, plundered and ſpoiled of all their Goods; and many of them wounded and tormented for to confeſs where their Money was; and many were killed. Thus much by the Way.

My Scope and chief Intent is to ſhew the firſt and juſt Cauſe of the Wars in the *Netherlands*; whereby the diligent Reader (not partially affected) may clearly underſtand, that the *Netherlands* did not rebelliouſly take up Arms againſt a lawful Prince (as ſome ignorantly think and ſpeak) but juſtly and religiouſly defend themſelves againſt a perfidious Tyrant, who ſought their Ruin by all poſſible Means he could, and the Subverſion of the whole State. A long While they patiently underwent his cruel Oppreſſions and intolerable Vexations, as the Hiſtories clearly manifeſt, till there was no Hope, but either they muſt become Slaves in Soul and Body, worſe than that of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, they and theirs for ever; or elſe be butchered by mercileſs Executioners of a cruel Tyrant. This Tyrant, having a Purpoſe to innovate all Things, to root out ancient Inhabitants, and to fruſtrate all the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Privileges, which himſelf had ſworn to maintain, knew not how better to effect his evil Ends, than by raiſing a bloody Inquiſition to ſet over them for their Government: Which ſaid Inquiſition (raiſed in *Spain*) concluded and pronounced certain Articles, the Tenth of *February*, 1568, which were confirmed by the King the Twenty-ſixth following. Now, becauſe it may appear I do

* Printed about the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

them no Wrong in this Charge, I will lay down the Articles themſelves *verbatim*.

The moſt ſacred Office of Inquiſition, ſo often attempted in the Netherlands *by his Majeſty, and hindered until this Time, ſhall be inſtituted and advanced in this Manner, which is moſt expedient.*

" 1. They muſt perſuade the Emperor, " being gone aſtray and wickedly confede- " rated with Hereticks, that he reſign his " Kingdoms unto his Son, with the whole " Adminiſtration of the *Netherlands*.

" 2. That the Emperor, with his two " Siſters, having given over all Affairs, leav- " ing the *Netherlands*, ſhall retire into *Spain* " unto us, being aſſured that they ſhall never " return more to do any Harm.

" 3. This being diſpatched, we muſt alſo " draw the King to us, and keep him for " ever, that he depart not, and not ſuffer " any *Flemings* to have Acceſs or Conference " with him.

" 4. That the King write unto and com- " mand the Clergy of the *Netherlands*, that, " with the Inquiſition, they ſhould accept of " fifteen new Biſhops, the which ſhould be " free from all ſecular Juriſdiction, yea in " Caſes of Treaſon.

" 5. The Subjects of the *Netherlands*, " through their Malice and Waywardneſs, " will revolt, and move Seditions and Tu- " mults, pleaſing to all but our Company.

" 6. The Princes and Noblemen, Heads and " Authors of thoſe Factions, with the Sub- " jects, muſt be taken away, and the others " reduced unto Reaſon.

" 7. They ſhall hire, at our Charge, " Thieves and Spoilers of Churches and " Images, whoſe Offences ſhall be by all the " World imputed to Rebels, by ſome ſubtle " Means; and ſo we ſhall vanquiſh them.

" 8. That all Commerce, Negotiation, " Liberties, and Privileges ſhall be rooted " out, and that all be reduced to extreme " Poverty; whereby the Realm ſhall be per- " manent for us.

" 9. No Man of all thoſe Countries (ex- " cept he be of our Faction) ſhall be held " worthy to live; and, finally, all to be " rooted out: And all Goods, Poſſeſſions, " Arts and Trades, and all Orders to be " taken away, until there may be a new " Realm and a new People.

" 10. In this Action the wiſe and valiant " Duke of *Alva* ſhall be employed in Perſon; " whereas any other, were he of the Blood " Royal, or a Prince, ſhall be of no Eſteem; " ſo as, being ſuſpected, yea in the ſmalleſt " Matters, they muſt be diſpatched.

" 11. No Contracts, Rights, Promiſes, Do- " nations, Oaths, Privileges, and ſolemn Aſ- " ſertions of the *Netherlands* ſhall be of any " Force for the Inhabitants, as being guilty of " high Treaſon.

" 12. But, above all, we muſt have an " eſpecial Care, that, in theſe Matters of ſo " great Weight and Moment, we proceed not " violently, but by Means, by Degrees, and " that diſcreetly; to the End the Princes, " Nobility, and inferior Subjects may mutiny " among themſelves, ſo that one may perſe- " cute, yea, execute the other, until at laſt " the Hangman be executed himſelf. For, in " all *Chriſtendom*, is there not a Nation more " fooliſh and indiſcreet, and whoſe Levity " and Inconſtancy may ſooner be deceived, " than theſe *Netherlands*; and God puniſheth " them accordingly."

There were other Articles found in Preſident *Vergas*'s Chamber at *Antwerp*, and there printed; and thoſe are more cruel than theſe, but not more ſubtle.

By theſe Articles, and the unlimited Power of theſe lawleſs Inquiſitors, no Man had any Aſſurance of Life or Goods for a Day, but were in Danger continually to be called into Queſtion, either for the Law of their God, or for ſome Work of Mercy, which either Religion, moral Equity, or the Bond of Nature called for: Or elſe, if they had Colour for none of theſe, they would impoſe ſuch unreaſonable Taxations, that, if the Cormorants had not their Gorges crammed full, they would make Prey of all; whether by Right or Wrong, it mattered not. But, my Purpoſe being to avoid Prolixity, and to paſs by Impertinences and needleſs Repetitions, I will come to that I intended.

In the Year 1565 a Match was concluded for the Prince of *Parma*, and the Nuptials were ſolemniſed at *Bruſſels*, whither all the Nobility and Gentry of the Country were invited; and accordingly there met of them about Four-hundred; who, like faithful *Moſes*, being grieved

grieved to ſee the daily Oppreſſion of their Brethren by the hard Taſk-maſters of the Inquiſition, who not only robbed them of their Goods, but alſo, by inhuman Cruelty and unnatural Butchery, deprived them of their Lives, who daily led them as Sheep unto the Slaughter: The Conſideration hereof they jointly laid to Heart, and hereupon (being met upon this Occaſion) they reſolved to preſent a Petition to the Princeſs of *Parma*; which they did, the Fifth of *April* next following. The Earl of *Breedrod*, delivering the Petition, humbly requeſted a favourable Anſwer. Three Days after, they received this Anſwer, *viz.* "They ſhould ſend two of their Noblemen to "the King, by whom ſhe would write in their "Behalf." The Lord of *Barlamont*, being preſent, after their Departure, ſaid *(like a flattering Courtier)* they were a Company of Raſcals and Beggars.

It was concluded, that the Marquis of *Bargen* and the Lord of *Mountigny* ſhould go into *Spain*, who humbly preſented their Suit to the King, but could get no Anſwer in ſixteen Months after.

The Twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1566, the Princeſs of *Parma* ſent for the Gentry, telling them ſhe had received Letters from the King, containing a Promiſe that all ſhould be well, and that the Inquiſition ſhould ceaſe; and, for the Proclamations, they ſhould not be of Force, but his Majeſty would take ſuch Order, as they and the States ſhould well like of. The Princeſs alſo gave them Toleration for their Religion, on Condition they ſhould not deface, nor break down the Ornaments of the Churches; for there had been, before this Time, vile and lewd Perſons, that frequented the Meetings of the Reformed; theſe went into the Papiſts Churches, ſtole their Silver, and what was worth Carrying away, and brake down their Images: But the Reformed ſuſpected that this was done by the Appointment of the Princeſs. Neither was their Suſpicion without good Ground; for it is to be ſeen in the King's Letter, *Art.* 7. that ſhe had Orders to hire this Raſcal Company to do this Villainy; which Fact was imputed to the Proteſtants, to the End that they might not only be odious there, but alſo ſeem guilty even in the Judgment of other Nations: Howbeit, the Offenders were puniſhed with Impriſonment, yea, with Death, even by the Reformed themſelves, who jointly confeſſed the Action unlawful, and were ſo far from giving Occaſion of Offence in this Nature, that Papiſt Burghers themſelves offered good Security, that no ſuch Thing ſhould be attempted by them. Who, then, can make any Doubt that they were free from having any Hand in thoſe Outrages laid to them? The very Oppoſites in Religion being Judges; who, as appears, were willing to undertake for them. Now, as their Faithfulneſs brought ſo good Effect for their Perſons, ſo did the Lord work that the Truth of Religion found many Friends likewiſe, the Lord wonderouſly proſpering the Courſe of Reformation, inſomuch that in a ſhort Space they had in *Flanders* ſixty Aſſemblies; ſome Churches they themſelves built, but were by Duke *d'Alva* ſoon caſt down, who erected Gallowſes of them, and hanged them upon them *.

The Princeſs of *Parma* alſo begun to entertain Soldiers, with Pretence to apprehend the Church-robbers, but intended indeed to take away the ancient Liberties and Privileges of the *Netherlanders*; wherefore, ſending certain Companies to *Valencin*, the Inhabitants denied them Entertainment, who, for that, were proclaimed Rebels the Fourteenth of *December*; ſoon after, they were beſieged, ſacked, and many of them put to Death.

But, before they of *Valencin* denied Entertainment to the Soldiers, the Nobility had received Letters out of *Spain*, from the Marquis of *Bargen*, ſhewing, that the King † was exceedingly incenſed againſt the *Netherlanders*; that he had, in the Preſence of many, vowed to be fully revenged of them, though it were with the Hazard of all his Countries; that he would make them an Example to all the World, and would invite the Pope and the Emperor to aſſiſt him in this Quarrel. Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, the Nobility aſſembled at *Dortmond*, to conſult what were beſt to be done; but concluded not any Thing, ſome judging it ſafeſt to join and make Head to reſiſt his tyrannical Fury, others ſeeking rather to eſcape by Flight.

* *Emanuel de Miter* ſaith, That in *Flanders* they took Fifty of them at one Time, and hanged Twenty-two, and whipped the reſt.

† He pretended it for Religion, but his Aim was to get their Land and Goods.

The Cruelty of this Inquiſition did, notwithſtanding, increaſe, and many Soldiers came into the Country, ſo that ſome of the Country forſook their Houſes, and reſorted towards *Frieſland*; and ſome did ſtay at Home, and went to meet the Duke of *Alva*, and welcomed him into the Country, and ſhewed him all the Kindneſs that they could; but he very ſhortly took off moſt of their * Heads; ſo that he did ſo terrify the Inhabitants, that there fled out of the Countries more than an Hundred-thouſand Houſholders; beſides, many, that were taken in flying, were taken and hanged; and all theſe had their Goods confiſcated to the King.

Now the Duke of *Alva* did command all the Inhabitants to pay the hundredth Penny of all their Goods, and of all that was bought and ſold; the which ſome of the States did yield unto; and then he commanded them to pay the the twentieth Penny; and then he commanded the tenth Penny of all Things that were bought and ſold, ſo often as they ſhould be ſold. Some of the States did make their humble Petition to the Duke, and to the Princeſs, ſhewing them that it would drive all Trading out of the Land. The Duke of *Alva* told them, that he would have it, though it did ruinate all the Land; but, if he ſaw them to do their beſt to pay it, he would deal favourably with them. But he ſaid, that it was againſt the King's Honour, if they ſhould not pay it, ſeeing it was his Pleaſure to require it. And now did the Inquiſition impriſon and execute many of the richer Sort, at well Papiſts as of the Reformed Church; and, if they were rich, there was no Eſcaping for them. And whoſoever was found to have any Hand in Way of Suit and Petition to have the tenth Penny to be remitted, they were adjudged to have committed high Treaſon againſt God and the King; and all theſe muſt forfeit Life and Goods to the King, and not any of their Children to enjoy one Penny-worth of the ſame, but (poor Orphans) they muſt beg their Bread. And ſome, that had been buried certain Months, they cauſed to be digged up, and hanged on the Gallows, and ſome to be burned, becauſe they had not the Sacrament and confeſſed before their Death; but it was, becauſe he would confiſcate their Goods to the King: Yea, when theſe inſatiable gold-thirſty and blood-thirſty Wretches wanted Colour to cover their Injuſtice and Cruelty, they had their officious Imps (falſe Witneſſes) ſuborned by *Jezabel*, to get *Naboth*'s Vineyard; Witneſs *Martin Hutton*, who was one of the Inquiſitors Clerks, and (being committed to Priſon) did acknowledge that he had made many falſe Teſtimonies againſt ſundry rich Perſons, ſome were of the Reformed Church. Here might fitly be brought in the Hundred Merchants of *Granada*, who were of the *Roman* Religion, and were never other: What Pretence had he to cauſe them to be murdered all in one Night, and then preſently to command all their Goods to be brought to his Treaſury or Exchequer, whoſe Eſtate was worth more than twenty-eight hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling? Now, as this Tyrant was a Devourer and Deſtroyer of the Lives of Men, ſo he did preſume to uſurp further, not only upon Civil Ordinances, but upon the Things of God; ſo that thoſe, that were married in the Reformed Church, he forced to be married again; and, if they were rich, he took them from their Husbands, and gave them to his Soldiers to make Prizes of them: Thoſe, that were baptiſed in the Reformed Church, he compelled to be baptiſed again, contrary to God's Word, and to the Decree of the ancient Councils: So intolerable were the Burdens that this cruel *Pharaoh* laid, ſo exceſſive was his Cruelty, that he filled all Places with Blood, *Blood touching Blood*, as the Prophet ſpeaks. For in ſmall Towns he executed Fifty, and in great Towns Two-hundred and Three-hundred, or Four-hundred. And in Places, as Men travelled from one Town to another, they might ſee many that his Soldiers had hung up on Trees to Death, and ſome of them were worth Eighty-thouſand Guldens, and ſome leſs: Yea, this Tyrant did confiſcate ſo much Lands and Goods, as, by his Account ſent into *Spain*, did amount to eight Tons of Money Sterling, beſides the many Thouſands that he and his Soldiers had. All the Money, that he did exact out of this Land in ſix Years, did amount to more than fifty Millions of Gold. And, if any were known to have any Thing that did belong to any that were put to Death, and had not brought it to the Knowledge of the

* As the Grau of *Egmund*, and the Grau of *Horn*, and many of the Gentry at *Bruſſels*, 1568.

Inquiſition,

Inquiſition, they did loſe both Life and Goods; yea, the Sixteenth of *February*, 1566, he gave Sentence, in his Court at *Madrill*, that they were all Traytors againſt God and himſelf. At *Utrecht* he beheaded a Widow, that was eighty-four Years old, becauſe ſhe had before lodged a Preacher one Night, whoſe Living was worth Four-thouſand Guldens yearly. And, at *Maeſtricht*, a Father, for Lodging his Son that he had not ſeen in a long Time, who was fled for Religion, was put to Death. And at that Place there was another put to Death, for giving a Widow a Peck of Corn for an Alms, whoſe Husband this bloody Court had put to Death. And many Women were put to Death, becauſe they received their Husbands in the Night, that were fled for Religion; yea, they have killed Women great with Child, and ripped up their Bellies, and taken out the Child and killed it; and ſome they have flayed alive, and covered Drums Heads with their Skins; and ſome they have tied to a Poſt, and made a ſmall Fire round about them, and ſo roaſted them to Death.

At *Naerden* they received the *Spaniards* friendly into the Town, who promiſed them both their Lives and Goods; and, as ſoon as they came in, they commanded them to come to the State-houſe without their Arms; the which they did, and the *Spaniards* gave Fire upon them, and murdered them all *; and then they ran about in the Town, and raviſhed the Women, and after killed them and fired the Town. The young Children that lay in the Cradle, they quartered them, and took them upon their Pikes, and ſo went up and down rejoicing in their Cruelty.

Such ſavage Cruelty is ſcarcely to be found in any Hiſtory: What Chriſtian Heart can hear it, and not be affected with deep Sorrow? Yet, behold, ſome Monſters herein have been found, that have been ſo far from Humanity herein (for he, that hath Humanity in him, will commiſerate others Calamities) that they have applauded it, as if he had, in all theſe Outrages, done God good Service. Amongſt the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf, at this Preſent, but to name the holy Father the Pope, and one of his chief Sons in this Buſineſs. The Pope ſends his Legate to commend theſe ſo rare Exploits, and calls this cruel Duke *d'Alva* his beloved Son; ſends him a coſtly Sword, the Hilts whereof were of Gold, and a Hat wrought with Gold and beſet with rich and coſtly Stones, thanking him for his good Service in maintaining the *Romiſh* Religion, and ſubverting of Hereticks. Howbeit, that his chief Son I mentioned (exceeding this Man of Sin in the Sin of Cruelty, as if he would verify himſelf to be ten-fold more the Child of Satan, than his Father the Pope) thinks not ſo well of it; his Name is *Vergas*, the Preſident of this bloody Inquiſition; for, going ſhortly after into *Spain*, he told the King, that he and Duke *d'Alva* did mar all in the *Netherlands*, by ſhewing ſo much Mercy to thoſe People.

Concerning this Duke *d'Alva*, of whoſe Outrage and Cruelty ſo many have felt, and perfidious Dealing, which many have found by lamentable Experience, whereby may eaſily appear of what Stamp his exceſſive Mercies are, even ſuch as the Wiſe Man ſpeaks of, *Prov.* xii. 10. *The tender Mercies of the Wicked are cruel:* In which he prides himſelf, boaſting he had ſlaughtered Eighteen-thouſand and ſix-hundred, in Form of Juſtice, in ſix Years Time; and ten times ſo many he and his Soldiers murdered otherways †. And many more would he, doubtleſs, have murdered, had not the Lord reſtrained and limited him, for his Deſire herein was as Hell, that cannot be ſatisfied: Witneſs the Purpoſe of his Proceeding againſt the Magiſtrates of *Bruſſels*, becauſe they did not collect the tenth Penny, ſo as he deſired. He ſwore that he would have it, and, before he would let it fall, or remit it, the Sun and Moon ſhould leave their Shining: So he went to *Bruſſels*, and commanded the Executioner to prepare Ladders and Ropes, to hang up that Night, in their Doors, ſeventy of the Citizens, and gave them his Warrant in Writing, what they ſhould be: But God in Providence prevented this his cruel Purpoſe, in that there came News, that the Grave of *Mark* had taken in the *Brill* ‡: So the Tyrant did not go forward with his bloody Enterpriſes.

Thus, having given you a Taſte of ſome of thoſe many Things I have obſerved, concern-

* The like Cruelty they did at *Oudwater*.

† Theſe Words he ſpake at a Banquet, as he ſat at the Table, rejoicing he had done the King ſo good Service. ‡ *Anno* 1573, *April* 1.

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ing the intolerable Oppreſſion, and worſe than ſavage Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, exerciſed upon the People, which they endured and laboured under, the Space of ſixteen Years*, I will now leave theſe cruel Tyrants to the Lord for Judgment, and addreſs myſelf to ſpeak ſomewhat further concerning this Earl of *Mark*, who had thoſe Gentlemen with him, that fled. Before this, he had lain with his Shipping in *England*; but, the King of *Spain* ſending his Ambaſſador to our Queen (who was then in Peace with him) to deſire her, that ſhe would not ſuffer his Subjects to have their Harbour in her Land, and that ſhe would not give them, or ſuffer them to have any Relief, whereby they ſhould make Head againſt him: And hereupon the Queen ſent and commanded them out of her Harbour, and ſhe commanded, that they ſhould not be ſuffered to have any Proviſion in her Coaſts; ſo that now they had no other Means, but only God, who did, in his Mercy, provide for them better than they expected. For they were purpoſed to have gone for the *Taſſel*, and to have taken ſome Town about that Part; but, when they came near that Part, they had the Wind contrary, that they could not come there; ſo they went for the *Maeſe*, and came with their Ships before the *Brill*, and there they went preſently and took it: Yet the Duke of *Alva* had his Forces in the Town, near ſo many as they were, whom they killed, and chaced out of the Town, and out of the Iſland. The Prince of *Orange* being in *France*, and hearing what had happened, he ſent them Soldiers, with as much Speed as could be, out of *France*. And, within one Month after, Duke *d'Alva* ſent certain Companies to *Uliſhing*, to keep that Place ſtrong for himſelf; and many of the Commanders were come into the Town. So the Magiſtrates commanded the Citizens to come preſently upon the State-houſe; ſo they told them they muſt lodge *Spaniards* in their Houſes; and they, knowing how they had uſed the Citizens in all Places where they came, told the Magiſtrates they would not have the *Spaniards* in their Town: The Magiſtrates asked them, Which of them it was, that did refuſe to receive them. They ſaid, All of them. So, the Magiſtrates ſeeing them ſo earneſt againſt the *Spaniards*, they jointly took their Arms, and killed and took Priſoners all them that were in the Town, and with their Ordnance they ſhot at his Ships, where the *Spaniards* were, and they made away. And, of thoſe that were taken, there were the Names of about Eighty, that they had in Writing from Duke *d'Alva*, that dwelt in the Iſland, that they ſhould put to Death †. So thoſe of the *Brill* ſent their Soldiers with Speed to help them. And ſhortly the Prince of *Orange* came with Forces, and defended them; and ſome other Towns, ſeeing the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, forſook the *Spaniard*, and joined with them, and took the Prince of *Orange* to be their Protector; yet the States, notwithſtanding, did remain in Obedience to the King ſome ſeven Years after.

Again, it is further worthy to be noted, that theſe Provinces did three Times ſend to the King their Noblemen, but could obtain no Mercy; and many more Times they went to the Princeſs of *Parma*, and made their humble Petition for Redreſs of their Oppreſſion, but could not obtain any Favour; then they made Friends to the renowned Queen of *England*, and to the Princes of *Germany*, and to the Emperor, who did earneſtly intreat, by their Ambaſſadors, for them. The King of *Spain* anſwered their Ambaſſadors with theſe Words; he bade them tell their Maſters, *That they ſhould meddle with their own Subjects, and not with his, for he knew well enough how to rule his Subjects, without their Counſel.* Now, ‡ when our Queen's Majeſty found his Unreaſonableneſs and Cruelty, then, and not before, ſhe aſſiſted them with Arms.

His own Son, Prince *Charles*, did intreat for them, that he would pleaſe to let them have their Laws and Privileges, and that they might not be ſo oppreſſed; and, withal, he told his Father, that thoſe Countries did belong to him, and that they were given him at his Baptiſm; for the which, his Father ſent him to Priſon, and he never came out again ‖. If the Lord would not have forgot what *Amalek* did, long after, for ſmiting the weakeſt and hindmoſt of his People, how may we, in

* I have inſtanced but four or five Towns; but there were ſcarce any Towns eſcaped their cruel Pillaging, except they had bribed their Commanders with exceeding large Gifts.

† He had appointed thoſe to be executed, becauſe they were the Chief that ſtood againſt the Payment of the tenth Penny. ‡ *Anno* 1575. ‖ *Marplam*, in his Chronicle, *Anno* 1567.

quity,

quity, forget the infinite Murders and Spoils, this cruel Tyrant hath executed, where-ever he hath prevailed? And who can forget, in Special, that bloody Attempt againſt ourſelves, in the Year 1588.

If I ſhould trace this Tyrant from Place to Place, I ſhould run *in infinitum*, having made the Name of *Chriſtianity* hateful, by his Cruelty, amongſt the *Heathens*, that know not God further than the Light of Nature; for it is confeſſed by the *Spaniards* themſelves, that ſome of the chief of the *Indians*, who were to be burnt to Death, being told of Heaven and Hell, they asked, Whither the *Spaniards* went when they died? It was anſwered, To Heaven: *Oh, then*, ſaid they, *we will never come, where the* Spaniards *are*. But, not to run ſo far, I will reſt content to keep within the Bounds I chiefly intended concerning theſe Countries. When the Citizens of *Leyden* were in great Extremity, by Reaſon of a long Siege, the *Spaniards* proffering Conditions of Peace, if ſo be they would yield up the City and themſelves to them, they returned Anſwer, *Not while they had a Right-hand to hold a Sword, or a Left to eat*; but, if they ſhould be driven to fall into their Hands, they would rather burn the City, and drown themſelves, than to ſubmit to them, of whoſe Perfidiouſneſs they had had ſo lamentable Experience: And, when ſome of the Citizens preſſed a Yielding, in Reſpect of the Extremity of Famine, a Burgo-maſter, called *Peter Adrianſon*, ſaid, *Loving Friends, I confeſs the Famine is great, and that ſome die for Want of Food; yet rather let us agree to eat up one another, as it ſhall fall by Lot; begin with me firſt, and divide me amongſt you.*

At *Antwerp*, the *Spaniards*, by the Appointment of their Governor, did come into the City in Battle Order, and marched up and down their Streets, and ſhot into their Houſes, and made a tumultuous Noiſe, as if they had been ſo many Devils, for one Day and two Nights, and took the Keys from the Magiſtrates, and ſet Watch at the Ports; whereby they put the Citizens in ſo great Fear, that many Women with Child fell in Travel, and ſome died with Fear: And they went, by Twelve or Twenty, into the beſt Houſes, and commanded them to prepare them the beſt Chear, as boiled and roſt, and other dainty Diſhes, as they liſt to call for; and, beſides Beer, they would have at leaſt two Sorts of Wine. And all the chiefeſt Citizens Houſes had at leaſt ten of theſe Gueſts. And they all cried out for Money, and ſaid, that they would have fifteen Months Pay, before they went out of the City, of them; and the Magiſtrates told them, that they would procure them, in Cloth, and Apparel, and Money, the Sum; but they all cried out for Money, and that Money they would have, before they went away; ſo at the laſt the Magiſtrates got the Money, which did amount to Four-hundred Thouſand Guldens. And the Charge they were at, which theſe Companions did coſt the Citizens, was Six-hundred Pounds Sterling the Day; and thus they were oppreſſed with them twenty-eight Days; in which Time they had made them all rich Sutes, ſome of Sattin and Velvet, and ſome of Cloth of Gold; and one of them had a Cuſhion of Velvet, with theſe Words in Letters of Gold, *I am the* Dutchman's *Bridewell-maſter*. And thus they got rid of them, for the Preſent. And about two Years after they came again, and then they uſed the Citizens much more cruelly; for theſe Devils did bring Straw, and ſet it on Fire, and put it into the Houſes; whereby they ſet nine rich Streets on Fire, and burnt them, with many rich and coſtly Goods, and rifled the Citizens of all their rich and coſtly Jewels, and Silver-works, with their Money; and three Days did they torment the Inhabitants for Money; and in this Time there were murdered of the Citizens above Four-thouſand. The Money they took at that Time is reckoned for more than forty Tons of Gold, beſide the Jewels; and the Loſs they had by Fire was as much as the reſt. And thus was the beſt City of Merchants in *Europe* ruinated.

Divers Things being manifeſted of the *Spaniards* Cruelty, I will add one Inſtance of their Treachery, and that of a famous Perſon to his neareſt Familiars, yea, when he pretended ſweeteſt Familiarity and Friendſhip: Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, invited divers Nobles and Cardinals to a Banquet, with a Purpoſe to poiſon them all. The meeteſt Inſtrument he made Choice of, to effect this, was a *Spaniard*, one *Cæſar Borgia*, his ſworn Servant. The Pope ſhewed himſelf wonderful pleaſant, to avoid Suſpicion, and drank a Carouſe to them all, willing his truſty Servant to fill from ſuch a Bottle he knew well; which he did very effectually to the Pope himſelf, as well as to the reſt. After the Company was departed, the Pope, perceiving by an Alteration in himſelf, what was done, and

and that he muſt die now alſo, ſaid to *Borgia*, *This is a right* Spaniſh *Trick.* It is written of them, that they are ſo expert in theſe Exploits, that, if *Judas* himſelf were alive, he might go to them to School.

Tom Tell-Troath: Or, A free Diſcourſe touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majeſtie * by Waye of humble Advertiſement †.

SINCE they, that have the Honour to appertaine vnto you, have neither the Courage, nor the Conſcience to acquaint you with the fearful Diſcontents of the Time, but ſuffer you to looſe the Peoples Hearts ſo ſlightly, as if they were not worth their Keeping; I, a poor unknowne Subject, who never had the Happines to come near your Majeſtie, but in the Throng, nor to take any other Oath in your Service but that of Allegiance, have ventured vpon ſo much Forwardnes at this Time of Need, when all Places are indeed voyd; with Coveteouſneſs, and huge Ambition, ſeeme to fill; as to thruſt myſelfe into the beſt Office about you, better than either *Preſident* of the *Counſel*, or *Earle Marſhal* of *England*, and far more diſcontinued; *the noble Office of telling Truth*, wherein, if Boldnes makes me forget my Diſcretion, Loyalty, I hope, will begge my Pardon. And the rather, becauſe I perſwade my ſelfe I am not altogether without Warrant for what I doe; for it was my Duty, not long ſince, to take Notice of *two* Proclamations, come out in your Majeſties Name, againſt immoderate Talkings; wherein, it is your gracious Pleaſure, to make all your louing Subjects of what Condition ſoever Inſtruments of State, by giving them, *not a bare voluntary Power, but a* ſub pœna *Charge and Commiſſion*, to informe againſt all thoſe that ſhall at any Time hereafter offend in that Kinde. Now your Majeſtie ſhall know that I am one of the greateſt Company-keepers in this Town, and therefore cannot but be guilty of hearing many Thinges, that I am bound to reveal in Obedience to the Royall Command, which is the Duty which I propoſe to my ſelfe; at this Preſent the Miſerie is, I know not where to begin, nor whom to accuſe in particular of ſo generall a Crime.

For I vow to God and your Majeſtie, I can come into no Meetinges, but I finde the predominant Humour to be talking of the Wars of *Chriſtendome* and Honour of their Country, and ſuch like Treaſons; and would to God they would ſtop there, and prophane no more the Thinges that are above them; but ſuch is the Rage and Folly of theire Tongues, that they ſpare not your Majeſties ſacred Perſon, yea (I horror) to deſcant upon the Royall Style is now their common Paſtime; that you are trewe and lawfull Kinge there is none ſo divelliſhly affected as to deny; but ſome there are that find ſuch Fault with your Majeſties Government, as they wiſh Queen *Elizabeth* were alive again, who (they ſay) would never have ſuffered the Enemies of her Religion to have unballanced *Chriſtendome*, as they have done within theſe few Yeares.

They make a Mock of your Word, *Great Brittaine*, and offer to prove, that it is a great deal leſſe, then *Little England* was wont to be; leſſe in Reputation, leſſe in Strength, leſſe in Riches, leſſe in all Manner of Virtue, and whatſoever elſe is required to make a State great and happy.

* King *James the Firſt*, who choſe rather to be amuſed with fair Promiſes and deluding Negotiations than to take the juſt Meaſures of War to defend the Proteſtant Cauſe and the Peace of *Europe*, againſt the Uſurpations of *France* and *Spain*, one of which has been for ſome Ages aſpiring to Univerſal Monarchy: And neither of them ever negotiate with other Powers but with a Deſign to deceive them.

† Suppoſed to be printed in the Year 1622. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

They

They wonder you will call your ſelfe King of *France*, and ſuffer your beſt Subjects there to be ruined; for, *Ireland*, they ſay, you content your ſelfe with the Name, and let others receive the Profit.

As for the glorious Title, *Defender of the Faith* (which was wont to be a Point of Controverſie betweene us and *Rome*) they ſay flatly that your faithful Subjects have more Cauſe to queſtion that then the *Papiſts*.

For they * were never better defended in their Lifes; wittneſſe, the Judges privy Inſtructions, the Purſuivants open Prohibitions, and your *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, more than Parliament Protections.

Laſtly, That you are *Head of the Church*, they dare not doubt; but of *what* Church they would gladly know; the *Triumphant*, they ſay, it cannot be, becauſe there are too many Corruptions and Vexations in it.

And how far it is from the *Militant*, they call Heaven and Earth to Witneſſe. Therefore they conclude, it muſt be either the Church *dormant*, or none. And to ſay the Truth, Sir, wee are the ſecureſt Sinners in the World.

Theſe are the Thinges, that have moſt readily offered themſelves to my Remembrance; becauſe they follow one another in a Kind of Order. But, if I ſhould reporte all the diſorderly and extravagant Speeches I have heard of this Nature, I muſt bee faine to racke my Memorie, and (I feare) your Majeſties Patience; yet rather than leave the leaſt Shadow of Suſpition upon my plain Dealing, by ſeeming too curtall in the Performance of ſo neceſſary a Duty, I will venture to ad theſe fewe.

They, that take the Affaires of your Children † Abroade moſt to Hearte not being able to diſcerne the Compaſſion of your Bowels, but judginge Thinges by the Exterior of your Actions, will hardlie be perſwaded, that you are their Father; becauſe, they ſee, the lamentable Eſtate, whereto you ſuffer Thinges to run, comes neareſt to Deſtruction than the Nature of fatherly Correction.

They are not ignorant that your Majeſtie hath made as though you would doe ſomethinge for them, but they alſo know the Courſe, you have taken, hath beene more formall than effectuall, more chargeable than honourable: And are of Opinion that either your Embaſſadours have not negotiated as they ought, or elſe have mett with very ill Maſters of Requeſts Abroade, ſince they have not bin able, all this While, to get their Petition anſwered.

The very *Papiſts* themſelves, Sir, repine at your Errour, and ſay, that the Prayers and Monyes, that your Majeſtie hath conſumed of late in the vnprofitable Treaties, might have beene farr better imployed in redeeming your Mothers Soule out of Purgatorie; for, to get the Enemie out of your Childrens Countrie, other Enſignes might have beene found a greate Deale more proper. In the meane Time they do not onely bind, but ſatisfy their pernicious Hopes, upon your Majeſties Patience. For, ſeeing, how eaſily you tolerate all Thinges Abroade, they doubt not, ere long, but they ſhall alſo have Toleration at Home. Our godlieſt Preachers doe allready pray againſt the evil Day, with ſo much Earneſtneſs, as if that were at Hande. And, though there be Orders given to preach nothing but *Courte-Divinitie*, yet a Man may eaſily perceive, by the very Choyce of their Texts, and the very Teares in their Eyes, that, if they durſt, they would ſpeake their Conſciences.

The perpetuall Walkers of *Paules* doe now deſpair to ſee their materiall Church ever repaired, ſince the ſpirituall, and more worthy, is ſuffered to go to Wracke. And ſome of them not daring to meddle with Affaires of State, becauſe they are monied Men; and yet not knowing how to holde their Peace, upon ſo ſodaine Warning, thinke it their ſafeſt Courſe, to talke of nothing but Eccleſiaſticall Matters; wherin they all agree, that your Majeſtie hath pulled downe the Churche more with your Proceeding, then you have raiſed it with your Writings ‡.

In your Majeſties owne Tavernes, for one Healthe that is begun to your ſelfe, there are ten drunke to the Princes your forraygn Children. And, when the Wine is in their Heads, Lord have Mercie on their Tonges. Ever in the very Gaming Ordinaries, where Men have ſcarce Leiſure to ſay Grace, yet they take a Time to cenſure your Majeſties Actions, and

* The Papiſts.

† The King of *Bohemia* married to King *James the Firſt*'s Daughter.

‡ King *James the Firſt* affected to ſhew himſelf a great Oppoſer of the Church of *Rome*, by turning Controvertiſt, and writing againſt their Doctrines, with his own Royal Pen.

that in their oulde Schoole Terms. They ſay, you have loſt the fayreſt Game at *Maw*, that ever King had, for Want of making the beſt Advantage of the five Finger, and playing the other Helpes in Time. That your own * Card-holders play Bootie, and give the Signe out of your owne Hand. That † hee, you played withall, hath ever been knowne for the greateſt Cheater in *Chriſtendome*. In fine, there is noe Way to recover your Loſſes, and vindicate your Honour, but with fighting with him, that hath cozened you. At which honeſt downe righte Play, you will be hard inough for him with all his Trickes. I cannot forget how I have ſeene ſome, when they have loſt all their Money, fall a curſing and ſwearing at the Loſs of *Prague*, and the *Palatinate*; as though all the Rancour of their Hartes lay there. And, tell them of your Majeſties Proclamation, they anſwere in a Chaſe: You muſt give Looſers Leave to ſpeake.

The *Merchants* and *Trades-men* I, nor no Man elſe, can accuſe of being ſenſible of any Thing, but what toucheth their owne Profit. All I find in them is, they are extreame jealous, the Courte will ſhortly put down their Exchange, and apprehend, becauſe one of their Occupation is made Treaſurer ‡, that therefore, hence forwarde, all Things muſt be bought and ſoulde there.

The *Lawyers* ſeeme not ſo much offended, that your Majeſtie hath removed the Garland of their Profeſſion by puttinge the great Seale into the Hands of a Churchman ‖, as that you doe not relieve your poore diſtreſſed Children, according to the Equitie of their Cauſe, who, they ſaye, have bin wrongefully outed; and that therefore you ought to grant them a Writ of forcible Re-entry, which, under Correction, they conceive maye be better executed by the General of an Army then the Sheriffe of a Countie.

They that fly higher, and fixe their Speculations upon the Myſteries of the Court, doe apparently perceive that the Councell of *Gondemar* hath taught ſome of your active Miniſters to juggle, onely to make them paſſively capable of his owne Conjuringe; and that, by the penetratinge Faculty of a yelowe *Indian Demon* §, hee hath at his Command, and is Maiſter of your Cabinett without a Key, and knowes your Secrets before the greateſt Part, and moſt faithful of your Councel. And which is worſe, they ſay, your Majeſtie knowes it; and therefore ſuſpect that your ſelfe is bribed againſt your ſelfe. Otherwiſe they thinke not the Divell himſelfe could ſo abuſe the Times we live in, as to make Things paſſe in that Faſhion as they doe, contrary to all Senſe, and Conſcience, and Reaſon of State.

Behold, Sir, the Second Part of *Vox Populi*, by ſo much the more like itſelfe then the Firſt, by howe much it comes ſhort of it in Witt and Diſcretion; for, thoughe the ſecond Cogitations are ever held the beſt, yet wee ſee the common People for the moſt Part, when they give themſelves to Talkinge, proceed from Bad to Worſe, and every Time more fooliſhly then other: The Reaſon is, becauſe they never think before they ſpeake; but raſhly vent whatſoever gets into their Fancy, bee it true, falſe, or probable, good, bad, or indif-

* Privy-Counſellors and Ambaſſadors.

† The King of *Spain*, or *Gondamore*, his Ambaſſador.

‡ This was Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who at firſt was a Merchant in *London*, afterwards a Cuſtom-houſe Officer, and from thence introduced into the Court as a Projector; a Name given to ſuch as ſuggeſted to the Miniſters of State Means, whereby they might fill the Exchequer with Money, when the King would rule without a Parliament. He there married the Siſter of *Mary Beaumont*, Counteſs of *Buckingham*, which was ſufficient to raiſe him to the Place of Treaſurer, and to be created Earl of *Middleſex*. See *Wilſon*, p. 727, and *Weldon*, p. 141. From an Heireſs of this Family is deſcended the Duke of *Dorſet*. See *Dugdale*'s *Baron*. Vol II. p. 446.

‖ Chancellor *Bacon*, who had been created Baron of *Verulam*, and Viſcount St. *Alban*'s, though he was a very great Genius, and one of the moſt learned Men in *Europe*, being found guilty of Bribery and corrupt Practices in his high Office, was declared by Parliament unworthy not only of the Office of Chancellor, but alſo of having a Place, for the future, in the Houſe of Peers, fined forty-thouſand Pounds, and to be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure; in whoſe Place, on the Twentieth of *July*, 1621, the King made *John Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Lord High Chancellor. See *Ruſhworth*, Tom. I. p. 29. *Howes*. *Wilſon*, p. 735. *Weldon*, p. 133, and *Hacket*.

§ Gold.

ferent;

ferent; nevertheleſs, by theſe Overflowinges of their Mouths, your Majeſtie maye doe well to gueſſe at the Aboundance of their Hearts. And my Lords of your Councell may make Uſe of their Follie, without deſparaginge of their owne Wiſdome; which, if it be lawfull for mee to confeſſe, *The Truth is the Principall End I ayme at*; for it would never ſinke into my Beleiſe, that your Majeſties Meaninge was to publiſh theſe Kind of Proclamations *, to intrap your Subjects, and bringe them to the Blocke of Puniſhment; but rather out of a politicke Deſigne to ſound their Greiſe, and make their Complaints ſerve for ſo many Directions to Amendment. Accordinge to which Perſuaſion I have thought it ſufficient to ſett downe the bare Diſcourſes, without troubling your Majeſtie with the Perſons; for, if all, that are infected with this *King's-Evill* †, ſhould be brought before you, I fear that both your Majeſtie and your Chirurgeon will want the Vertue of curinge *all* Evills ‡. Which I wiſh you maye doe with as much Eaſe as your owne Heart deſires. And thoughe, perhaps, I cannot end better, than with ſayinge *Amen* to ſo good a Prayer; yet, now that I haye begun to ſpeake to the Lord my Kinge, let him not be offended with mee, if I preſume a little further, and offer at leaſt a few of mine owne Conceptions, by Way of humble Remonſtrance; not that I can hope (however others ‖ have ſped) to come from an *Informer* to be a *Councellour*; but becauſe, I believe, there are ſome Thinges moſt worthy of your Majeſties Conſideration, that are fitter for an honeſt Man to preſent than a Greate.

The great Spectatours of your Majeſties Wiſdome, whoſe dayly Exerciſe is to multiply the Object in the artificiall Glaſſes of Fraude, and Flattery, are ſo diſtracted with the infinite Faces of the Counterfayts, as they cannot diſcerne the Blemiſhes of the true. But wee that knowe neither the Uſe nor the Benefitt of ſuch Court-perſpectives, and have no other Waye to underſtand your Majeſtie, then by your Workes, doe, to our great Greiſe, perceive a Number of Defects that cover the Glory of your Raigne, as in a Cloude, and much allaye the Reverence due to the other Excellencies of your Perſon; for mine owne Part I cannot ſee them, and thinke it not inough to murmure as many doe, but muſt ſhewe myſelfe ſo affectionate to my Prince and Country, as to adviſe your Majeſtie of them, which I promiſe to doe with as much Humilitie as the Matter will bear.

The generall Torrent of Diſcontent that raigns with ſuch a ſeditious Noyſe over your whole Kingdome; thoughe (Thanks be to God) it hath made no open Breach upon your Peoples Obedience; yet certainely hath very much weakened their Affections, which hath ever bin held dangerouſe, and of ſo near Neighbourhood as commonly there is no Waye to prevent the one, without remedyinge the other §.

The Courſes, from whence that riſeth, are *two*:

I. *Diſcord at Home.* And,
II. *Diſhonour Abroad.*

For the *Firſt*, I muſt confeſſe, I am not ſo well read in the newe Book of Patents **, as that I can make any longe Diſcourſe upon that Subject; and therefore to the *Lower-houſe* of Parliament will leave it; which is the true Chriſtall Fountaine that will not onely preſent to your Majeſties Vewe, as in a Mirrour, all the foule Spotts of the Common-weale, but

* *Viz.* One upon Summoning the Parliament on the Twentieth of *January*, 1621, and the other, after the King had perſuaded the Lords to quarrel with the Houſe of Commons, and he had adjourned the Parliament, forbidding all Perſons to talk of State Affairs, with Threats of ſevere Puniſhment, as well againſt the Concealers of ſuch Diſcourſes, as againſt audacious Tongues and Pens. See *Ruſhworth*, Tom. 1. p. 36.

† Of ſpeaking againſt the King's Government and Proceedings, or talking of State Affairs, contrary to the Proclamations above-mentioned.

‡ Alluding to the Evils of State cauſed by the Male-Adminiſtration of the King and Council under the Influence of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Gondamore*.

‖ Alluding to Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, as mentioned above.

§ A good Admonition to all Princes.

** This relates to all the Patents by which the King, by granting Monopolies to certain Companies, or Perſons, ruined the Trade of his other Subjects, in order to raiſe a little preſent Money for the Support of ſuch a Prerogative in the Crown, which, being detrimental to the Subject, would not be allowed by Parliament.

ſerve you at the ſame Time with Waters, if you pleaſe, to waſh them out; but for the *Other* *, which toucheth more to the quicke all generouſe Spirits, and ſo excells in Matter of Complaint; as it receives Redreſſe, all other Clamours ought to hold their Peace; I dare pretend to knowe as much of it as another, and, perhaps, more than the Share of a private Gentleman. And having bin of late, by I knowe not what Inclination of my *Genius*, not onely the choſen Fruit of my outward Obſervations, but the very Nouriſhment of my ſadd and ſolitary Thoughts; if then your Majeſtie will give me Leave to execute my melancholy Office of tellinge Truth, and freely to advertiſe you what this grand Greivance is, that cries ſo loud for Reparation in all Voices, in all Hearts; and it is a juſt Reſentment of the Decayes of our Countreys *Honour*, a Trade wherein wee were wont to outbuy all our Neighbors: And make the greate Ingroſſer † of your *Weſte-Indyes* himſelfe Bankrupt. But, ſince your Majeſtie came to be our Soveraigne, leaſt we ſhoulde be too proude of ſo greate an Addition, it ſeemes the Hand of Heaven hath thought fit to curbe our Felicitie in this Point; ſo that we have lived to ſee that brave Stock of ſoveraigne Reputation, which our greate Queen ‡, your Predeceſſor, left us, quite baniſht, and brought to nothing. And for acquiring of new, that is a Thing ſo long ſince grown out of Uſe, as that may be very well reckoned, amongſt thoſe other Inventions, wee have loſt through your Injurie ‖ of Time.

The old Compaſſe of Honour is quite forgott, and our Pilotts §, now adaies, knowe no other Route than that of their own Fortunes; according to which they tacke and untacke all publicke Affaires. No Marvaile then, if wee ſee your goodly Veſſels of this State miſguided and ſhamefully expoſed to all Maner of Danger. Sometimes by being runn agrounde upon your Sands of ſhallow and uncertaine Policie; but moſt of all, by being kept at Anchore **, and full as it is of Leakes, and rotten Ribbes, in the deepe Gulphe of Security. Where that takes in more Matter of Ruine and Corruption, in ſixe Monthes, then can be pumpt out again in ſeven Yeares. Nor can our Stateſ-men excuſe their Negligence herafter, in ſaying, the Wind did not ſerve. For never did Heavens blow more favourably to our Advantage, than that hath done of late, had wee the Grace but to have fitted our Sayles to the Fairenes of your Occaſion. But there hath been I know not what *Remora*, that hath hung a long Time upon this unfortunate State; and ſtill continues of that prodigious Force, as for ought I ſee (unles God of his Mercie putt his helping Hand) it will rather ſink us, then ſuffer us to go forward in any Courſe that tends to our Proſperitie.

In the meane Time our adverſe Parties have Feardome inough, and all is Fiſhe, that comes to their Netts, that it ſeemes they have forbidd us, under the Paine of their highe Diſpleaſure, to deal any more in Matters of Worthe; and reſerving to themſelves the rich Prizes, and Triumphes of the Time, have thought that ſufficient for us, to ſheere our Sheepe, and fetche home Spices, to make Ginger-bread. Not ſo much but the very Pedlers ††, whome wee our ſelves ſet upp for our owne Uſe, are now become our Maſters in the *Eaſte-Indyes*; and thinke themſelves our Fellowes in any Ground of *Chriſtendome*.

Theſe Thinges are the more irkeſome unto us, by Reaſon we did leaſt expect them at your Majeſties Hands. For, who would have thought, that wee ſhould have loſt, but rather infinitely gained, by changing the weaker Sexe ‡‡, for your more noble, to be our Commanders. And having withall to Boote the onely Nation of the Earth ‖‖, that could compare with us in Valour, to be our Fellowe-Souldiers? But the Event ſhowes, wee are in nothing more miſerable, then in that wee had ſo much Reaſon to thinke our ſelves happy, for now that wee ſee how contrary to our Hopes all Thinges have ſucceeded, and how vilely wee have ſuffered our brave Poſſibilities to paſſe away one after another; as in a Dreame our greateſt Comfortes are changed into equall Deſpaire, and our moſt reputed Bleſſings, into moſte apparent Curſes.

* *Viz.* The Houſe of Lords. † The King of *Spain*. ‡ *Eliſabeth*. ‖ Of granting Patents.
§ Or Miniſters of State.
** At *Spithead*, or elſewhere. This particularly refers us to the Miſmanagement of the Duke of *Buckingham*.
†† The *Dutch*. ‡‡ Queen *Eliſabeth*.
‖‖ *Scotland* united by King *James the Firſt's* Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*.

Of

Of all the Benefits, that deſcend from Heaven to Earth, there is none to be received with more Prayſe, and Thankefulnes, then that of Peace. But a Man may have too much of his Fathers Bleſſing. And I feare we have too much Cauſe to complaine of your Majeſties unlimited Peace. The Exceſſe whereof hath long ſince turned Vertue into Vice, and Health into Sicknes. As long as other Princes kept themſelves within their Bounds, and followed your great Example, it was a Thinge rather to be gloryed in, than any Way reproached, that your Majeſtie was knowne throughout *Chriſtendome*, by the Name of the *Kinge of Peace*. But now, that both our ſworne Enymies, and forſworne Friends, have taken up Armes with one Conſent, that defyed your Majeſties Goodnes by enterpriſinge upon your neereſt and deareſt Intereſt in all forraign Parts. Now, that there is Queſtion of Gods Glory *, as well as your owne. And that the Cauſe of both your Children lyes equally a bleeding: Now, I ſay, to continue ſtill the Faute, as ſtill unmoved, as if you were no King of this World, but ſtood already poſſeſſed of the Kingedome of Heaven by Vertue of (*Beati pacifici*) this certainely is ſuch a ſtrange Peace of Supererrogation, as will ſerve to aſtoniſh the preſent Age, and that to come; but deſerve well of neither. It will rather revoke in Doubt your former Merit, and make us ſuſpect, that your peaceble Diſpoſition all this while hath not proceeded ſo much out of *Chriſtian* Piety, and Love of Juſtice, as out of meere Impotency, and Deſire of Eaſe. Pardon me (O King) if I ſpeak to you † in a Language, you are not accuſtomed to heare.

It is a Part of *Supremacye* ‡, not to have your darling Sinne layd open; as my Lords and Biſhops do very well obſerve: But it is now no Time to bauke, and palliate that which all the World ſees. For, though I feare it lies ſtill in your Booſom, yet the blaſing Starr was not more ſpectable in our Horizon, nor gave People more Occaſion of Talke, Heaven grant it may not be the Cauſe of more Miſchiefe in *Chriſtendome*, than the other was a Signe of. It is in your Majeſties Power to take away our Feare, and Danger, both at once, if you will at length but know your owne Strength, and take a Reſolution worthy of yourſelfe.

There are two faire Occaſions, that come, as it were, a woinge to your Majeſtie at this Time, the leaſt of which highly deſerves the Honour and good Fortune of your *Mayden Armes* ‖: ſo juſt, and ſo religious, in all humane and divine Reſpects, as, I dare ſay, that, if the noble Army of Martyrs were ſent downe upon Earth to make their Fortunes a new, they would chooſe noe other Quarrel to dye in, nor hope for a furer Way to recover againe the Crown of Glory.

The one is, to reeſtabliſh your owne Children in *Germany* §.

The other, to preſerve God's Children ** in *France*.

Both of them ſo univerſally deſired, and ſo conformable to *Chriſtian* Faith, and good Maners, that I doubt not, but that they have longe ſince paſſed the Preſſe of the Conſcience, though I know, by what indirect Means, they are not ſuffered to come forth in publike View. I ſhall not need to rip up theſe Queſtions of State from the Beginninge, and vex your Majeſtie, with provinge particularly that which is beſt knowne to your ſelfe; yet, becauſe I ſee nothing done, I muſt needes ſay ſomewhat. And firſt, for the unfortunate Princes your Children; though they may perhaps have committed a Fault, which your Majeſty, in your ſingular Wiſdome, thought good to make them drinke of, to purge them either of ill Counſell, or happily to quench in them betimes their dangerous Thirſt of Ambition, which, not content with *Rhine* and *Danuby* ††, might afterwards attempt the Ocean; yet to let them drinke ſtill, and ſo deep in the Cup of Afflictions, as not to be able to ſtand upon their Legges, but reele up and downe, without Hope of

* In the Reformed Religion, like to be ſuppreſſed in *Germany*.
† Accuſtomed to the Flattery of Courtiers.
‡ Alluding to the King of *England*'s Title, *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*.
‖ Becauſe never yet uſed againſt the Enemies of the Nation.
§ *Viz.* In the *Palatinate* and *Bohemia*. ** The Proteſtants.
†† Or the Countries lying on the Banks of thoſe two Rivers.

Recovery,

Recovery, is the Scorne and Opprobry of the Nations of the Earth.

Hac ratione potes juſtus fortaſſe videri:
At non crudelis non potes eſſe pater.

But ſome will ſay, your Majeſtie hath often adviſed them to returne to themſelves; and which is more, that you ſent one of late of Purpoſe to lead them Home: But, alas, in theire Caſe how vaine is all Comfort without Handes? And how ill hath this the promiſinge Endeavour ſped the Guide you ſent (as expert as he made himſelfe in the Enymies Wayes) is come ſhort of his Undertakinge; and, inſtead of givinge End to the Princes Miſery, hath only lighted upon a handſome Trick to cover his own Shame; had Fortune ſo miraculouſly bleſt his Confidence, as that he had performed this *Hercules* Labour without a Lions Skin, he would have ſtayned all wiſe Men for ever, who, before he went, gave him for another laſt Embaſſadour; it could never appeare to them in the leaſt Forme of Likelyhood, and having the Credit dew to Gentlemens Complement, that the *Spaniſh* Counſell of Warr would be at the Charge of getting a Country by Force of Armes, that they meant afterwards to reſtore at the Kiſſinge of a Hand: They are knowne to be a People ſo circumſpect, and adviſed in all that they doe, as they never reſolved upon the preſent, without conſultinge the future, but make the Reaſons of both their equal Warrant; and therfore, if they had made Keeping of Words, in Matters of this Nature, they ſhould queſtionleſſe have judged it more convenient to have taken your Majeſties for *Bohemia*, then have taken theirs for the *Palatinate*. Which, before they would ſurrender, they were firſt obliged to conquer; and conſequently to undertake a new Warrant to no Purpoſe. But, ſeing they would not truſt your Majeſtie in ſo apparant a Congruity, it is not to be wondered at, that they have deceived you, but that they had the Meanes to doe ſo, for not onely *Ball*, but every *Balaams* Aſſe, might eaſily forſee that your Majeſties Credulity was in the high Way to Perdition; and could not but bring you where the *Spaniard* would have you; who, how hee uſeth all that are at his Mercy, I am ſorry your Majeſtie is now to learne from ſo curſt a Schoole-maſter as himſelfe. Who will make no new Scruple to whipp you as your Children, with your owne Rods of Iron *, though he fainedly promiſed to uſe them only againſt the *Turke*; and then it will be too late to wiſh you had beleved *Caſſandra*, the Voyce of your loving Parliament, who, hearing of it, made a Start out of their owne Buſineſſe, and could not be quiet, til they had intreated your Majeſtie to conſider what a dangerous Gift it was, and how fitt to be revoked. But your Anſwere was, that you had paſſed your Royall Word to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, and could not break it; as if you were the only unfortunate Prince of the World, that were tyed to be faithfull to your owne Prejudice. Had your Miniſter in the Court of *Spaine* ſubreptitiouſly obtained a Graunt from that King of like Importance, his *Catholicke* Majeſtie would have bin glad of ſo good an Occaſion to render it of no Effect: And, without ſtanding on ſuch gentle Points of Honour, or framing to himſelfe, I know not what, *Chimeras* of Jealouſy betweene his owne abſolute Power, and his Peoples humble Deſire, would have bin ſo farre from expecting his Parliaments Oppoſition, as he would rather have given them Charge under Hand to have made it, and by that Meanes have recalled his Benefitt, and preſerved his Thankes. But, if your Majeſtie had made Uſe of this Expedient, there might perhapps ſome Inconvenience enſued, for then, it is to be feared, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour would have bin diſcouraged from ever aſking ſuch unreaſonable Thinges againe. The onely Hope whereof makes him flatter the State, and tell your Majeſtie many a pleaſant Tale. Wee are not yet willing to be undeceived; for, if wee were, wee ſhould not ſtay, till wee ſawe the Mountaines, that are promiſed us out of *Spaine*, vaniſh into Smoake: The poore *Palatinate* ſhews us ſufficiently, what wee are to looke for from the *Spaniard*; who, if hee were reſolved to give us ſhortly ſo much of his owne, as is imagined, would never keepe ſo grievingly

* This refers to the King's Permiſſion to *Gondamore*, to export Ordnance, and other warlike Stores from *England*, to ſupply the *Spaniſh* Arſenals; and, in particular, to the King's Order for Whipping one by the common Hangman, for reviling *Gondamore* for the ſame in *London* Streets. See *Ruſhworth*, *Tom.* I. *c.* 34.

from

from us that which is ours. But I crie the *Spaniards* Mercy: It is not hee (good Man) but the revengfull Emperour, that doth us this Wrong. As if the Emperour, without him, could wrong a Mouſe, or doth ſhew himſelfe refractary to the leaſt Tittle of his knowne Will: Wee may as well ſuppoſe the Sea turbulent without Winde, or the lower Spheares to move without the *Primum mobile*. I graunt that wee ſee the *Spaniſh* Forces and the Signes turne another Way, but ſo as they involue, with a powerfull and ſecret Touch, the Rapture of the *Palatinate*, and all the Shirs about it; without the which the Emperour would be as quiet a Lumpe of Majeſtie as wee could wiſh him. And his Commiſſary, the Duke of *Bavaria*, did nothing but what became him. It is the *Catholicke* Uſurper * that ſetts them both a Worke, and plaies leaſt in Sight himſelfe. Betweene them they hold faſte your Childrens Patrimony, and play with your Majeſtie as Men doe with little Children at Handy-dandy, Which Hand will you have? when they are diſpoſed to keepe any Thing from them. Or as two †, that having joined together in a Theft, hee, that tooke, ſaies, Hee has it not; and hee, that hath it, ſaies, Hee tooke it not: Which is a Mockery more inſufferable, than the maine Injurie, and ought to provoke your Majeſtie to the higheſt Straine of Indignation; for, if you perſiſt in your obdurate Patience, and take ſtill for Payment all the Artifices, that their falſe Dealing can coine, wee ſhall be ſhrewdly tempted to beleeve for once what the Author of all Lyes, to juſtifie the King of *Spaine*, and the other Princes of their ‡ Religion, doe conſtantly give out. That your Majeſtie is ſure of the *Palatinate* by Treatie; and that you pretend the Contrary, to draw Money from the Parliament. Out of which Opinion, if it be once ſuffered to take Roote, may grow a greate deale of Poyſon, and fall upon your Majeſtie as a juſte Judgment of God: Who, becauſe you would wilfully truſt your Enymie to your Hurte, may now ſee yourſelfe ſo unhappy, as not to be beleeved by your owne Subjects for your Good. But, I hope, God of his Mercy, will avert ſo great a Diſaſter, and give your Majeſtie the Grace to diſcover, and diſtroy at the ſame Inſtant, this malitious Invention; which may eaſily be done, if, without any more Delay, or Reſervations, you will now really, and royally, ingage your ſelfe in this righteous Way. Nor let the Scarcitie of Meanes, and Ways, diſcourage you. For your Majeſtie knowes not what a ſecret Treaſure lies hidde in your Peoples Hearts; which (in ſo good an Occaſion as this) will be brought forth, and laied at your Feete, in greater Heapes then the World imagines. Your faithfull Parliament hath already made you a liberall Offer of our Lifes, and Fortunes, and every good *Engliſh-man* hath long ſince confirmed it in his particular Devotion: It wholy depends upon your Majeſties Wiſdome, to make the right Uſe of ſo great a Gift, for therein conſiſts all the Danger, all the Difficulty. The foundamentall Enginesof Warre, as every Man knows, are Men and Money: And, would to God, your Majeſties Dominions, were as well ſtored with the one, as they are with the other, then ſhould we not proſtitute, as wee doe, to the *Great Whoremaſter of Babylon* ‖, and for a fewe Clods of Earth give up the Honour of our Countrey, and violate the Love which we owe to Religion. But his Knowledge of our Wants makes him preſume on our Eaſineſs, and allure us to this baſe and impious Adultery. Though, I verily believe, in this preſent Occaſion, hee and his Bawds will be much deceived, for, if your Majeſty, and your Eſtates now aſſembled together, will tie the holy Knot of Union, and make a firm Covenant together, wee ſhall not need to goe ſo neere Hell for Gold, as *Spaniſh* Mines; or, if we doe, wee will take a Courſe to have it without being beholding to the Divell; wee ſhall be able to ſupply well enough for the Buſineſſe in Hand out of that wherwith God Almighty hath bleſt us. Onely, I muſt advertiſe your Majeſty, that wee expect to ſee an Army raiſed, as well as Subſidies. For, *if wee be at the Charge of maintaining a War, it is Reaſon wee ſhould partake of the Honour and Benefitt of it*; eſpecially conſidering how hardly we can ſpare Money, and how eaſily Men.

There are many Thouſands of your Majeſties Subjects, able and proper Fellowes, that lie languiſhing, ready to rebell, for Want of Imployment. And, I hope, none will denie, but *Engliſh-men* cane earn theire Wages at this Worke, as well any other Nation. Sure

* The King of *Spain*. † In the Fable. ‡ *Popiſh*. ‖ The Pope and his Adherents.

I am,

I am, that it is to be found in very good Hiſtorie, that forraigne Princes have thought it none of theire worſt Stratagems to clad a great Parte of theire owne People in *Engliſh Caſſocks* * to make themſelves more terrible to the Enymie. Count *Mansfield* † is a gallant Man, and deſerves not only to be well paid, but highly rewarded, for the good Service he hath done your Majeſtie in that Country. Where, had he not arrived when he did, thoſe few all worthie Countrymen of ours, that would not goe away before they ſaw the laſt Danger borne, had bin miſerably ſacrificed to the *Spaniards* Butcherie, which would have made a great many of us worne Blacke ‡ in *England* for a While. But nothing would have laſted blacke ſo long, as the Story of it. Which, when Poſterity came to read, they would certainely have blurd that Part of your Majeſties Raigne with Teares. But as he came thither by an Accident; ſo (for ought I know) hee may go away by another; and therefore it were fit to provide more certaine Souldiers, for ſo certaine a Warre. For (as my Lord *Digbey* did very well ſhow towards the End of his Narration) Count *Mansfields* Armye doth not conſiſt of ſuch as have their Wifes, and Children, and Friends dwelling in the *Palatinate*; but of ſuch, to whome all Places are alike, ſo they may ſet a Worke; and upon whome there can be no other Tye then preciſe Pay. How much better then were it for your Majeſtie to ſatisfie the generall Deſire, and ſend over an Armye of good *Engliſh*, who, you may be ſure, will neither change Party, nor ſpoile the Country, but ſtedfaſtly adhere, as much out of Affection, as Obligation to the Cauſe, and Perſons of your Children? Beſides, if your Majeſtie will take Thinges aright, wee doe not contribute to this Warre, ſo much to regaine the *Palatinate*, as to redeeme the Credit of our Nation, which all the Money in the Kingdome is not able to doe without Action. There are, as I have heard, *two Reaſons* made, to oppoſe this Reſolution; the *one*, the Odds of the Charge; the *other*, the Difficulty of getting thither.

To the *Firſt*, I anſwere breifly, That, in Matter of Warre, the beſt is ever cheapeſt, and the ſhorteſt the beſt; I meane, not the ſhorteſt Beginning, but the ſhorteſt Ending: And, for the other, it is to be preſumed, that, where your Majeſtie ſhall make this Warre Royall, by taking it upon your ſelfe, you will not, for your owne Greatnes Sake, be ſeene to ſend any Forces, but ſuch as ſhall be able to make theire Way; if not, at leaſt they may have their Commiſſion to take up Lodgings by the Way, for thoſe ſhall come after, and ſo, though they come ſhort of their Journeyes End, they may happily make an End of that they goe for, the ſooner. In plaine Termes, Sir, the *Palatinate* is very ill ſeated for us to warre in; it being both remote from the Sea, and ſurrounded on all Sides with our Enymies, whome the *Pope* hath tyed together, like *Sampſons* Foxes Tailes, to ſet theſe our Parts of *Chriſtendome* on Fire; for which Purpoſe, they call themſelves the *Catholicke League*, and have the Catholike King ‖ for their Head, who ſticks cloſe unto them in all Adventures. Whereas your Majeſtie, I know not for what Crime, hath long ſince beheaded the poore *Proteſtant Union*, and left it as a Body without a Soule; yet it is not ſo dead, and buried, but that there is Hope it will riſe againe at the firſt Sound of your Majeſties Trumpets, and joyfully receive a ſecond, and more durable Life, from your better Reſolutions, of all the Parts belonging to it, the eaſieſt to be reſuſcitated: And moſt uſefull for the preſent Buſines are the United Provinces of the *Low-Countreyes*, as being the ſtrongeſt, and neereſt to the Head, during this Time of Diſſolution.

They have binn faine to do the Office of a Breaſt to give your Children Suck, but are indeed the Armes, and would, ere this, have carried them into theire owne Countrey, had they not had their Handes full of the common Enymie § at Home: If then your Majeſtie deſires to remove the *Spaniards* Foote out of the *Palatinate*, the ſpeedieſt Courſe will be, to give the *Hollanders* your helping Hand in *Flanders*; or, if your ſtrict Alliance with *Spaine* will not beare ſuch an immediate Act of Hoſtility from your ſelfe, you may, for Love, or Monie Sake, lend the Prince, your Son-in-law **, an Army to diſpoſe of, as hee ſhall ſee Cauſe, provided alwaies that yo

* Cloaths, or red Coats. † The General of the King of *Bohemia*'s Army.
‡ Or gone in Mourning. ‖ Of *Spain*. § The *Spaniards*.
** The King of *Bohemia*, and *Elector Palatine*.

counſaile

counſaile him underhand to his beſt Advantage; ſo ſhall the *Spaniard* be paid in his owne Coin, and our Princes reſtored to their owne Poſſeſſions: Whereas, if you confine the Action to the bare *Palatinate*, and content your ſelfe with the Doves Innocency, now that you ſee the Enymie as wiſe as a thouſand Serpents, it will never have an End; but draw it ſelfe into ſuch a continuall Circle of Trouble, as wee may looke to ſee a Dozen Yeares hence two ſuch Armies keeping one another at Bay in the *Palatinate*, as doe now in the *Low-Countreys*. I will not ſhow ſo little Reſpect to your Majeſties Judgment, as to talke any longer in ſo cleare a Caſe, but will here conclude my Reaſons with my Praiers, humbly beſeeching your Majeſtie to doe your ſelfe, and *Chriſtendome*, Right in this great Affaire: And let it be no longer heard, that the *Spaniard* hath more Witt than the *Engliſh* Eyeſight, or the King of *Spaines* Cozen *Germanes* removed are neerer a Kinne to him, then your Majeſties owne Children are to you.

It remains now, that I ſpeake a Word or two in the Behalfe of our Brethren, Gods Children, in *France*, againſt the Firebrands of Hell, which have kindled a Perſecution without all earthly Matter, it being the heavenly Cauſe of Religion, and no other, for which they are made to ſuffer; wherin your Majeſtie, and State, have as much Intereſt, as is poſſible for a Man to have, when his Neighbours Houſe is on Fire; indeed ſo much as would ill become a private Man to put you in Mind of at any Time, but this, when, it ſeemes, a dead Sleep poſſeſſes all the Land, and that we had rather periſh, then be diſturbed.

The vigilant Parliament * hath laien *Sentinell perdu*, and diſcovered the Enemies Approaches, but cannot be heard. The watched Men of the Ballances that ſtand in high Places, though they cannot but ſee the Danger, yet dare they not give the Alarme, for fear of diſquieting your Majeſtie. Laſtly, and worſt of all, the Church-men, who are the *Seers* of *Iſraell*, and ought to diſcry from the Holy Place the Troopes of the *Philiſtins*, and theire Plots, are they that doe moſt of all connive at the Stupidity of the Time; all of them already, for Excuſe of theire Weaknes, urge the ſtrong Opinions that they have of your Majeſties Ablenes, for (ſay they) it is in vaine either to advertiſe or adviſe your Majeſtie of any Thing touching Government, becauſe, they are aſſured, you know as much of it, as naturall Man can comprehend. And, for mine owne Parte, I thinke a great deale more, otherwiſe it could not be that your Proceedings ſhould ſo varye as they doe from the whole Current of human Diſcretion.

I graunt all wiſe Princes have ever reſerved to themſelves certain Caſes of State, which the Politicians call *Arcana imperij* †; and we ſhould be too injurious to your Majeſties Wiſedome, and Power, if we ſhould grudge you the like Privilege. But, alas, Sir, wee that have reaſonable Soules, and cannot but uſe them in ſo important a Matter, doe find a great deal of Difference betweene your Majeſtie and other Princes in this Point. For though they have locked up, in the Cloſſet of their Breſts, their incommunicable Purpoſes, and ſo worke upon divers Occaſions, as that the Effects have bin ſeene to come Abroad, before the Cauſe could be knowne; yet at laſt it coms to be evident, that theſe theire ſecret Deſignes ever tended to the publick Good, and the inſtrumentall Meane, were only ſuch *Hetoroclytes* as did tranſcend, and not overthrowe common Reaſon. Wheras your Majeſties Courſes are not onely inſcrutable, but diametrically oppoſite to poore Mans Underſtanding: And ſo far from giving us any Hope of good Effects hereafter, as they doe already fulfill the utmoſt of our Feares, inſomuch that wee have no Way left to put ourſelves out of Aſtoniſhment, and preſerve your Majeſties Wiſedome blameles, but by ſtrainingly beleeving, that, whereas all other Princes have Liberty to governe themſelves according to the Rules of worldly Policie, your Majeſties Hands are tied from uſing ſuch Means and Advantages by the corrective Power of ſome ſecret Revelation: And as *David*, who was *a King after Gods owne Heart*, might not for all that build God a Temple, becauſe he had his Hands in Blood; ſo happily your Majeſtie may not be ſuffered to do any Thing for the Church of God, becauſe you have likewiſe your Hands defiled with Blood; for how can they be otherwiſe, being claſt ſo ſtreightly (as they are) with them, that are red with the Blood of the ‡ Saints; one that knowes the Sweetnes of your Majeſties Nature, and hath ſeen with what Clemency and Mercy you have

* That was ſummoned 20 *January* 1621. † Secrets of Government. ‡ Proteſtant.

ſwayed the Scepter, would thinke it little leſs Blaſphemy to accuſe you of any Thing that is bloody. But God judges not, like Man. And who can hinder the Eternall from calling your Majeſtie to Account for all the Ravage hath bin done in his Church of late, ſince you are his Lieuetenante of greateſt Truſte, and have received of his heavenly Grace both ſufficient Power and Right to oppoſe ſuch violent Innovations? O the good and divine Providence of God that hath given your Majeſtie above all the Princes of the Earth ſuch Tittles and Royall Attributes, as doe neceſſarily infer, and transfer a Right, and Protection upon theſe his poore perſecuted Servants; for, whatſoever your Majeſtie thinks of it, I doe as verily beleeve, as if there were a Text for it in the Apocalips, that the great God of the World in his Omniſcence, and omnipotent Preſcience, hath ſo diſpoſed of States to the Benefitt of the Church, as to continew upon your Majeſtie the Tittle of *France*, to the End that little Flocke, which he hath thought good to plant there amongſt ſo many Wolfes, might have by a juſt Pretence *the Defender of the Faith*, for theirs; if your Majeſtie will not owne this poore People, neither as yow are King of *France*, nor *Defender of the Faith*, yet ought you to preſerve them for your owne *Englands* Sake; and doe that for Reaſons of State which Religion cannot obtain, for ſhould the *Proteſtants* of *France* be utterly extirpt, and that puiſſant Kingdome rendred as *Catholicke* as *Spaine*, I hope our Stateſ-men would not think *England* the ſame it was; nor your Majeſtie behold your Monarchie, without greeving at ſo terrible an Alteration. For mine owne Parte, I ſhould then beginne to beleeve that the Time were come *Comines* the *Frencheman* ſpoke of; who, being in Diſcourſe with an *Engliſheman* about the Warres we had had ſo often, and with ſo good Succeſs, made in *France*, diſcreetly ſaid, ‘ That God Almighty had brought the *Engliſh* ‘ into *France*, to puniſh them for theire Sins: ‘ And when the Sins of *England* ſhould become ‘ greater than of *France*, he would likewiſe ‘ ſend the *French* thither to ſcourge them’. And how willingly that Nation would imbrace ſuch an Imployment, may be eaſily judged; whether we conſider the old or the new Cauſe of their Hatred: The Virtue of our Anceſtors ſticks ſtill in their Stomacks, and the true Profeſſion of the Goſpell enrages their Conſciences. They who beleeve they do God good Service in cutting theire owne Countrey-mens and Kinſmens Throats, becauſe theyare not *Papiſts*, ſhould doubtleſſe thinke themſelves damned, if they ſhould not doe much more to Strangers, and their ancient Enymies upon the ſame Occaſion: Nor ſhall they want powerfull Incitements to ſo holy an Enterpriſe: His Holineſs himſelfe will be Tempter, though (Thanks be to God) he is nothing yet ſo cunning as the Divell; for, I know not by what Pontificall Furie, he hath precipitated his Inſtigations, and ſuffred his Malice to outrunne the Seaſon; would any (but Antichriſt out of his Wits) have ſo abuſed his moſt Chriſtian Child the King of *France*, as to put him upon the Conqueſt of *England*, before he was Maſter of *Rochell**. I muſt confeſſe, when I firſt ſaw his Apoſtolicke Letters, I had an Opinion that ſome crafty *Hugoenot*, had deviſed them, to give your Majeſtie a more ſenſible Intereſt in their Cauſe: But, having ſince beene made certaine they came from *Rome*, and that I find them inſerted in a Catholicke Writer, *Avec Privilege du Roy* ‡. I know not what to wonder at moſt, whether at them that ſay, the Pope cannot erre at all; or at him, that he ſhould erre ſo much. I aſſure my ſelfe, this famous Epiſtle hath long ſince beene preſented your Majeſtie in its owne Language. Nevertheleſſe, I will crave Leave to make you ſee, how vilely it ſhews in *Engliſh*.

To our deareſt Sonne in Chriſt Jeſus, Lewis, *the moſt Chriſtian King*.

Pope GREGORIE.

‘ MOST deare Sonne in Chriſt; Health, ‘ and our Apoſtolicke Benediction. The ‘ high Exploits of your Royall Valour, ‘ which have drawn upon them all the Eyes ‘ of *Chriſtendome*, bring a great deal of Comfort to our fatherly Care, as well in Regard ‘ of the Glory of your Armes, as the Hope of ‘ your Triumphs; for, conſidering (as wee doe) ‘ with much Greife, the Impieties of the Hereticks ‡, living in ſome Places, without ‘ Feare, or Danger, we now thanke the Lo[rd]

* The chief and ſtrongeſt Town belonging to the Proteſtants in *France*.
† *French* Proteſtants, ſo called. ‡ With the King's Licence.
‡ This is the general Name given by the *Papiſts* to all *Proteſtants*.

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‘ of Hoſtes that hath in ſo fit an Opportunity ‘ made your Majeſtie to take up Armes, to ‘ maintaine the Dignity of the Catholicke * ‘ Religion: O faire Apprentiſhipp of Royall ‘ Warfare, and worthy of a moſt Chriſtian ‘ King! What an admirable Thing is it, that ‘ the Age, which others, out of a Kind of Softnes and Idlenes, uſe to paſs away in Sports and ‘ Delights, your Majeſtie ſhould imploy ſo generouſly, ſo fortunately, in appeaſing Differences, conducting Armies, and beſieging the ‘ Places of Hereticks, and all not without the ‘ ſpeciall Councell of God, by whom Kings ‘ raigne? It is almoſt incredible, that the very firſt Steps of your Thought ſhould carry ‘ you in ſo high and troubleſome an Enterpriſe; and that the Dangers and Difficulties, ‘ which have ſtopt others in theire Courſe, ‘ ſhould onely ſerve for a Spurr to the Greatnes of your Courage; injoy (dear Sonne) ‘ the Renowne your Name hath gott, and follow the God that fights for you, to the End ‘ that, as you are now held in every Mans ‘ Opinion the Thunderbolt of War, and ‘ Buckler of War, ſo you may hereafter be ‘ eſteemed the Praiſe of *Iſraell*, and the Glory ‘ of the World, from the higheſt of our Apoſtolicke Dignity, whereto it hath pleaſed ‘ God of his Goodnes to raiſe us unworthy of ‘ ſo great a Grace; wee aſſiſt your Armes with ‘ Heart and Affection, and by our frequent ‘ Praiers prepare the Divine Remedies; and, ‘ though we doubt not but your owne Virtue ‘ will make you conſtant in this Worke you ‘ have begun, nevertheleſſe we have thought ‘ good to adde our Exhortations, that the ‘ World may ſee the Care we have of the Advancement of the true Religion; and how ‘ willing wee are are to give Way to your ‘ Glory: You have bin hitherto infinitely ‘ bound to God for his Bounty towards you, ‘ and as wee both hope and wiſh ſhall hereafter a great deale more: For you, having ‘ your Mind indued with celeſtial Doctrine, ‘ and not with the bare Precepts of humane ‘ Wiſedome, doe well know that Kingdomes ‘ have their Foundation upon the Truth of ‘ Orthodox Faith, and indeede, unleſſe God ‘ kee[illegible] the City, what Principality can ſubſiſt ‘ with any Aſſurance? It may eaſily be judged, ‘ with what Fidelity, they † are likely to de‘ fend your Royall Throne, that have caſt ‘ the very Saints ‡ themſelves out of their ‘ Temples, and don as much as in them lay, ‘ to put them ‖ out of the Number of the ‘ Bleſſed, yea out of Paradiſe it ſelfe: That ‘ with impious Temerity condemne the Inſtitutions of our Forefathers, the Cuſtomes ‘ of Kings, the Decrees of Popes, and the ‘ Ceremonies of the Church; theſe are the ‘ Diſturbers of the Chriſtian Common weale, ‘ and the Reproaches of *France*, whom the ‘ great God hath reſerved to be exterminated ‘ in the firſt Year of your Raigne. Know then ‘ that all *Europe* (which the Event of your ‘ Armes holds now in Suſpence) hopes ſhortly ‘ to hoiſe Saile upon the Ocean under your ‘ Conduct, to the End that Place §, which ‘ ſerves now for Sanctuary, and Protection to ‘ the Hereticks, and Rebelles, may one Day ‘ ſerve for a Marke of your Victories; wee ‘ are confidently perſuaded, that neither Fear, ‘ nor Inconſtancy, ſhall ever be able to divert ‘ you from the Purſuite of your Enterpriſe; ‘ onely wee would have you remember that ‘ the Saints of Heaven aſſiſt that Prince, who ‘ takes upon him the Defence of Religion, and ‘ fight on his Side, like fellow Souldiers. The ‘ ſame God that hardned the Waters like dry ‘ Land, and turned the Waters of the Sea into Wals, to give ſafe Paſſage to his Childrens ‘ Army, will certainely be as favourable unto ‘ you; and then, we ſhall have good Cauſe to ‘ hope, that, after you have eſtabliſhed your ‘ owne Kingdome, and cruſht the Impiety ‘ that is there, you may one Day by the Progreſſe of your victorious Armes join the Orient to the Occident, imitating the Glory ‘ of your Anceſtors, who have ever borne as ‘ much Reſpect to the Exhortations of Popes ‘ as to the Commandements of God. Saint ‘ *Lewis*, whoſe Name you beare, and whoſe ‘ Steps you follow, invites you to it; ſo doe the ‘ firſt of your Race, who in defending the ‘ Apoſtolicke Authority, and propagating ‘ Chriſtian Religion, laid the beſt and ſureſt ‘ Foundation of your Royall Houſe. Follow ‘ (deare Sonne) which are the Ornaments of ‘ the World, the Commandements of Heaven; powre out your Wrath and Indignation upon thoſe People, that have not kno vne ‘ God: To the End the Divine Treaſure of

* Or *Popiſh*; for *Catholick* is only a Term or Name uſurped by the *Papiſts*.
† Proteſtant Subjects. ‡ Images, Pictures, Reliques of *Popiſh* Invention. ‖ That have no farther Proof of their Saintſhip than only their Canonization by the Pope. § *England*.

'Heaven may belong unto you, by juſt Acquiſition. In the meane Time wee ſend you moſt affectionately our Apoſtolicke Benediction.'

Given at Rome *in* Great St. Maryes. *under the Seale of the Fiſher,* September 4, 1620.

Being the 10*th Yeare of our Pontificate.*

BEhold the Nett, St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors hope to catch *England* with, wherein your Majeſtie hath more to looſe than any Man I know. Bee not therefore offended with your loving Subjects, if theire Hearts tremble, though not for Feare, yet for Greife, to ſee your Majeſtie neglect both your ſelfe, and them, in ſo pregnant and conſiderable an Occaſion: The Pope needed not to have bin ſo fooliſhe, as to advertiſe us; we ſhould eaſily have bin ſo wiſe of our ſelves, to underſtand how neerly the *Proteſtants* of *France* concerne *England*.

They are indeed ſo many Hoſtages which God Almighty hath put into your Majeſties Hands to ſecure you, and your Majeſties Dominions, from all Danger of that Countrey; and to looſe them were no other (in my Opinion) then wilfully to tempt God, to deliver us into the Hands of our Enymies. As long as God hath any Children in *France*, we ſhall be ſure to have Brethren there. But, they once gone, your Brother of *France* will quickly ſhew whoſe Child he is, and how incompatible the Obedience, he owes him *, is with any good Will, he can bear you Majeſtie; ſince then the Tye you have upon that Princes Friendſhipp is of ſo looſe a Knot, what can your Majeſtie doe better for your ſelfe, and yours, then to keep his Enmity ſtill clogged, by cheriſhing and maintaining ſo good a Party in his Countrey, as thoſe of the Religion; who, you may be ſure, will be ſo far at your Devotion, as to continew their publike Praiers for your Proſperity.

Nor have the holy Motions of Gods Spirit beene alltogether wanting to your Majeſties Heart in this Point (at leaſt, if wee may beleeve what is unlawful to doubt) the Proteſtation of your Tongue. For it is moſt true, that, the firſt Time the Deputies of *Rochell* preſented themſelves before your Majeſtie, you received their lamentable Remonſtrances with all the Showes of Compaſſion, and ſent them away aſtoniſhed with your good Words. Did you not then tell them that, 'although your 'Conſcience would not ſuffer you to aſſiſt 'your owne Children in the Warre of *Bohe-* '*mia*, becauſe you were not well ſatisfyed 'of the Juſtice of theire Quarrel; yet for them, 'they might aſſure themſelves, you would 'employ the utmoſt of your Forces in theire 'Defence; that you had ſtrictly examined all 'that had paſſed betweene theire King and 'them, and could not find wherein they had 'any Way offended; that you were more engaged in theire Behalfe, then perhaps they 'know of: For when you renewed your Alliance with this King, after the Death of his 'Father, you cauſed an expreſſe Article to bee 'inſerted, that thoſe of the *Reformed Religion*, 'as long as they comported themſelves as good 'Subjects, ſhould be maintained, and enjoy 'the Benefitts of the Edict, in as ample Manner, as they had done in his Fathers Life 'Time; which being ſo raſhly and wilfully 'infringed, you helde your ſelfe both in Conſcience and Honour to take their Cauſe in 'Hand, and ſee them righted, as you vowed 'to God you would?" Conſidering this your Reſolution to the Imprecations of ſo high a Nature, although I doubt not but they proceeded of Zeale, yet dare I not, for the Reſpect I owe unto your Majeſtie, but remember them in this Place; and that nothing might be wanting to make Innocency and Religion credulous.

My Lord of *Buckingham* himſelfe fell upon his Knees and beſought your Majeſtie to take them into your Protection. Inſomuch that the poore Men were almoſt raviſhed with Joy at theire good Succes, and came away praiſing God for the Favour they had found in your Majeſties Eyes; but, by the Time they returned into theire Countrey, which was after ſome eight or nine Moneths Sollicityng, they hung downe their Heads, and ſaid, they would, as long as they lived, call *England* the *Land of Promiſe* †, for, notwithſtanding the great Promiſes that your Majeſtie made them, they mett with no Man, but could tell them, they would be deceived in theire Expectation; which they would not beleeve, till they ſaw

* The Pope. † and not of *Deeds:* Whoſe King ſpake fair, but performed nothing.

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at laſt nothing done, becauſe your Majeſtie had told them (as became a great Prince) that they were not a People, with whom you had any Reaſon to flatter or diſſemble; for, if you had not liked theire Cauſe, you would have told them ſo at firſt; but, alas! what are they the better for your Majeſties Liking of their Cauſe? That only ſhews the Goodneſs of your owne Judgment; but doth no Way leſſen the Bitterneſs of theire Calamitie.

True it is, ſuch was their Humility and Diſcretion, as they deſired your Majeſtie would firſt be pleaſed to try all peaceable Meanes in their Favour; not out of any Hope they had, that would produce any good Effect, but, becauſe they knew it was a Courſe moſt ſuitable to your Majeſties Inclination; hereupon your Majeſtie thought good to ſend my Lord of *Doncaſter* into *France*, to mediate theire Peace; in the Choice of whoſe Perſon they held themſelves as muche gratified as in the Embaſſage it ſelfe; for, though they were Strangers and but newly arrived in the Courte, yet had they learned (as indeede who could not tell them, what a ſpotles and openhearted Affection, that Lord bare to the true Service of God and his Majeſtie) but in this Employment his well Wiſhes were his owne, and his Inſtructions your Majeſties; and, how farre ſoever the one went before, he was now bound to follow the other. All he could doe voluntarily was, to uſe his beſt Diligence in Matter of Time (as I aſſure my ſelfe he did) though it was his Misfortune to meete with many heavy Rubbs. For, being arrived at the *French* Kings Campe, the Canon made ſuch a Noyſe, at *Montabaes*, as hee could not of a long Time be heard; and, when with much adoe hee had procured that Favour, the Anſwere hee received was ſo unſavoury, as both his Buſineſſe and himſelfe fell ſick uppon it.

By Occaſion whereof more Time was ſpent in this one Voyage, then our Anceſtours were wont to employ in conquering halfe *France*; and, after all, he came Home pitifully complaining of the ill Satisfaction he had received. Nevertheleſſe, your Majeſtie would not take his faithfull Accounte, for finall Payment; but thought it worth the Labour to ſend him once againe, furniſſed (as the World conceived) with ſtrainger Charmes then the firſt; but the Effect ſhewed all was one, for he found the yong King as obſtinate as ever in the Purſuite of his Armes, and not to be perſwaded to lay them downe upon bare Entreaties. And (to ſpeake Truth) it was not to be expected at his Handes. For he had no Reaſon to encreaſe the Obligation his *Proteſtant* Subjects have to his Majeſtie, by ſhowing them any Favour at your Inſtance, ſince it is well knowne, a greate Part of the Enmity he bears them proceeds meerely out of a Jealouſy he hath, that they have already too much Dependance upon you. Had your Majeſtie uſed your owne Perſwaſions for them, as *Edward the Fourth* did to *Lewis the Second*, to make him let the Duke of *Brittaine* alone, I doubt not but his Councells, as fierce a Warriour as he is, would have adviſed him for the beſt; but this was a Point of Rhetoricke beyond his Lordſhipps Commiſſion; and all that was lawfull for him to urge, was eaſily avoyded either by flatt Refuſall or by vaine Excuſall; ſo as he was forced the ſecond Time to return out of *France*, without leaving behind him any Signe that he had been there; that appeared here at Home by my Lord Treaſurers Accoumpts, there having been iſſued as much Money out of the Exchequer, for the defraying this fruitleſſe Embaſſage, as would have ſatisfied a great Part of the * Churches Neceſſities; as your Majeſtie came after to conſider, though too late, when you told the Deputies †, you could have wiſhed, you had given them the Monie my Lord of *Doncaſter* had, and would coſt you in this Treaty. And, without Doubt, the one would have done them a great deal more Good, then the other. For they were ſo farre from receiving any Benefitt by your Majeſties Interceſſion, as it did rather infinitely diſadvantage them; it no Ways ſlackened or appeaſed the Fury of theire Prince; who continewed his Aſſaults uppon them every Day more cruellie then other.

And it was of that Force with them, as not to aggravate Matters, and ſo render his Majeſties pious Indeavours more difficulte; they impoſed Meaſure and Modeſtie upon theire Armes, and, in diverſe Occaſions, choſe rather to ſuffer, then employ the Extremity of Warre, in theire Defence: Beſides, many of theire Party, ſeing your Majeſtie ſo farre engaged in a Treatiſe of Peace, thought it no Point of Wiſedome to declare themſelves, before they knew the Iſſue of it; which could not be but a

* Proteſtant. † Of the *Rochellers*.

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great Weakneſſe to them; ſo as the very Prejudice they have received by your Majeſties Occaſion (were there no other Motive) obligeth you, in Point of Juſtice, to do ſomething for them; and, in the Name of God, what ſhould hinder you, after ſo many Vowes and Promiſes, from perfourming ſo eaſy and meritorious a Work? Perhaps, ſome falſe-hearted *Achitophell* * hath buzd into your Apprehenſion, that, if you ſhould releive the *Proteſtants* of *France*, the *French* King might likewiſe be drawne to aſſiſt the *Papiſts* in *England*, againſt your Majeſtie; but (Thanks be to God) wee are not there yet.

For, though our *Papiſts* have had more Scope given them of late, then all that love theire Country have wiſhed, yet they are not growne to ſuch a formidable Light, that this Illuſion ſhould be thought of any Conſequence.

The *Proteſtants* of *France* have Lawes † made in theire Favour, and Townes given them for theire Security; but the *Papiſts* of *England* can expect nothing from the Lawes of theire Country, but Penalty; nor challenge any other Aſſurance, then what proceedes from meere Connivencie. Beſides, the Tenetts of the one ‡ are known to be ſo conformable to Civill Government, as they are, and of Right ought to be permitted to aſſemble themſelves both in Provincionall or Nationall Synods; whereas the other ‖ are juſtly denied this Libertie, becauſe both their Poſitions and Diſpoſitions are altogether repugnant to the Peace and Safty of the State. Well may they conſpire in ſecret, two and two; but, to rebell openly, the Conſtable ** will not ſuffer them; if they were in Caſe to ſhow themſelves in right Colours, wee ſhould quickly have Newes of theire Freinds beyond the Seas. There being a great Prince †† in the World, that openly profeſſes, the *Engliſh Catholickes* are as deare unto him, as his owne proper *Caſtilians*; it is not your Majeſties Example, but your Wiſedome, that muſt caution you from this Danger. To hinder them from having any forraigne Aſſiſtance, there is no Way but one, to keepe them in ſuch Order as they may be incapable of it: The Churche of *Rome*, as it for the moſt Part, is grounded upon wordly Policy, ſo it doth, above all, excell in this, that it holds the Parts firmely linked together, and poſſeſſes, by I know not what Faſcination, with ſuch a Spiritt of Confederacy, as they partake alike in both Fortunes, and paſſionably eſpouſe one anothers Intereſts: Whereas, if wee pray once a Weeke, more out of Cuſtome, then any Devotion, *for the good Eſtate of Chriſts Church* ‡‡, wee thinke wee have perfourmed the utmoſt of *Chriſtian* Duty: Hence it is, that the Catholicke Cauſe makes ſuch a Noyſe in the World, and carries all before it in theſe troubleſome Times; for, amongſt them, it is not inough to profeſſe Religion, without Contributing to it; whereas wee think God ſufficiently honoured, if we beleeve his Truth; lett him defend it, as hee will: Or, if at any Time wee be urged to fight for our Religion, wee uſe only the ſpirituall Sword, whileſt our Adverſaries they are victorious, and confound more in a Day with the one, then S. *Peter* or S. *Paul* could ever convert with the other. The Princes, that have given theire Power to the Beaſt, ſend *Armes*: And your Majeſtie (that ſhould fight the Battles of the Lord) *Embaſſadours*. In a Word, whileſt your Majeſtie amaſethe your ſelfe ‖‖ to convince an Errour or two of theirs, they find Meanes to conquer a whole Province of ours. Certainly, theſe Children of Darknes are wiſer in theire Generation then the Children of Light; and ſhall riſe up againſt us at the laſt Day, for bearing more Affection to the *Alcaron* *** of *Rome*, then wee do to the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*.

'That I may yet give your Majeſty a more lovely Touch of theſe Thinges, let it be lawfull for mee to change the preſent State of Religion throughout *Chriſtendome*, and ſee what will neceſſarily enſue. Suppoſe your Majeſty and the Body of your Eſtate were *Papiſts*, and the Recuſants *Proteſtants*. The *French* King, and his major Part of that Kingdome, *Proteſtants*, and the *Hughonotts Papiſts*; the King of *Spain*, the Emperour, and all the Tribe of *Auſtria*, of the Confeſſion of *Auſburgh*; your Children, and other Princes of *Germany*,

* Counſellor. † See the Edict of *Nantes*, and of *Mompellier*, made 19 *Oct.* 1622.
‡ *viz.* Proteſtants. ‖ *viz.* Papiſts. ** *Or*, Peace-Officer †† The King of *Spain*. ‡‡ This alludes to the *Prayer for the Church Militant*, which, being Part of the Communion-Office, is ſeldom ſaid oftner than once a Week. ‖‖ By Writing, *** The additional Articles of Faith contained in Pope *Pius*'s Creed.

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theire Confederats, *Roman Catholickes.* Suppoſe, I ſay, the Differences were in all Parts the ſame, the Sides only turned: Doth your Majeſtie thinke you could have ſhewed your ſelfe deafe at ſuch crying Occaſions, without ſeeing your whole Kingdom in Commotion? Or, that they would have ſuffred you to take your Pleaſure a Hunting, whileſt your Children, and Brethren, were made a Prey to the common Enymie?

No, aſſuredly; you would have found another Manner of Buſines of it; and ſeene your ſelfe forced to prefer your Safty before your Eaſe; *Dieu & mon droict* *, before *Beati pacifici* †; you ſhould have ſeen the Differences between a *Puritane* Parliament and a *Popiſhe.* And wondred at your ſelfe for being ſo unequall as to feare the one, and deſpiſe the other.

The *Popes* Bulls, and his feircer Beaſts, the *Jeſuits*, would have beene continually uppon your Back, and never left you neither ſafe nor quiet till they thruſt you into Action: And, for one Preacher of ours that chances to let a Word fall from him to this Purpoſe, you ſhould have all theirs treat of nothing elſe. No Prevention could have been uſed, to make them either ſilent, or ſparing, in a Cauſe that ſo highly concerned theire Mother the Church. What then ſhall the true Religion, becauſe it teacheth no Doctrine but what agrees with the Simplicity and Purenes of the Goſpel, be therfore neglected? God forbidd. They, that maintaine the Excommunication, Depoſition, and Aſſaſſination of Princes, would deſire no better a Ground, then ſuch an Advantage for theire Opinion. And, if it could not but anger the very Saints themſelves to ſee theire Enymies triumph over them, with ſuch unlawfull Weapons, your Majeſtie may ſay what you heare of *Puritanes*, and by the Authority of your knowne Diſfavour make that good Word to be taken in an ill Sence.

But, if my Obſervation have not erred, in ſome Parts of *Chriſtendome* where I have lived, there is no Religion like theirs, for a Soveraigne that deſires to make himſelfe abſolute and diſſolute. Inſomuch that I wonder that ſuch Princes, as profeſſe Religion onely for Policies Sake, will ſuffer any other in their Dominions. For let a *Proteſtant* King, I meane one that rules over a People of that Profeſſion, be never ſo notoriouſly wicked in his Perſon, nor ſo enormious in his Government? Let him ſtampe Vice with his Example, and make it currant by being his; let him remove the ancient Boundworks of Soveraigntie, and make every Day new Yokes, and new Scourges for his poore People: Let him take Rewards and Puniſhments out of the Handes of Juſtice, and ſo diſtribute them without Regard to Right or Wrong, as may make his Followers doubt whether there be a Heaven and Hell, which deſperate Point of Unbeliefe is a great Helpe, and Preparative to our Preferment: In ſhort, let him ſo excell in Miſcheiſe, Ruine, and Oppreſſion, as *Nero*, compared with him, may be held a very Father of the People: When hee hath donne all that can be imagined to procure Hate and Contempt, hee ſhall not, for all that, have any Occaſion to feare, but may bouldly goe in and out to his Sports without a publique Guard or a privy Coate ‡. And, though every Day of his Raigne bring forth a new Prodigie to greive all that are honeſt, and aſtoniſh all that are wiſe, yet ſhall he not neede to take either the leſſe Drink, when he goes to Bedd, or the more Thought, when he riſeth. Hee may ſolace himſelfe as ſecurely in his Bed-chamber as the *Grand Signor in his Seraglio*; have Lords Spirituall for his Mates, Lords Temporall for his Eunuchs, and whom hee will for his *Incubus.* There may hee kiſſe his Minions without Shame, and make his Grooms his Companions without Danger: Who, becauſe they are acquainted with his ſecret Sins, aſſume to themſelves as much Power and Reſpect as Catholick Princes uſe to give theire Confeſſors. A Pack of ravenous Currs, that know no Difference betweene the Commonwealth, and one of their Maſters Forreſts, but think all other Subjects Beaſts, and only made for them to prey upon, that lick theire Maſters Soares not whole, but ſmooth, and bark at every Man that dares be found eircled with theſe ſweete Beagles. Wee may revell and laugh, when all the Kingdome mourses: And upon every Foote of Ground his Prerogative get, and cry with *Tiberius*, O People prepared for Servitude! His poore *Proteſtant* Subjects will only think hee is given them of God:

* *God and my Right*, which is the Motto on the Arms of the Kings of *England.*

† *Bleſſed are the Peace-makers*; a Motto humorouſly aſſumed by a cowardly Prince, and in which King *James the Firſt* chiefly boaſted. ‡ Of Armour concealed under his Cloaths.

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for the Punishment of theire Sinnes; and that hee ought to be obeyed, not becauſe he is good, but becauſe hee is theire King; not becauſe hee rules according to Juſtice and Equitie, but becauſe his Power is the Ordenance of God. Yea the Preachers of greateſt Note and Creditt will hould themſelves bound in Duty to praiſe him againſt theire Conſciences, and laying aſide Divinitie make the Pulpitt a Stage of Flattery; where you ſhall have them indue him after a moſt *Poeticall* Manner, with more then all the Vertues, and paint him ſo excellently good, as would make all that heare them happy, if they could believe the Thinges of Princes, as well as thoſe of God, in Spite of their Sences.

Nor doe their Fatherhoods this out of Simplicity or Ignorance, for they are too well read in the black Booke of the Court, but out of a politique and officious Purpoſe to ſweeten the Peoples Minds, and keepe them from Rebelling.

Theſe are the Fruits and Proſperities of the Reformed Religion, which, teaching Divine Providence according to Divine Truth, tyes the Subject to ſuch wonderful Patience and Obedience as doth almoſt verify that bould Speech of *Macchiavell*, when hee ſayd, *Chriſtianity made Men Cowards*. And, if it be ſo advantageous to a bad Prince, how much more to a good? For, though Dutys are and muſt be payd to both, yet is there a great Deale of Difference in the Manner and Proportion, no more nor les then was to be betweene the Workes of bare Charity and mutuall Freindſhippe; the one receives the Peoples Service and Obedience, as a meere Almes, given for the Lords Sake; the other as a free Benevolence, wherein Men extend themſelves with the more Alacrity, becauſe they beleeve it is rather due to his Meritt then to his Power. The Experience your Majeſtie hath had in your long and proſperous Raigne will better declare this Truth, then any Diſcourſe of myne; I will therefore digreſſe no farther in this Pointe, but by Way of Inference returne to the Marke I ayme at, which I doubt not but your Majeſties quicke Apprehenſion will ſooner hitt, then I can ſhow; for can your Majeſtie but finde it more then reaſonable to favour or aſſiſt a Religion, that you ſee deſerves ſo well of Princes and all humane Society? That teacheth tumultuous Hearts a Harmony of Heaven, and makes Men obey Kings as the Angels of God; that charitably beareth with Bad, and abundantly requites the Good. In ſhorte, a Religion that hates the *Jeſuites* with a perfect Hatred, becauſe they are our Kings Enymies. How ill adviſed then is that young Prince *, that ſeekes with Fire and Sword to drive this holy and only true Opinion out of his Kingdome? What can be pretended by this his Crudelity, beſides the Pleaſure of making Martyrs? Would hee have all his Subjects agree that it is lawfull to kill Kings, and none elſe to write againſt conſecrated Knifes †? Would hee have all his great ones to be Penſions of his ambitious Neighbours, to winke at every publicke Prejudice that may ſerve to augment theire State, and leſſen his; and none left to oppoſe the Deſignes of his envious Superiours in the *Romane Hierarchie*, who have a long While thought the Crowne of *France* too goodly a Thing for him, or any *French-man* to poſſeſſe? Conformable to which, there is a famous Worke compoſed by a *Spaniſh* Author, where, for the better Managing of *Chriſtendome*, his Wiſedome thinkes it fitt, there ſhould be two Monarchies, a *Spirituall* and a *Temporall*; the *Pope* to have the one, and his Majeſtie ‡ the other; but ſuppoſe little *Lewis the Juſt*, by Reaſon of his ſtrict Alliance with *Spain*, and his devoute Obſervance to *Rome*, may promiſe himſelfe more Aſſurance of his Life and Empire, then *Henry the Great*, his more worthy Father; nevertheleſſe, if hee were old inough to be wiſe, hee would never teach his People ſo dangerous a Leſſon, once to know theire owne Strength, nor move them to take up Armes in any Occaſion by compelling them to defend themſelves in a juſt Cauſe. How fatall this Indiſcretion hath proceeded to as great Princes as himſelfe, both ancient and moderne Examples doe ſufficiently inſtruct; but I ceaſe to wonder at him, that hearkens to Lying Prophetts, and ſuffers himſelfe to be led away by the Spiritt of Illuſion; that which moſt diſquiets my Underſtanding is, that your Majeſtie ſhould ſo much forget the Part you have in this good People, neuter betwixt his Madneſſe and theire Innocency. It is Nothing

* The King of *France*. † Alluding to the Form of Bleſſing of Knives, &c. by the *Jeſuits*, who hired or perſuaded *Parry*, *Babington*, &c. to murder Queen *Eliſabeth*, &c.

‡ Of *Spain*.

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ſo grievous and ſcandalous in him to murther and ſcatter *Chriſts* Flocke, as it is in your Majeſtie to looke on, who is as well his Deputie Shepheard as his Viceroy; indeede you are Nothing, nor can bee conſidered in any Capacitie, Function, or Dignity, which doth not highly oblige you to take the Cauſe of theſe poore Men to Heart, and employ your moſt potent Meanes for theire Preſervation; hitherto you have put God Almighty to doe Miracles for them, who will not ſuffer them to periſh for his owne Names Sake; but it is now expected both of God and Man that you ſhould put to the helping Hand, and commaund that Reaſon with the Sword, which you have ſo often in vaine deſired with your Pen.

Your Majeſtie ſhall no ſooner exceede Words, and ſhew your ſelfe reall in this Reſolution; but the Foote Ball will preſently be on your Side, and then it will be your Turne to receive Embaſſadours as faſt as you have ſent them for the Mediation of Peace; that, which is now held too much to graunt your Majeſtie, may then thinke too little, and have more, for the Profit cannot but anſwere the Honour, when you ſhall ſee it in your Power, to ſell the Warre to your Subjects, and the Peace to your Enymie, at what Rate you pleaſe; a Traffick farre better becoming a greate Prince then that of Titles, Offices, and ſuch like petty Commodities of Courte.

I would here willingly make an End, but that there is one Motive more offers it ſelfe to my Conceyt, which I thinke fitt to preferr to your Majeſties Conſideration. And that is this:

Your Majeſtie hath ever expreſſed a Deſire worthy your ſelfe, to unite the People as well as the Countryes of *England* and *Scotland*. And whoſoever doth not contribute his beſt Indeavours to ſo good a Worke is unworthy of either; only it is to be wiſhed that your Majeſtie would thinke upon ſome better Meanes, then hitherto hath beene uſed, ſuch as may give univerſall Satisfaction, the true and moſt Naturall Mother of Union: It is not to be done by chooſing the Minion alternatively out of each Nation; not by making *Scots-men* Lords of *England*, and *Engliſh-men* Lords of *Scotland*; nor yet by Mixture of Marriage, which, though it makes two Perſons one, cannot make two People one; no nor by the more ſubtile Way, that is now practiſed, of making *England* as poore as *Scotland*. Theſe are too weake and counterfeite Ingredients to compound a Love-potion for them that were wont to thirſt after one anothers Blood; it muſt bee ſomething of more Vertue, that muſt charme the diſſonant Humors of theſe two Nations, and make them forgett whoſe Fortune it was to be envied, and whoſe to be contemned in Times paſt; and, if any Thing on Earth do it, it will be theire Freindſhipp at Armes in ſome fortunate Warre, wher Honour and Danger may be equally divided, and no Jealouſie or Contention riſe, but of Well-doing; one Victory obtayned by the joint Valour of *Engliſh* and *Scots* will more indelibly chriſten your Majeſties Empire *Greate Brittaine*, then any Acte of Parliament or Artifice of State.

If then your Majeſtie will proceede in good Earneſt to the Accompliſhment of the fatherly Deſire, and relinquiſhe the unholſome and unneceſſary Policy of keeping the two Nations in continual Faction and Counterpoiſe for the ſtrengthening of your Authoritie, what remaines then but to bring forth your royall Standard, and make the Conjunction of your Armes the happy Inſtrument of the Peoples Union? They ſhall no ſooner ſee the common Enſigne of Honour, wherein they have both equall Intereſt, but all other Notes of Diverſity will be thought unworthy theire Remembraunce; and then your Enymie ſhall quickly find to his Coſt, that the two mighty and populous Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* have but one Head, and one Hearte. Now, albeit your Majeſtie have at this Time as good Choice of Occaſions as the World can afford, yet that of *Fraunce* ſeemes moſt proper for this Purpoſe; for, as that Countrey was the Cauſe of our ancient Enmity, ſo would it be made to feele the firſt Effects of our Reconcilement, were it for Nothing elſe, but to cancell the ſtrict Aliance that was wont to be ſo ſuſpected and prejudiciall to *England*; had not the *Scots* of old beene our backe Freinds, and ſhowed themſelves in all Occaſions more affectionate to the *French* then us, your Majeſtie might happily at this Day have ſeene your ſelfe King of *Fraunce*.

And yet, had not wee preferd *Scotland* before *Fraunce*, your Majeſtie had never come to be King of *England*; this will ſeeme no Riddle to them, that are never ſo little acquainted with the Hiſtorie of thoſe Times; and, if *England* were able to make her Party good both againſt *Scotland* and *Fraunce*, when theire League offenſive was at the ſtrongeſt, what might not

England and *Scotland* doe now in *Fraunce*, where there is another Manner of Party, then that of *Burgundie*, to receive us? Surely wee might drive all the *Rojoliſts* into the Sheepfold of *Berris*, and make another King of *Burges*. But I will not labour in vaine to make your Majeſties Courage exceede your Conſcience; God Almighty I know hath filled your Heart with Dominion, and ſo ſealed it up from ſeditious Thoughts, as that you eſteeme Conqueſts no better then ſplendide Robberyes, as you are pleaſed to expreſſe your ſelfe in one of your late Workes of Divinity; nor doe I pretend to incite your Majeſtie to any Thing but what may ſtand as well with your Goodneſſe as your Greatneſſe. Curſed be they that tell the King, hee may doe all he can; for my Part I ſhall thinke my ſelfe bleſt of Heaven, if I may but obtaine my humble Deſire, which goes no further then to what you ought; it is not Spoile, nor the Bellowes of Warre, that I thinke worthy to move your Majeſtie to forgoe the long Contentment of Peace. Nothing ſhould make me ſo hardy for to wiſh it, were there any other Hope, but in your Armes to right the wronged World, and acquite yourſelfe of the Duty to God and Nature.

Behold (Sir) as much as I am able to preſent, and perhaps more then I ſhall have Thankes for, but that is the leaſt Part of my Intention. The Love to Truth, and your Majeſties Service, deſerve this and a great Deale more of an honeſt Man, and hee that ſeekes Reward of Well-doing knowes not the true Value of a good Conſcience.

I ſhall bee content to remaine unknowne, ſo as I make your Majeſtie know what falſe and wicked Men keepe from you, the Misfortunes of Government, and the juſt Complainte of your Subjects.

If I have offended your Patience, your Majeſtie may be pleaſed to conſider how long yours * hath offended all the World, and forgive mee.

Let it not ſeeme ſtrange or evil in your Majeſties Eyes that I have uſed a few harty Words in a Cauſe my Soule loves, above all that is mortall. And, for the Advancement whereof, I dare ſuffer as much as they deſerve that diſſwade you from it.

* With the Enemies of our Church and State.

The Lives of the three *Normans*, Kings of *England*: *William the Firſt*, *William the Second*, and *Henry the Firſt*. Written by *I. H.*

Improbè facit qui in alieno libro ingenioſus eſt. MART.

Imprinted at *London*, by *R. B.* *Anno* 1613. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred and thirty-one Pages, beſides the Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, which contains five Pages more, in ſmaller Types.

To the high and mighty Prince *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*.

Moſt illuſtrious Prince,

Our late, too late born, or too ſoon *dying Prince*, Henry *of famous Memory, your deceaſed Brother, ſent for me, a few Months before his Death. And, at my ſecond Coming to his Preſence, among ſome other Speeches, he complained much of our Hiſtories of* England; *and that the* Engliſh *Nation, which is inferior to none in honourable Actions, ſhould be ſurpaſſed by all, in leaving the Memory of them to Poſterity. For this Cauſe he blamed the Negligence of former Ages; as if they were ignorant of their own Deſervings, as if they eſteemed themſelves unworthy of their Worth.*

I anſwered, that I conceived theſe Cauſes hereof; one, that Men of Sufficiency were otherwiſe employed, either in publick Affairs, or in wreſtling with the World, for Maintenance or Encreaſe of their private Eſtates. Another is, for that Men might ſafely write of others in Manner of a Tale, but, in Manner of a Hiſtory, ſafely they could not; becauſe, albeit they ſhould write of Men long ſince dead, and whoſe Poſterity is clean worn out, yet ſome alive, finding themſelves foul in thoſe Vices, which they ſee obſerved, reproved, and condemned in others, their Guiltineſs maketh them apt to conceive, that, whatſoever the Words are, the Finger pointeth only at them. The laſt is, for that the Argument of our Engliſh *Hiſtory hath been ſo foiled heretofore by ſome unworthy Writers, that Men of Quality may eſteem themſelves diſcredited by dealing in it.*

And is not this (ſaid he) an Error in us, to permit every Man to be a Writer of Hiſtory? Is it not an Error to be ſo curious in other Matters, and ſo careleſs in this? We make Choice of the moſt ſkilful Workmen to draw or carve the Portraiture of our Faces, and ſhall every artleſs Pencil delineate the Diſpoſition of our Minds? Our Apparel muſt be wrought by the beſt Artificers, and no Soil muſt be ſuffered to fall upon it; and ſhall our Actions, ſhall our Conditions, be deſcribed by every bungling Hand? Shall every filthy Finger defile our Reputation? Shall our Honour be baſely buried in the Droſs of rude and abſurd Writings? We are careful to provide coſtly Sepulchres, to preſerve our dead Lives, to preſerve ſome Memory what we have been; but there is no Monument, either ſo durable, or ſo largely extending, or ſo lively and fair, as that which is framed by a fortunate Pen; the Memory of the greateſt Monuments had long ſince periſhed, had it not been preſerved by this Means.

To this I added, that I did always conceive, that we ſhould make our Reckoning of three Sorts of Life; the ſhort Life of Nature, the long Life of Fame, and the eternal Life of Glory. The Life of Glory is ſo far eſteemed before the other two, as Grace is predominant in us; the Life of Fame before our natural Life is ſo far eſteemed, as a generous Spirit ſurmounteth Senſuality, as human Nature over-ruleth a brutiſh Diſpoſition. So far as the noble Nature of Man hath Dominion in our Minds, ſo far do we contemn, either the Incommodities, or Dangers, or Life of our Body, in Regard of our Reputation and Fame. Now, ſeeing this Life of Fame is both preſerved and enlarged chiefly by Hiſtory, there is no Man (I ſuppoſe) that will either reſiſt, or not aſſiſt, the commendable or, at leaſt, tolerable Writing thereof, but ſuch as are conſcious to themſelves, either that no good, or that nothing but ill, can be reported of them. In whom notwithſtanding it is an Error to think, that any Power of the preſent Time can either extinguiſh or obſcure the Memory of Times ſucceeding. Poſterity will give to every

Man his Due: Some Ages hereafter will afford thoſe, who will report unpartially of all.

Then he queſtioned, whether I had wrote any Part of our Engliſh *Hiſtory, other than that which had been publiſhed which at that Time he had in his Hands? I anſwered, that I wrote of certain of our* Engliſh *Kings, by Way of a brief Deſcription of their Lives; but, for Hiſtory, I did principally bend, and bind myſelf to the Times wherein I ſhould live; in which my own Obſervations might ſomewhat direct me; but as well in the one, as in the other, I had at that Time perfected nothing.*

To this he ſaid, that, in Regard of the Honour of the Time, he liked well of the laſt; but, for his own Inſtruction, he more deſired the firſt; that he deſired nothing more than to know the Actions of his Anceſtors, becauſe he did ſo far eſteem his Deſcent from them, as he approached near them in honourable Endeavours. Hereupon, beautifying his Face with a ſober Smile, he deſired me, that, againſt his Return from the Progreſs then at Hand, I would perfect ſomewhat of both Sorts for him; which he promiſed amply to requite, and was well known to be one, who eſteemed his Word above ordinary Reſpects. This ſtirred in me, not only a Will, but Power to perform; ſo as, engaging my Duty far above the Meaſure either of my Leiſure or of my Strength, I finiſhed the Lives of theſe three Kings of Norman *Race, and certain Years of Queen* Eliſabeth's *Reign.*

At his Return from the Progreſs to his Houſe at St. James's, *theſe Pieces were delivered unto him; which he did not only courteouſly, but joyfully accept. And, becauſe this ſeemed a perfect Work, he expreſſed a Deſire that it ſhould be publiſhed. Not long after he died; and with him died both my Endeavours and my Hopes. His Death, alas! hath bound the Lives of many unto Death, Face to Face; being no Ways able, either by Forgetfulneſs to cover their Grief, or to diminiſh it with Conſideration.*

For, in Truth, he was a Prince of a moſt heroical Heart: Free from many Vices which ſometimes accompany high Eſtates, full of moſt amiable and admirable Virtues; of whoſe Perfections the World was not worthy. His Eyes were full of pleaſant Modeſty; his Countenance manly beautiful; in Body both ſtrongly and delicately made; in Behaviour ſweetly ſober; which gave Grace to whatſoever he did. He was of a diſcerning Wit; and, for the Faculty of his Mind, of great Capacity and Power, accompanied with equal Expedition of Will; much foreſeeing in his Actions, and for Paſſions a Commander of himſelf; and of good Strength to reſiſt the Power of Proſperity. In Counſel he was ripe and meaſured, in Reſolution conſtant, his Word ever led by his Thought, and followed by his Deed. And, albeit he was but young and his Nature forward and free, yet his Wiſdom reduced both to a true Temper of Moderation; his Deſires being never above his Reaſon, nor his Hopes inferior to his Deſires. In a Word, he was the moſt fair Fruit of his Progenitors, an excellent Ornament of the preſent Age, a true Mirrour to Poſterity, being ſo equally both ſettled to Valour, and diſpoſed to Goodneſs and Juſtice, as he expreſſed not only Tokens, but Proofs, both of a Courage, and of a Gravity and Induſtry, right worthy of his Eſtate.

Glorious Prince, my Love and Duty hath carried me further, than happily is fit for the preſent Purpoſe, and yet this is but an Earneſt only of my earneſt Affection and Zeal to thy Honour. I ſhall hereafter have a more proper Place to diſplay, at large, the Goodlineſs of thy Shape, the Goodneſs of thy Nature, the Greatneſs of thy Mind, all thy Perfections, *whereby our* Affections *were much inflamed. And evil worthy may he be of any happy Hopes, who will not add one Blaſt of his Breath, to make up the glorious Gale of thy Fame.*

In

In the mean Time I have here accompliſhed his Deſire in publiſhing this Work: More to teſtify to the World the Height of his Heart, than for any Pleaſure I have to ſet forth any Thing, to the View of theſe both captious and unthankful Times; wherein Men will be, not Readers only, but Interpreters, but Wreſters, but Corrupters and Depravers of that which they read; wherein Men think the Reproof of others, to be the greateſt Parcel of their own Praiſe. But how ſhould I expect any better Uſage? The Commentaries of Cæſar, *never diſliked before, are eſteemed, by* Lipſius, *a dry ſapleſs Piece of Writing. The moſt famous* Tacitus *is termed, by* Alciate, * a Thicket of Thorns; *by* Budeus, † a moſt lewd Writer; *by* Tertullian, ‡ an exceeding Lyar; *by* Oroſius, ‖ a Flatterer; *than which aſſuredly he is nothing leſs. I will not expect any better Uſage, I will not deſire it: I will hereafter eſteem nothing of any Worth, which hath not many to detract from it.*

Whatſoever this is, I have preſumed to preſent it to your Highneſs, for theſe Cauſes following:

Firſt, *for that it received this Being from him, who was moſt dearly eſteemed by you; who may be juſtly propoſed, as an Example of Virtue, as a Guide to Glory and Fame.*

Secondly, *for that the Perſons, of whom it treateth, are thoſe moſt worthy Anceſtors of of yours, who laid the Foundation of this* Engliſh *Empire; who were eminent among all the Princes of their Times, and haply for many Ages after, as well in Actions of Peace as of War.*

Laſtly, *for that I eſteem Hiſtories the fitteſt Subject for your Highneſs's Reading: For, by diligent peruſing the Acts of great Men, by conſidering all the Circumſtances of them, by comparing Counſels and Means with Events, a Man may ſeem to have lived in all Ages, to have been preſent at all Enterpriſes; to be more ſtrongly confirmed in Judgement, to have attained a greater Experience, than the longeſt Life can poſſibly afford.*

But becauſe many Errors do uſually ariſe, by Ignorance of the State wherein we live; becauſe it is dangerous to frame Rules of Policy out of Countries differing from us, both in Nature, and Cuſtom of Life, and Form of Government; no Hiſtories are ſo profitable as our own. In theſe your Highneſs may ſee the noble Diſpoſition and Delights of your Anceſtors, what were their ſweet Walks, what their pleaſant Chaces; how far they preferred Glory, before either Pleaſure or Safety; how, by the brave Behaviour of their Swrd, they hewed Honour out of the Sides of their Enemies. In theſe you may ſee the Largeneſs, Commodities, and Strength of this Country; the Nature of the People, their Wealth, Pleaſure, Exerciſe and Trade of Life, and what elſe is worthy of Obſervation. Generally, by theſe you may ſo furniſh yourſelf, as not eaſily to be abuſed either by weak or deceitful Advice.

The moſt High *preſerve and proſper your* Highneſs, *that, as you* ſucceed *many excellent Anceſtors in Blood, ſo you may* exceed *them all in honourable Atchievements.*

Your Highneſs's moſt devouted,

J. Hayward.

* Senticetum. † Scriptor omnium ſceleratiſſimus. ‡ Mendaciſſimus. ‖ Adulator.

The

The Life of King William the Firſt, *ſirnamed* Conqueror.

Robert Duke of *Normandy*, the ſixth in Deſcent from *Rollo*, riding through *Falais*, a Town in *Normandy*, eſpied certain young Perſons dancing near the Way: And, as he ſtaid to view a While the Manner of their Diſport, he fixed his Eye eſpecially upon a certain Damſel named *Arlotte*, of mean Birth, a Skinner's Daughter, who there danced among the reſt. The Frame and comely Carriage of her Body, the natural Beauty and Graces of her Countenance, the Simplicity of her rural both Behaviour and Attire, pleaſed him ſo well, that the ſame Night he procured her to be brought to his Lodging *; where he begat of her a Son, who afterwards was named *William*.

I will not defile my Writing with Memory of ſome laſcivious Behaviour which ſhe is reported to have uſed, at ſuch Time as the Duke approached to embrace her. And doubtful it is, whether upon ſome ſpecial Note of Immodeſty in herſelf, or whether upon Hate towards her Son, the *Engliſh* afterwards adding an Aſpiration to her Name (according to the natural Manner of their Pronouncing) termed every unchaſte Woman, *Harlot*.

It is remembered by ſome, rather ſervile than fond in Obſervations, who will either find or frame Predictions for every great Action or Event: That his Mother before the Time of her Delivery had a Dream, that her Bowels were extended over *Normandy* and *England*. Alſo, that, at the Time of his Birth, he fell from his Mother's Body to the Ground; and there filled both his Hands with Ruſhes, which had been caſt thick upon the Floor, and ſtrained them with a very ſtrait Gripe. The Wives laughed at large, and ſoon grew prodigal of idle Talk. But the Midwife ſomewhat more ſoberly ſaid, that he ſhould not only hold well his own, but graſp ſomewhat from other Men.

When he was about nine Years of Age, his Father went upon Devotion to *Jeruſalem*, and in his Return died at the City of *Nice*. So *William* at that Age ſucceeded his Father; having then very generous and aſpiring Spirits, both to reſiſt Abroad, and to rule at Home. He was committed to the Government of two of his Uncles; and the *French* King was intreated by his Father to take upon him the Protection, both of his Perſon and State. But his Uncles pretended Title to his Dignity, by Reaſon of his unlawful Birth; the King of *France* alſo deſired much, and had often attempted to reduce *Normandy* to his abſolute Subjection, as it was before the Invaſion of the *Normans*. So as it may ſeem he was committed to theſe Tutors, as a Lamb ſhould be committed to the Tutelage of Wolves. The only Means of his Preſervation conſiſted in a factious Nobility, divided into ſo many Parts, as there were Parties: Some contending for Poſſeſſion of the young Duke's Perſon; others, of his Authority and Power; all of them incompatible to endure either Equals, or elſe Superiors †: All of them united againſt a common Enemy; all divided among themſelves.

Here it may be demanded, how he, being unlawfully born, could ſucceed his Father in the Duchy of *Normandy*, his Father leaving two Brothers born in lawful Marriage, and much other legitimate Kindred behind him?

Will. Malmeſbury ‡, and ſome others have reported, that, albeit he was born out of Marriage, yet Duke *Robert* his Father did afterwards entertain his Mother for lawful Wife; which by the Law of that Country, agreeable in that Point to the Civil and Canon Laws, ſufficed to make the Iſſue inheritable, although born before ‖.

And further, it was a general Cuſtom at that Time in *France*, that Baſtards did ſucceed, even in Dignities of higheſt Condition, no otherwiſe than Children lawfully begotten.

* Some Hiſtorians ſay, that Duke *Robert* took her to Wife. *Malm.* p. 97.

† In which Caſe, we may well apply the Saying of *Seneca*: *Societas noſtra lapidiceæ fornicationi ſimillima eſt; quæ caſura, niſi in vice obſtarent, hoc ipſo continetur.* Senec. Epiſt. 97.

‡ Lib. iii. in princ. *Ingulph.* Lib. vi. Cap. 19.

‖ Let that be as it will, I cannot but obſerve, that, after the Conqueror obtained the Crown of *England*, he often ſigned his Grants with this Subſcription, *William Baſtarde*; thinking it no Abaſement either to his *Title* or *Reputation*.

Thierry

Thierry, Baſtard of *Clovis*, had for his Partage, with the lawful Children of the ſame *Clovis*, the Kingdom of *Auſtraſy*, now called *Lorrain*. *Sigeſbert*, Baſtard of King *Dagobert the Firſt*, had his Part in the Kingdom of *France*, with *Clovis the Twelfth*, lawful Son to *Dagobert*. *Loys* and *Carloman*, Baſtards of King *Loys le Begue*, ſucceeded after the Death of their Father. So likewiſe, in *England*, *Alfride*, Baſtard Son of *Oſwine*, ſucceeded his Brother *Egfride*. So *Adelſtane*, the Baſtard Son of *Edward the Elder*, ſucceeded his Father, before *Edmund* and *Eldred*, his younger Brothers, notwithſtanding they were lawfully begotten. So *Edmund*, ſirnamed the *Martyr*, Baſtard Son to King *Edgar*, ſucceeded him in the State, before *Ethelbred* his lawful Iſſue. Afterward, *Harold* ſirnamed *Harefoot*, Baſtard to *Canutus*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, before *Hardicanutus*, his lawful Son. The like Cuſtom hath been obſerved in *Spain*, in *Portugal*, and in divers other Countries. And it is probable that this Uſe was grounded upon often Experience, that Baſtards (as begotten in the higheſt Heat and Strength of Affection) have many Times * been Men of excellent Proof, both in Courage and in Underſtanding. This was verified in *Hercules*, *Alexander the Great*, *Romulus*, *Timotheus*, *Brutus*, *Themiſtocles*, *Arthur*; in *Homer*, *Demoſthenes*, *Bion*, *Bartholus*, *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, *Peter Comeſtor*, *John Andreas*, and divers of moſt flouriſhing Name; among whom our *Conqueror* may worthily be ranged.

And yet, in the third Race of the Kings of *France*, a Law was made, that Baſtards ſhould not inherit the Crown of the Realm. This Cuſtom was likewiſe baniſhed out of *England*, and other Countries of *Europe*. Notwithſtanding, in *France* †, other Baſtards of great Houſes were ſtill advowed.

The Exerciſes of this Duke, from his very Youth, were ingenious, manly, decent, and ſuch as tended to Activity and Valour; he was of a working Mind and vehement Spirit, rather ambitious than only deſirous of Glory; of a piercing Wit, blind in no Man's Cauſe, and well-ſighted in his own; of a lively and preſent Courage; neither out of Ignorance, or raſh Eſtimation of Dangers, but out of a true Judgment both of himſelf and of them. In Peace, he was politick; in War, valiant and very ſkilful, both to eſpy and to apprehend, and to follow his Advantages; this Valour and Skill, in Military Affairs, was always ſeconded with good Succeſs. He was continually accuſtomed both to the Weight and Uſe of Armour, from his very Childhood. Oftentimes he looked Death in the Face with a brave Contempt. He was never free from Actions of Arms; firſt upon Neceſſity to defend himſelf, afterwards upon Ambition to offend and diſturb the Poſſeſſions of others.

In his firſt Age, he was much inveſted with Rebels in *Normandy*; who often conſpired both againſt his Life, and againſt his Dignity and State; traducing him, as a Baſtard, as a Boy, as born of a baſe ignoble Woman, as altogether unworthy to be their Prince. Of theſe, ſome he appeaſed and reconciled unto him; others he prevented and diſperſed their Power, before it was collected; others encountered in open Field, before he had any Hair upon his Face; where he defeated their Forces in full Battle, then took their Strong-holds, and laſtly chaced them out of his Dominion.

And firſt, *Roger Treſny*, having gained exceeding great both Favour and Reputation by his Services againſt the *Saracens* in *Spain*, made Claim to the Duchy of *Normandy*; as one lawfully deſcended from *Rollo*, their firſt Duke. And, albeit many others were before him in Title, yet (ſaid he) if they will ſit ſtill; if they either through Sloth, which is ill, or through Fear, which is worſe, will abandon the Adventure, he alone would free the *Normans* from their infamous Subjection. He was followed by many, partly upon Opinion of his Right, but chiefly of his Valour. But, when he brought his Cauſe to the Arbitrement of Arms, he was overthrown in a ſtrong Battle, wherein his Claim and his Life determined together.

After this, *William*, Earl of *Arques*, baſe Son to *Richard the Second*, and Uncle to Duke *William*, upon the ſame Pretence declared himſelf againſt his Nephew. And, albeit the *Normans* were heavy to ſtir in his Favour, yet he ſo wrought with the *French* King, by aſſuring him great Matters in *Normandy*, that, with a mighty Army of his own People, he went in Perſon to place him in Poſſeſſion of that Duchy. The Way, which the King took, led him to a large Valley, ſandy and full of ſhort Buſhes and Shrubs, troubleſome for Horſemen either

* πολλάκις δέ τοι κόθοιτε πολλοὶ γνήσιων ἀμείνονες. *Eurip.* in *Androm.*

† And *Portugal*.

to

to fight or to march. On either Side were riſing Hills, very thick ſet with Wood. Here the Army entered with ſmall Adviſement, either for Clearing the Paſſage, or for the Safety of their Carriages. The Van-guard conſiſted chiefly of Battle-axes and Pikes. In the right Wing were many *Almans* among the *French*. In the Left were many of *Anjou* and *Poictou*. After theſe followed the Baggage, with an infinite Number of Scullions, Carters, and other baſe Drudges attending upon it. Next came the *French* King with the main Battle, conſiſting for the moſt Part of valiant and worthy Gentlemen, bravely mounted. The Lances and Men at Arms cloſed the Rereward.

When they were well entered this Valley, the *Normans* did lively charge upon them in Head; they delivered alſo their deadly Shot from the Hills on both Sides, as thick as Hail. Notwithſtanding the Van-guard, caſting themſelves into a pointed Battle in Form of a Wedge, with plain Force of Hand made themſelves Way, and, marching in firm and cloſe Order through the thickeſt of their Enemies, gained (albeit not without great Loſs) the Top of a Hill, and there preſently incamped themſelves. The like Fortune happily might the Reſidue have had, if they had followed with the like Order and Courage. But, failing herein, the right Wing was hewed in Pieces, and the left Wing was broken and beaten upon the Carriages; where, overbearing and treading down one another, they received almoſt as much Hurt from themſelves, as they did from their Enemies. The main Battle and Rereward, advancing forward to reſcue the Carriage, were firſt miſerably overwhelmed with a Storm of Arrows from the Hill on both Sides; and the gallant Horſes, once galled with that Shot, would no more obey or endure their Riders; but, flinging out, either overthrew or diſordered all in their Way. And, the more to increaſe the Miſery of that Day, the Duſt and light Sand which was raiſed, partly by the Feet of Horſes and Men, and partly by Violence of the Wind, which then blew full in the Faces of the *French*, involved them all as in a thick and dark Cloud, which deprived them of all Foreſight and Direction in governing their Affairs. The Valiant was nothing diſcerned from the Coward; no Difference could be ſet between Contrivance and Chance; all laboured in one common Calamity, and every one increaſed the Fear of his Fellow.

The *Normans* having well ſpent their Shot, and perceiving the *French* in this Sort both diſordered and diſmayed, came down from the Hills, where they hovered before, and, falling to the cloſe Stroke of Battle-ax and Sword, moſt cruelly raged in the Blood of their Enemies. By whom if any Spark of Valour was ſhewn, being at ſo great Diſadvantage, it was to no Purpoſe, it was altogether loſt; it was ſo far from relieving others, that it was not ſufficient to defend themſelves. And doubtleſs nothing ſo much favoured the State of the *French* that Day, as that the Number of the *Normans* ſufficed not to incloſe them behind. For then they had been intrapped as Deer in a Toil; then not one of them could have eſcaped. But, the Entrance of the Valley remaining open, many fled back to the plain Ground, tumbling together in ſuch headlong Haſte, that, if the *Normans* had ſharply put upon them the Chace, it is certain that they had been extremely defeated. But the Duke gave over the Execution upon good Advice. For, knowing himſelf not to be of Force utterly to vanquiſh the *French*, he eſſayed rather by fair Forbearance to purchaſe their Friendſhip.

Here the *French* King aſſembled his broken Companies, and incamped them for that Night ſo well as he could. The Joy of their preſent Eſcape expelled for the Time all other Reſpects. But, after a little Breathing, their Remembrance began to run upon the Loſs of their Carriages; whereby they had loſt all Means to refreſh themſelves. Of their Van-guard they made a forlorn Reckoning, and the like did the Van-guard of them. Many were wounded, all wearied, and the *Normans* gave Notice by ſounding out their Inſtruments of War, that they were at Hand on every Side. The rudeſt of the Soldiers did boldly upbraid this Misfortune to the King; one aſked him, Where his Van-guard was? Where his Wings? Where were the Reſidue of his *Battle and Rereward? Others called for the Carriages, to preſerve thoſe in Life who had not been ſlain. Others demanded, If he had any more Mouſe-traps to lead them into? But moſt ſat heavy and penſive, ſcarce accounting themſelves among the Living. The King ſwallowed down all with a ſad Silence; ſometimes he diſſembled as though he had not heard; ſometimes he would fairly anſwer, *Good Words*,

* And was commanded by *Odo*, Brother to the King of *France*.

good

good Soldiers, have Patience a While, and all will be well; which was indeed a truer Word than he thought it poſſible to be when he ſpoke it.

In this Extremity the King aſſembled the Chief of his Commanders, to adviſe with them what was beſt to be done. It was generally concluded, that in Staying their Caſe was deſperate, and dangerous it was to ſtir. But here lay the Queſtion, Whether it was leaſt dangerous to remove together, or every Man to ſhift for himſelf? Whilſt this Point was in debating, whilſt they expected every Minute to be aſſailed, whilſt no Man ſaw any Thing but Death and Deſpair; behold, a Meſſenger came from the Duke, not to offer, but deſire Peace; and to crave Protection of the *French* King, according to the Truſt which *Robert*, the Duke's Father, repoſed in him. There needed not many Words to perſuade. Peace was ſigned, Protection aſſured, in a more ample Manner than it was required. Then the Meſſenger with many good Words appeaſed the King's Heavineſs, telling him, that his Vanguard was ſafe, his Carriages not touched, and that he ſhould be furniſhed with Horſes, both for Burthen and Draught, inſtead of thoſe that had been ſlain. Theſe Words, as a ſweet Inchantment, raviſhed the *French* King with ſudden Joy. But, when they came to gather up their Baggage, a Spectacle both lamentable and loathſome was preſented unto them. The Valley covered, and in ſome Places heaped with dead Bodies of Men and Horſes; many, not once touched with any Weapon, lay trod to Death, or elſe ſtifled with Duſt and Sand; many, grievouſly wounded, retained ſome Remainder of Life, which they expreſſed with Cries and Groans; many, not mortally hurt, were ſo overlaid with the Slain, that they were unable to free themſelves; towards whom it is memorable, what manly both Pity and Help the *Normans* did afford. And ſo the *French* King, more by Courteſy of his Enemies, than either by Courage or Diſcretion of his own, returned in reaſonable State to *Paris*.

Upon theſe Events of open Hoſtility, *Guy*, Earl of *Bourgogne*, who had taken to Wife *Alice** Daughter to Duke *Richard* II. and Aunt to Duke *William*, conſpired with *Nigellus*, Preſident of *Conſtantine*, *Ranulph*, Viſcount of *Bayonne*, *Beaumont*, and divers others, ſuddenly to ſurpriſe the Duke, and ſlay him in the Night. A certain Fool, nothing regarded for his Want of Wit, obſerving their Preparations, ſecretly got away, and, in the Dead of the Night, came to *Valogne*, where the Duke then lay, no leſs ſlenderly guarded with Men, than the Place itſelf was ſlight for Defence. Here he continued rapping at the Gate, and crying out until it was opened, and he brought to the Preſence of the Duke. To whom he declared the Conſpiracy, with Circumſtances of ſuch Moment, that the Duke forthwith took his Horſe, and poſted alone towards *Falais*, a ſpecial Place for Strength of Defence. Preſently after his Departure, the Conſpirators came to *Valogne*; they beſet the Houſe, they enter by Force, they ſearch every Corner for the Duke, and finding, that the Game was ſtarted and on Foot, in hot Haſte they purſued the Chace.

About Break of Day, the Duke's Horſe tired, and he was ignorant of his right Way. He was then at a little Village, called *Rie*, where the chief Gentleman of the Place was ſtanding at his Door, ready to go abroad. Of him the Duke enquired the next Way to *Falais*. The Gentleman knew the Duke, and with all Duty and Reſpect deſired to know the Cauſe of his both ſolitary and untimely Riding. The Duke would willingly have paſſed unknown, but, perceiving himſelf to be diſcovered, declared to him the whole Adventure. Hereupon the Gentleman furniſhed him with a freſh Horſe, and ſent with him two of his Sons to conduct him the direct Way to *Falais*.

No ſooner were they out of Sight, but the Conſpirators came, and enquired of the ſame Gentleman (who ſtill remained at his Door) whether he ſaw not the Duke that Morning; as if, forſooth, they were come to attend him. The Gentleman anſwered, that he was gone a little before, and therewith offered them his Company to overtake him. But he led them about another Way, until the Duke was ſafely alighted at *Falais*. And thus, the more we conſider theſe and the like Paſſages of Affairs, the leſs we ſhall admire either the Wiſdom, or Induſtry, or any other Sufficiency of Man. In Actions of Weight, it is good to employ our beſt Endeavours; but, when all is done, he danceth well to whom Fortune doth pipe.

* Or rather Son of *Alice*.

When the Conſpirators underſtood that their principal Purpoſe was diſappointed, they * made themſelves ſo powerful in Arms, that the Duke was forced to crave Aid of the King of *France*, who not long before was his greateſt Enemy. The King, preferring to his Remembrance the late honourable Dealing of the Duke, came in Perſon unto him; by whoſe Countenance and Aid the Duke overthrew his Enemies in a full Battle in the Vale of *Dunes*; albeit, not without great Difficulty, and bold Adventure of his own Perſon. *Guy de Bourgogne* eſcaped by Flight, and defended himſelf in certain Caſtles which he had fortified in *Normandy* for his Retreat; but in the End he ſurrendered both himſelf and them to the Duke's Diſcretion. The Duke not only pardoned him, but honoured him with a liberal Penſion; which he did afterwards both with valiant and loyal Service requite.

Not long after, the *French* King had Wars againſt *Jeoffrey Martell*, and Duke *William* went with a fair Company of Soldiers to his Aid. In this Service he ſo well acquitted himſelf, both in Judgment and in Hand, that the *French* King was chiefly directed by him; only blaming him for too careleſs Caſting himſelf into the Mouth of Dangers; imputing that to Oſtentation, which was but the Heat of his Courage and Age. Oftentimes he would range from the main Battle, with very few in his Company; either to make Diſcoveries, or to encounter ſuch Enemies as could not be found with greater Troops. Once he withdrew himſelf only with four, and was met with by fifteen of the Enemies. The moſt forward of them he ſtruck from his Horſe, and broke his Thigh with the Fall. The Reſidue he chaced four Miles; and, moſt of them being hurt, took ſeven Priſoners. Hereupon *Jeoffrey Martell* then ſaid of him, that he was at that Time the beſt Soldier, and was like to prove the beſt Commander in the World.

And, as he was both favourable and faithful towards them who fairly yielded, ſo, againſt ſuch as either obſtinately or ſcornfully carried themſelves, he was extremely ſevere, or rather cruel. When he beſieged *Alengon*, which the Duke of *Anjou* had taken from him, the Defendants would often cry from the Walls, *La pel, La pel*; reproaching him thereby with the Birth of his Mother. This baſe Inſolence, as it inflamed both his Deſire and Courage to atchieve the Enterpriſe, ſo did it his Fury, to deal ſharply with them, when they were ſubdued; by cutting off their Hands and Feet, and by other Severities which were not uſual.

Beſides theſe, ſome others of his own Blood provoked *Ingelrame*, Earl of *Ponthieu*, to move againſt him in Arms; but the Duke received him with ſo reſolute Valour, that the Earl was ſlain in the Field, and they well chaſtiſed who drew him into the Enterpriſe. The *Bretagners* did often feel the Force of his victorious Arms. He had many Conflicts with *Jeoffrey Martell*, Earl of *Anjou*, Confederate with the Princes of *Bretagne*, *Aquitain*, and *Tours*; a Man equal unto him both in Power and in Skill to command, but, in Fortune and in Force of Arms, much inferior. Many excellent Atchievements were performed between them; inſomuch as their Hoſtility ſeemed only to be an Emulation in Honour. Once the Duke fell into an Ambuſcade addreſſed for him by the Earl of *Anjou*; wherewith he was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed, that he was almoſt in the Midſt of the Danger, before he thought any Danger near him. An exceeding great both Terror and Confuſion ſeized upon his Soldiers; becauſe, the more ſudden and uncertain a Peril is, the greater is it always eſteemed. Many of his braveſt Men were ſlain; the Reſidue ſo diſordered, or at leaſt ſhaken, as they began to think more of their particular Eſcape, than of the common either Safety or Glory.

When they were thus upon the Point to diſband, the Duke, rather with Rage than Courage, cried unto them: *If you love me not, Soldiers, yet, for Shame, follow me; for Shame, ſtand by me; for Shame, let not any of your Friends hear the Report, that you ran from me, and left me fighting.* With that he threw himſelf into the thickeſt Throng of his Enemies, and denounced thoſe either Traitors or Cowards who would not follow. This Example breathed ſuch brave Life into his Soldiers, that they rallied their looſe Ranks, and in cloſe Order ſeconded him with a reſolute Charge; encouraging one another, that it was ſhameful indeed not to fight for him, who ſo manfully did fight with them. The Duke, brandiſhing his Sword like a Thunderbolt, dung

* Suppoſing that there could be no Remedy againſt their Danger, but by running into greater Danger, declared openly againſt the Duke.

down

down his Enemies on every Side; made at Earl *Martell*, in the Midſt of his Battalion, ſtruck him down, clove his Helmet, and cut away one of his Ears. This ſo diverted the *Anjouans* to the Reſcue of their Earl, that they let the other Part of their Victory go. The Earl they recovered again to Horſe, and ſo left the Duke Maſter of the Field. Verily, it is almoſt impoſſible that a Commander of ſuch Courage ſhould have either faint or falſe-hearted Soldiers *.

Now it happened, not long before, that *Foulke*, Earl of *Anjou*, having drawn *Herbert*, Earl of *Maine*, under fair Pretences, to *Xaintonge*, caſt him in Priſon; from whence he could not be releaſed, until he had yielded to certain Conditions, both diſhonourable and diſadvantageous unto him. *Hugh* ſucceeded *Herbert*; from whom *Jeoffrey Martell*, Earl of *Anjou*, took the City of *Maine*, and made himſelf Lord of all of the Country. *Hugh*, having loſt his Dominion, left both his Title and his Quarrel to his Son *Herbert*; who, having no Iſſue, appointed Duke *William* to be his Heir. Hereupon the Duke invaded *Maine*, and, in a ſhort Time, ſubdued the whole Country, and built two Fortifications for Aſſurance thereof; having firſt ſent Word to the Earl of *Anjou*, upon what Day the Work ſhould begin. The Earl uſed all Diligence and Means to impeach the Buildings; but he not only failed of that Purpoſe, but further loſt the County of *Medune*.

Again, *Henry*, King of *France*, did many other Times, with great Preparation, invade his Country; ſometimes with Purpoſe to win upon him, and ſometimes to keep him from winning upon others. Upon a Time the King led his Troops over the Foord of *Dine*; and when Half his Army had paſſed, the other Half, by Reaſon of the Riſing of the Sea, was compelled to ſtay. The Duke, apprehending the Advantage, came upon them with a furious Charge, being now divided from the Chief of the Army; and either ſlew them, or took them Priſoners, in the plain View of their King. After this they concluded a Peace, whereof the Conditions were, That the Duke ſhould releaſe ſuch Priſoners as he had taken; and that he ſhould retain whatſoever he had won, or afterwards ſhould win from the Earl of *Anjou*. And yet the King did again enterpriſe upon him, with greater Forces than at any Time before: But the Duke entertained his Armies with ſo good Order and Valour, that the King gained nothing but Loſs and Diſhonour: And, the greater his Deſire was of Victory and Revenge, the more foul did his Foils and Failings appear; which ſo brake both his Courage and Heart, that, with Grief thereof, as it was conceived, he ended his Life. And thus, during all the Time that he was only Duke of *Normandy*, he was never free from Action of Arms: In all his Actions of Arms, he was carried with a moſt rare and perpetual Felicity.

As he grew in Years, ſo did he in Thickneſs and Fatneſs of Body; but ſo, as it made him neither unſeemly, nor unſerviceable for the Wars; and never much exceeding the Meaſure of a comely Corpulency. He was moſt decent, and therewith terrible in Arms. He was ſtately and majeſtical in his Geſture; of a good Stature, but in Strength admirable; inſomuch as no Man was able to draw his Bow, which he would bend ſitting upon his Horſe, ſtretching out the String with his Foot. His Countenance was warlike and manly, as his Friends might term it; but, as his Enemies ſaid, truculent and fierce. He would often ſwear, *By God's Reſurrection, and his Brightneſs*; which he commonly pronounced with ſo furious a Face, that he ſtruck a Terror into thoſe that were preſent. His Head was bald; his Beard always ſhaven; which Faſhion, being firſt taken up by him, was then followed by all the *Normans*. He was of a firm and ſtrong Conſtitution for his Health; ſo as he never was attacked with Sickneſs, but that which was the Summons of his Death; and in his Age ſeemed little to feel the heavy Weight and Burden of Years.

In his firſt Age, he was of a mild and gentle Diſpoſition; courteous, bountiful, familiar in Converſation, a profeſſed Enemy to all Vices. But, as in Fortune, as in Years, ſo changed he in his Behaviour †; partly by his continually Following the Wars, whereby he was much fleſhed in Blood, and partly by the inconſtant Nature of the People over whom he ruled; who, by often Rebellions,

* Tanti eſt exercitus quanti imperator. *Flor.* ii. cap. 18.

† Aſſidue dimicantibus difficile eſt morum cuſtodire menſuram. *Caſſiod.* I. Var. Epiſt. ix.

did not only exaſperate him to ſome Severity, but even conſtrained to hold them in with a more ſtiff Arm *. So he did wring from his Subjects very much Subſtance, very much Blood; not for that he was by Nature either covetous, or cruel, but for that his Affairs could not otherwiſe be managed †. His great Affairs could not be managed without great Expence, which drew a Neceſſity of Charge upon the People: Neither could the often Rebellions of his Subjects be repreſſed, or reſtrained, by any mild and moderate Means ‡. And generally, as, in all States and Governments, ſevere Diſcipline hath always been a true faithful Mother of Virtue and Valour; ſo in particular of his *Normans* he learned by Experience, and oftentimes declared this Judgment: That, if they were held in a Bridle, they were moſt valiant, and almoſt invincible; excelling all Men both in Courage, and in Strength, and in honourable Deſire to vanquiſh their Enemies. But, if their Reins were laid looſe upon their Necks, they were apt to run into Licentiouſneſs and Miſchief; ready to conſume either themſelves by Riot and Sloth, or one another by Sedition; prone to Innovation and Change; as heavily moved to undertake Dangers, ſo not to be truſted upon Occaſion ‖.

He took to Wife *Matilda*, Daughter to *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*; a Man, for his Wiſdom, and Power, both reverenced, and feared, even of Kings; but, becauſe ſhe was his Couſin-German, he was, for his Marriage, excommunicated by his own Uncle, *Mauger*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*. Hereupon he ſued to Pope *Victor*, and obtained of him a Diſpenſation: And afterwards ſo wrought, that, by a Provincial Council, his Uncle, *Mauger*, was deprived of his Dignity. But, by this Means, both he and his Iſſue were firmly locked in Obedience to the See of *Rome*; for that, upon the Authority of that Place, the Validity of his Marriage, and conſequently the Legitimation of his Iſſue, ſeemed to depend.

When he was about fifty Years of Age, *Edward*, King of *England*, ended his Life. This *Edward* was Son to *Ethelred*, King of *England*, by *Emma*, Siſter to *Richard*, the ſecond Duke of *Normandy*, who was Grandfather to Duke *William*; ſo as King *Edward* and Duke *William* were Couſins-German once removed.

At ſuch Time as *Ethelred* was firſt overcharged with Wars by the *Danes*, he ſent his Wife *Emma*, with two Sons which ſhe had born unto him, *Alfred* and *Edward*, into *Normandy*, to her Brother; where they were entertained with all honourable Uſage for many Years. Afterward, giving Place to the Malice of his Fortune, he paſſed alſo into *Normandy*, and left his whole State in the Poſſeſſion and Power of *Swanus*, King of *Denmark*. But, after the Death of *Swanus*, partly by the Aid of the *Normans*, and partly by Favour of his own People, he recovered his Kingdom, and left the ſame to his eldeſt Son, *Edmund*, who, either for the tough Temper of his Courage and Strength, or for that he almoſt always lived in Arms, was ſirnamed *Ironſides*.

Hereupon *Canutus*, the Son of *Swanus*, made ſharp War, firſt againſt *Ethelred*, then againſt *Edmund*; and finally, after many Varieties of Adventure, but chiefly by the Favour of the Clergy of *England* (becauſe they had ſworn Allegiance to his Father) ſpread the Wings of his Victory over the whole Kingdom. He expelled out of the Realm *Edwin* and *Edward*, the two Sons of King *Edmund*, of whom *Edwin* married the King's Daughter of *Hungary*, but died without Iſſue; *Edward* was advanced to the Marriage of *Agatha*, Daughter to the Emperor *Henry*, and by her had Iſſue two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edgar*, and ſo many Daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtine*. The ſame *Canutus* took *Emma* to Wife, who had been Wife to King *Ethelred*; by whom he had a Son, named *Hardicanutus*.

After the Death of *Canutus*, *Alfred*, the Son of *Ethelred*, came out of *Normandy*, and with fifty Sail landed at *Sandwich*, with Purpoſe to attempt the Recovery of his Father's Kingdom. In which Enterpriſe he received not only Encouragement, but good Aſſurance, from many of the *Engliſh* Nobility. But by

* Regum clementia, non in ipſorum modo, ſed in illorum quum parent ingeniis ſita eſt. *Curt.* lib. viii.

†Δεῖ δὴ χρημάτων, ᾧ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστὶ γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. Opus ſunt opes, & ſine iis nihil fiet quod opus. *Demoſth. Olynth.* i.

‡ Crudelem medicum intemperans æger facit. *Publ.*

‖ Principis eſt virtus maxima noſſe ſuos. *Martial.*

Earl

Earl *Goodwin* he was abuſed and taken, his Company ſlain, his Eyes put out, and then ſent to the Iſle of *Ely*, where, in a ſhort Time, he ended his Life. *Edward* alſo arrived at *Hampton* with forty Ships; but, finding the Country ſo far from receiving, as they were ready to reſiſt him, he returned into *Normandy*, and attended the further Favour of Time. So after *Canutus* ſucceeded, in *England*, firſt *Harold*, ſirnamed *Harefoot*, Baſtard Son to *Canutus*; and after him *Hardicanutus*, Son to *Canutus*, by *Emma*, Mother alſo to King *Edward*.

Hardicanutus being dead, the Nobility of the Realm ſent into *Normandy* for *Edward* to be their King; whereto alſo he was appointed, as ſome have written, by *Hardicanutus*. But, becauſe *Alfred* his Brother, upon the like Invitation, had been traiterouſly taken and ſlain before, *William*, at that Time Duke of *Normandy*, would not permit him to depart, until he had received, for Pledges of his Safety, *Woolnoth*, Son to Earl *Goodwin*, and *Hacon*, Son to *Swain*, Earl *Goodwin*'s eldeſt Son. Upon this Aſſurance he was furniſhed by the Duke, his Couſin, with all Means fit both for his Enterpriſe and Eſtate. And ſo he paſſed the Seas, arrived in *England*, and with general Joy was received for King. He took to Wife, *Edith*, the Daughter of Earl *Goodwin*; but, whether upon a Vow of Chaſtity, or whether upon Impotency of Nature, or whether upon Hatred to her Father, or whether upon Suſpicion againſt herſelf, for all theſe Cauſes are alledged by ſeveral Writers of thoſe Times, he forbore all private Familiarity with her.

When he was well locked into the Chair of State, Duke *William* came out of *Normandy* to ſee him, to ſhew his Magnificence to the *Engliſh* People; to ſhew to the *Engliſh*, both that he loved their King, and that he was of Power to relieve him, in caſe his Neceſſities ſhould ſo require. Here, beſides honourable Entertainment, beſides many rich Gifts, both to himſelf, and to his Followers, the King having neither Hope, nor Deſire of Iſſue, promiſed him, in Regard of his great Favours and Deſerts, that he ſhould be his next Succeſſor in the Kingdom. And, for further Aſſurance thereof, ſent him alſo the like Meſſage into *Normandy*, by *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

After this, *Harold*, Son to Earl *Goodwin*, paſſed the Seas into *Normandy*, to deal for the Diſcharge of his Brother *Woolnoth*, and *Hacon*, his Nephew, who had been delivered for Hoſtages to the Duke *. In his Paſſage he was much toſſed with troubleſome Weather, and, in the End, was caſt upon the Coaſt of *Ponthieu*, and there taken by the Earl, and committed to Priſon †. But, at the Requeſt of the Duke of *Normandy*, *Harold* was releaſed with honourable Reſpect, and by the Earl himſelf accompanied to the Duke, who entertained him with great Magnificence at *Roan*. The Duke was then going in Arms againſt the *Bretagners*; in which Journey *Harold* did accompany him, and ſhewed himſelf a Man, neither raſh in undertaking, nor fearful in performing any Services of the Field. After a proſperous Return, the Duke declared to *Harold* the Promiſes of King *Edward* concerning the Duke's Succeſſion to this Crown. *Harold* did avow the ſame to be true; and promiſed to afford thereto the beſt Furtherance that he could. Hereupon the Duke aſſembled a Council at *Bonneville*, where *Harold* did ſwear Fidelity ‡ unto him; and promiſed likewiſe, by Oath, that, after the Death of King *Edward*, he would keep the Realm of *England* to the Uſe of the Duke; that he would deliver unto him the Caſtle of *Dover*, and certain other Pieces of Defence, furniſhed at his own Charge. Hereupon the Duke promiſed unto him his Daughter in Marriage, and with her Half the Realm of *England* in the Name of her Dower. He alſo delivered to him his Nephew *Hacon*; but kept his Brother, *Woolnoth*, as an Hoſtage, for Performance of that which *Harold* had ſworn ‖.

* This Voyage was much againſt the Liking of King *Edward*, who, either by Conjecture, as a good Politician, or, as ſome will have it, by Divination, foretold him, "That his Journey would be fatal to "himſelf, and unproſperous to the whole Realm."

† According to the barbarous Cuſtom of thoſe Days on that Coaſt, which made every Stranger a Priſoner, till he could be ranſomed, that put, or were driven, into their Ports.

‡ Acknowledging *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, to be the Heir to the Crown of *England*, after the Death of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

‖ *Fidelity*, as in the laſt Note.

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In a ſhort Time after King *Edward* died, and *Harold* *, being general Commander of the Forces of the Realm, ſeized upon the Sovereignty, and, without any accuſtomed Solemnities, ſet the Crown upon his own Head. The People were nothing curious to examine Titles; but, as Men broken with long Bondage, did eaſily entertain the firſt Pretender. And yet to *Harold* they were inclinable enough, as well upon Opinion of his Proweſs, as for that he endeavoured to win their Favour, partly by abating their grievous Payments, and partly by increaſing the Wages of his Servants and Soldiers; generally by uſing Juſtice with Clemency and Courteſy towards all †. About this Time a blaſing Star appeared, and continued the Space of ſeven Days; which is commonly taken to portend Alteration in States ‡. Of this Comet a certain Poet, alluding to the Baldneſs of the *Norman*, wrote theſe Verſes.

Cæſariem, Cæſar, tibi ſi natura negavit,
Hanc, Willielme, tibi ſtella comata dedit.

Duke *William* ſent divers Ambaſſadors to *Harold*; firſt ‖, to demand Performance of his Oath; afterwards to move him to ſome moderate Agreement §: But Ambition, a reaſonleſs and reſtleſs Humour, made him obſtinate againſt all Offers or Inducements ** of Peace. So both Parties prepared to buckle in Arms; equal both in Courage and in ambitious Deſires, equal in Confidence of their Fortune; but *Harold* was the more adventurous, *William* the more adviſed Man: *Harold* was more ſtrong in Soldiers, *William* in Allies and Friends.

Harold was ſeated in Poſſeſſion, which, in Caſe of a Kingdom, is oftentimes with Facility attained, but retained hardly: *William* pretended the Donation of King *Edward* ††, and that he was near unto him in Blood by the Mother's Side.

Now, there wanted not Precedents ‡‡, both ancient and of later Times, that free Kingdoms, and Principalities, not ſettled by Cuſtom in Succeſſion of Blood, have been tranſported, even to Strangers, by Way of Gift. *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, did conſtitute the People of *Rome* his Heir; by Force whereof they made his Kingdom a Part of their Empire. *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, made the People of *Rome* likewiſe his Heir ‖‖; whereupon his Kingdom was reduced to the Form of a Province. So *Alexander*, King of *Egypt* §§, gave *Alexandria* and the Kingdom of *Egypt*; and ſo *Ptolemy* gave the Kingdom of *Cyrene* to the ſame People of *Rome* ***. *Praſutagus*, one of the Kings of *Great-Britain*, gave the Kingdom of the *Iceni* to *Cæſar Nero*, and to his Daughters †††. Yea, in the Imperial State of *Rome*, *Auguſtus* deſigned *Tiberius* to be his Succeſſor; and, by like Appointment, *Nero* became Succeſſor to *Claudius*; *Trajan* to *Nerva*; *Antoninus Pius* to *Adrian*; and *Antoninus the Philoſopher* to another *Antoninus*. When the Emperor *Galba* did openly appoint *Piſo* for his Succeſſor, he declared ‡‡‡ to the People, that the ſame Cuſtom had been obſerved by moſt approved and ancient Princes. *Jugurtha*, being adopt-

* Being in Poſſeſſion of the Military Force of the Nation, and relying on the Favour of the People, to whom his Martial Conduct had rendered him very amiable; in which he was confirmed, not only by his noble Birth, which was extracted from the firſt Nobility, but ſtrengthened by his Marriage with *Edgitha*, the Siſter of the Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Morcard*, Governor of *Northumberland*.

† *Simon Dunelm.* and *Brompton* tell us, that *Harold* leſſened the Taxes, and cauſed Juſtice to be impartially adminiſtered: And from Time to Time inſinuated, that he intended to reſign the Crown to *Edgar Atheling*, when of Age; and, in the mean Time, created him Earl of *Oxford*, and ſeemed, by his particular Care of his Education, to qualify him for Regal Authority. Again, ſome Authors ſay, that he claimed the Crown, on a Donation of King *Edward*, and was crowned, the Day after the King's Death, by *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

‡ Heu vani monitus, fruſtraque morantia Parcas
Prodigia.——*Lucan.*

‖ On the tenth Day after the Death of King *Edward*.

§ And finally, to declare War againſt him, if he would not agree upon his Terms.

** Ut nemo docet fraudis & ſcelerum vias,
Regnum docebit.——*Senec. Othyeſt.*

†† Firſt, in *France*, which he alledged was afterwards confirmed by *Edward* in *England*, and by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Earl *Goodwin*, and Earl *Siwarde*.

‡‡ *Flor.* lib ii. *Eutr.* lib. iv. Epit *Liv.* lix.

‖‖ *Eutrop.* Epit. *Liv.* xciii. §§ *Cic. Agrar.* Orat. ii. *** *Liv.* lib. lxx. ††† *Tacit.* lib. xiv. ‡‡‡ *Tacit.* An. xvii.

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ed by *Micipſa*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Numidia*; and that by the Judgment as well of *Micipſa* himſelf, as of the Senate and People of *Rome* *.

The Holy † Hiſtories report, that *Solomon* gave twenty Cities to *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*; and, if the Argument be good from the Part to the Whole, he might in like Sort have diſpoſed of all his Kingdom. Who hath not heard of the Donation falſly attributed to *Conſtantine the Great*, being in Truth the Donation of *Lewis*, ſirnamed *the Pious*; whereby he gave to Pope *Paſchal* the City of *Rome*, and a large Territory adjoining unto it; the Inſtrument of which Gift *Volaterrane* doth recite ‡? So the Lady *Matilda*, Daughter to *Roger* the moſt famous Prince of *Sicily*, and Wife to King *Conrade*, Son to *Henry the Fourth*, Emperor, gave the Marquiſate of *Apulia* to the Biſhop of *Rome* ‖; which when the Emperor *Otho the Fourth* refuſed to deliver, he was for that Cauſe excommunicated by the Pope. In like Sort the Country of *Dauphine* was given by Prince *Umbert* to the King of *France*, upon Condition that the eldeſt Son of *France* ſhould afterward be called *Dauphin* §. *Laſtly*, the Duke's firſt Anceſtor, *Rollo*, received the Dukedom of *Normandy*, by Donation of *Charles* King of *France*: And himſelf held the County of *Maine* by Donation of Earl *Herbert*, as before it is ſhewed. And, by Donation of the King of *Britain*, *Hengiſt* obtained *Kent*, the firſt Kingdom of the *Engliſh Saxons* in *Britain*. After which Time the Country was never long Time free from Invaſion: *Firſt*, by the *Engliſh* and *Saxons* againſt the *Britons*, afterwards by the Seven *Saxon* Kingdoms among themſelves, and then *laſtly* by the *Danes*. By Means whereof the Kingdom at that Time could not be ſettled in any certain Form of Succeſſion by Blood, as it hath been ſince; but was held for the moſt Part in abſolute Dominion, and did often paſs by Tranſaction or Gift; and he, whoſe Sword could cut beſt, was always adjudged to have moſt Right. But of this Queſtion more ſhall hereafter be ſaid, in the Beginning of the Life of King *William the Second*.

Touching his Propinquity in Blood to King *Edward* by the Mother's Side, he inforced it to be a good Title; becauſe King *Edward* not long before had taken Succeſſion from *Hardicanutus*, to whom he was Brother by the Mother's Side. And, although King *Edward* was alſo deſcended from the *Saxon* Kings, yet could not he derive from them any Right; for that *Edgar* and his Siſters were then alive, deſcended from *Edmund Ironſides*, elder Brother to King *Edward*. He could have no true Right of Succeſſion, but only from *Hardicanutus* the *Dane*. So *Pepin*, when he was poſſeſſed of the State of *France*, did openly publiſh, that he was deſcended of the Blood of *Charles the Great*, by the Mother's Side. And albeit the ſaid *Egbert* was both nearer to King *Edward* than the Duke of *Normandy*, and alſo joined to him in Blood by the Father's Side; yet was that no ſufficient Defence for *Harold*. The uſurped Poſſeſſion of *Harold* could not be defended, by alledging a better Title of a third Perſon **. The Injury, which he did to *Edgar*, could not ſerve him for a Title againſt any other.

Theſe Grounds of his Pretence, beautified with large Amplifications of the Benefits which he had done to King *Edward*, he imparted to the Biſhop of *Rome*; who at that Time was reputed the Arbitrator of Controverſies which did riſe between Princes. And the rather to procure his Favour, and to gain the Countenance of Religion to his Cauſe, he promiſed to hold the Kingdom of *England* of the Apoſtolick See. Hereupon *Alenander*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, allowed his Title, and ſent unto him a white hallowed Banner, to advance upon the Prow of his Ship; alſo an *Agnus Dei* of Gold, and one of St. *Peter*'s Hairs, together with his Bleſſing to begin the Enterpriſe; curſing all thoſe that ſhould oppoſe againſt it.

But now concerning his further Proceedings, concerning his victorious both Entrance and Continuance within the Realm of *England*, two Points are worthy to be conſidered; one how he, being a Man of no great either Power or Dominion, did ſo ſuddenly prevail againſt a courageous King, poſſeſſed of a large and puiſſant State? The other is, how he ſo ſecured his Victory, as not the *Engliſh*, not the *Britons*, not the *Danes*, not any other could diſpoſſeſs, or much diſturb him and his Poſterity, from enjoying the fair Fruits thereof. And, if we give to either of theſe their true Reſpects,

* *Saluſt.* Bel. Jug. † 1 *Reg.* ix. ‡ *Geogr.* 3. ‖ *Trithem.* cap. 22.
§ *Theod. Nchem.* lib. ii. cap. 25. ** *Arg.* l. creditor. & l. *Claudius.* D. qui pot. in pign. ha.

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we ſhall find his Commendation to conſiſt, not ſo much in the Firſt, as in the Second; becauſe that was effected chiefly by Force, this by Wiſdom only; which, as it is moſt proper to Man, few Men do therein excel. He, that winneth a State, ſurmounteth only outward Difficulties; but he, that aſſureth the ſame, travelleth as well againſt internal Weakneſs, as external Strength. To attain a Kingdom is many Times a Gift of Fortune; but to provide that it may a long Time continue firm, is not only to oppoſe againſt human Forces, but againſt the very Malice of Fortune, or rather the Power and Wrath of Time, whereby all Things are naturally inclinable to change.

For the *Firſt* then, beſides the ſecret Working and Will of God, which is the Cauſe of all Cauſes; beſides the Sins of the People, for which (the Prophet ſaith) *Kingdoms are tranſported from one Nation to another:* King *Edward* not long before made a manifeſt Way for this Invaſion and Change. For, although he was *Engliſh* by Birth, yet, by Reaſon of his Education in *Normandy*, he was altogether become a *Norman*, both in Affection and in Behaviour of Life. So as, in Imitation of him, the *Engliſh* abandoned the ancient Uſages of their Country, and with great Affection, or Affectation rather, conformed themſelves to the Faſhions of *France* *. His chief Acquaintance and familiar Friends were no other than *Normans*; towards whom, being a mild and ſoft-ſpirited Prince, he was very bountiful, and almoſt immoderate in his Favours. Theſe he inriched with great Poſſeſſions; theſe he honoured with the higheſt Places, both of Dignity and Charge. Chiefly he advanced divers of them to the beſt Degrees of Dignity in the Church, by whoſe Favour Duke *William* was afterwards both animated and aided in his Exploit. Generally, as the whole Clergy of *England* conceived a hard Opinion of *Harold* †; for that, upon the ſame Day wherein King *Edward* was buried‡, he ſet the Crown upon his own Head, without religious Ceremonies, without any Solemnities of Coronation; ſo they durſt not, for Fear of the Pope's Diſpleaſure, but give either Furtherance or Forbearance to the Duke's Proceedings; and to abuſe the Credit which they had with the People, in working their Submiſſion to the *Normans*. Now, of what Strength the Clergy were at that Time within the Realm, by this which followeth it may appear.

After that *Harold* was ſlain, *Edwin* and *Morcard*, Earls of *Northumberland* ‖ and *Marckland*, Brothers of great both Authority and Power within the Realm, had induced many of the Nobility to declare *Edgar Atheling* to be their King; but the Prelates not only croſſed that Purpoſe, but delivered the next Heir from the *Saxon* Kings, to the Pleaſure of the Duke.

Again, when the Duke, after his great Victory at *Haſtings*, advanced his Army towards *Hertfordſhire*; *Frederick*, Abbot of St. *Alban's*, had cauſed the Woods belonging to his Church to be felled, and the Trees to be caſt ſo thick in the Way, that the Duke was compelled to coaſt about to the Caſtle of *Barkhamſtead*. To this Place the Abbot under Sureties came unto him; and, being demanded wherefore he alone did offer that Oppoſition againſt him, with a confident Countenance, he returned Anſwer: That he had done no more than in Conſcience, and by Nature, he was bound to do; and that, if the Reſidue of the Clergy had borne the like Mind, he ſhould never have pierced the Land ſo far. 'Well, 'anſwered the Duke, I know that your Cler'gy is powerful indeed; but, if I live and 'proſper in my Affairs, I ſhall govern their 'Greatneſs well enough§.' Aſſuredly, nothing does ſooner work the Converſion or Subverſion of a State, than that any one Sort of Subjects ſhould grow ſo great, as to be able to over-rule all the reſt.

Beſides this Diſpoſition of the Clergy, divers of the Nobility alſo did nothing favour King *Harold* or his Cauſe; for that he was a manifeſt Uſurper, naked of all true Title to the Crown, pretending only as born of the Daughter of *Hardicanutus* the *Dane*. Yea, he was infamous for his Injury and Perjury towards the Duke, and no leſs hateful for his Diſloyalty in former Times, in bearing Arms

* Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana viriſque. *Æneid.*

† The Biſhops, to a Man, were all for him. ‡ Which was the Day after his Death. ‖ Or rather of *Cheſter*. § Conſequently the King ſoon after deprives the Abbey of St. *Alban's* of all the Lands and Revenues which it then poſſeſſed between *Barnet* and *London-Stone*.

with

with his Father againſt King *Edward*. Hereupon the Nobility of the Realm were broken into Factions *; many (of whom his own Brother *Toſto* was Chief) invited *Harold* King of *Normandy* to invade; with whom whilſt *Harold* of *England* was encountering in Arms, the Reſidue drew in Duke *William* out of *Normandy*. And theſe alſo were divided in Reſpects. Some were carried by particular Ends, as being prepared in divers Manners by the *Norman* before-hand; others upon a greedy, and for the moſt Part deceivable, Ambition, in hunting after Hazard and Change; others were led with Love to their Country, partly to avoid the Tempeſt which they ſaw to gather in Clouds againſt them, and partly to enlarge the Realm, both in Dominion and Strength, by adjoining the Country of *Normandy* unto it. In which Regard, becauſe the Leſs doth always accrue to the Greater, they thought it more advantageous to deal with a Prince of an inferior State, than with a Prince of a State ſuperior or equal.

As for *Edgar Atheling*, the next Succeſſor to the Crown in Right of Blood, he was not of ſufficient Age; of a ſimple Wit, and ſlow Courage; not gracious to the *Engliſh*, as well for his Imperfections, both in Years and Nature, as for that he was altogether unacquainted with the Cuſtoms and Conditions of their Country; unfurniſhed of Forces and Reputation, unfurniſhed of Friends, unfurniſhed of all Means to ſupport his Title. So Duke *William*, having better Right than the one†, and more Power than the other ‡, did eaſily carry the Prize from both ‖.

Now touching the State of his own Strength, albeit *Normandy* was but little in Regard of *England*, yet was it neither feeble nor poor. For the People, by Reaſon of their continual Exerciſe in Arms, by Reaſon of the weighty Wars which they had managed, were well enabled both with Courage and Skill for all military Atchievements. Their Valour alſo had been ſo favoured by their Fortune, that they were more inriched by Spoil, than drawn down, either with Loſſes, or with Charge. Hereupon, when Preparation was to be made, for the Enterpriſe of *England*, although ſome diſſuaded the Duke from embracing the Attempt, affirming, that it was a vain Thing to ſtrain at that which the Hand is not able to contain, to take more Meat than the Stomach can bear; that he, who catches at Matters too great, is in Danger to gripe nothing: Yet others did not only encourage him by Advice, but enable him by their Aid. Among which *William Fitz-Auber* did furniſh forty Ships with Men and Ammunition; the Biſhop of *Bajeaux* likewiſe forty; the Biſhop of *Mans* thirty; and in like Sort others, according to the Proportion of their Eſtates.

And yet he drew not his Forces only out of *Normandy*, but received Aid from all Parts of *France*, anſwerable not only to his Neceſſity, but almoſt to his Deſire. *Philip*, King of *France*, at that Time was under Age, and *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, was Governor of the Realm; whoſe Daughter the Duke had taken to Wife. By his Favour, the Duke received large Supplies from the State of *France*, both in Treaſure, and in Men of War; for Countenance whereof, it was given forth, that the Duke ſhould hold the Realm of *England*, as he did the Duchy of *Normandy*, under Homage to the Crown of *France*. Hereupon, divers Princes of *France* did adjoin to his Aid; and eſpecially the Duke of *Orleans*, the Earls of *Brittany*, *Anjou*, *Boulogne*, *Ponthieu*, *Nevers*, *Poictou*, *Hieſmes*, *Aumale*, and the Lord of *Tours*. Many other of the Nobility and Gentlemen did voluntarily adventure both their Bodies, and whole Eſtates, upon the Event of this Enterpriſe. So greatly had he either by Courteſy won the Love, or by Courage erected the Hopes of all Men, yea, of many who had been his greateſt Enemies. With theſe alſo the Emperor, *Henry the Fourth*, ſent him certain Troops of Soldiers, commanded by a Prince of *Almaigne*. He received alſo many Promiſes of Favour from *Swain*, King of *Denmark*; and, who can aſſure (for the Sequel maketh the Conjecture probable) that he held not Intelligence with *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, to invade *England* with two Armies at once? So, partly by his own Subjects, and partly by Supply from his Allies and Friends, he amaſſed a ſtrong Army, conſiſting chiefly of *Normans*, *Flemings*, *French*, and *Bretagners*, to the Number of Fifty-thouſand Men, and brought them to St. *Valery's*, before which Town his Ships did ride. Here he

* Few being willing to become Subjects to one, who for a long Time had been their Equal; ſo, as *Tacitus* obſerves, "*Stimulat non raro priati odij Pertinacia in publicum Exitium.* i. Hiſt.

† *Harold.* ‡ *Edgar Atheling.* ‖ In ſumma fortuna id æquius quod validius. *Tacit.* xv. Annal.

ſtaid a certain Time, attending the Wind, as moſt Writers do report; but rather, as it may be conjectured, to wait the Arrival of *Harold Harfager* *, King of *Norway*; knowing right well, that the Invaſion of *Harold* of *Norway*, upon the North Parts of the Realm, would draw away *Harold* of *England* to leave the Coaſts towards the South undefended.

During his Abode at St. *Valery's*, certain *Engliſh* Spies were taken, whom King *Harold* had ſent to diſcover both the Purpoſes and Power of the Duke. When they were brought to his Preſence, with a brave Confidence he ſaid unto them:

"Your Lord might well have ſpared this "Charge; he needed not to have caſt away "his Coſt to underſtand that by your Induſtry "and Faith, which my own Preſence ſhall "manifeſt unto him, more certainly, more "ſhortly, than he doth expect. Go your "your Ways, go tell him from me, If he "find me not, before the End of this "Year, in the Place, where he ſuppoſeth "that he may moſt ſafely ſet his Foot, let "him never fear Danger from me, whilſt "he live."

Many *Normans* diſliked this open Dealing of the Duke, preferring to his Judgment the Valour and Experience of King *Harold*, the Greatneſs of his Treaſure, the Number and Goodneſs of his Men, but eſpecially his *ſtrong Navy* and *expert Sailors*, accuſtomed both to the Fights, and Dangers of the Sea, more than any other People in the World †. To theſe the Duke turned, and ſaid:

"I am glad to hear this Opinion run, both "of his Proweſs, and of his Power; the "greater ſhall our Glory be in prevailing "againſt him: But I ſee right well, that I "have ſmall Cauſe to fear his Diſcovery of "our Strength, when you, who are ſo near "unto me, diſcern ſo little. Reſt yourſelves "upon the Juſtice of your Cauſe, and Fore-"ſight of your Commander ‡. Who hath leſs "than he who can juſtly term nothing his own? "I know more of his Weakneſs, than ever "he ſhall know of my Strength, until he "feel it. Perform you your Parts like Men ‖; "and he ſhall never be able to diſappoint "either my Aſſurance, or your Hopes."

Now *Harold*, King of *England*, had prepared a Fleet to reſiſt the Invaſion of the Duke of *Normandy*; but, by Reaſon of his long Stay at St. *Valery's*, Speeches did ſpread, whether by Error, or Subornation, yea, aſſured Advertiſement was ſent out of *Flanders* §, that he had, for that Year, abandoned his Enterpriſe. In the mean Time, *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, than whom no Man was eſteemed more valiant, having aſſured both Intelligence and Aid out of *England*, arrived in the Mouth of the *Humber* **; and from thence, drawing up againſt the Stream of the River *Owſe*, he landed his Forces at a Place called *Richhall*, where he marſhalled his Army, and marched forth into the Country. When he came near unto *York*, he was encountered by the *Engliſh*, led by *Edwin* and *Morchard*, the principal Commanders of all thoſe Quarters ††. The Fight was furious; but, in the End, the *Engliſh* were overthrown, and, with a great Slaughter, chaced into *York*.

Upon Advertiſement hereof, *Harold*, King of *England*, carried all his Forces againſt *Harfager*: His Readineſs was ſuch, and ſuch his Expedition, that, the fifth Day after the Fight before-mentioned, he gave him Battle again ‡‡; wherein *Harold Harfager* was ſlain, and ſo was *Toſto*, the King of *England*'s Brother; *Toſto* by an uncertain Enemy, but *Har-*

* Which, by Interpretation, is *Fair Locks*.

† So early, you may obſerve, was the *Naval Power* of *England* renowned over all the World, and claimed juſtly the Dominion of the Seas; which yet it is able to maintain againſt all Nations.

‡ Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: quid facturus ſis, cum pauciſſimis, vel potius ipſe tecum. *Veget.* lib. iii.

‖ Parendo potius, quod imperia ducum ſciſcitando res militaris continetur. *Tacit.* i. Hiſt.

§ From Earl *Baldwin*.

** With Three-hundred Sail. Here alſo he was joined by *Toſto*, Earl of *Northumberland* and Brother to *Harold*; who, having been baniſhed by *Edward*, had attached himſelf to the Intereſt of *William*, Duke of *Normandy*.

†† The Field of Battle is yet ſhewn to Travellers by the Citizens of *York*.

‡‡ Which continued from Morning until Noon, with equal Courage and Fortune on both Sides.

fager

ſager by the Hand of *Harold* of *England*. Their Army alſo was routed, and, with a bloody Execution, purſued, ſo long as Day and Fury did laſt. Here a certain Soldier of *Norway* was moſt famous, almoſt for a Miracle of Manhood: He had been appointed, with certain others, to guard the Paſſage at *Stamford*-Bridge. The Reſidue, upon Approach of the *Engliſh*, forſook their Charge; but he alone ſtepped to the Foot of the Bridge, and, with his Battle-ax, ſuſtained the Shock of the whole Army, ſlew above forty Aſſailants, and defended both the Paſſage and himſelf, until an *Engliſh* Soldier went under the Bridge, and, through a Hole thereof, thruſt him into the Body with a Lance.

If this Victory of King *Harold* had been as wiſely uſed, as it was valiantly won, he ſhould have neglected the Spoil, and returned with the like Celerity, wherewith he came. But he gave Diſcontentment* to his Soldiers, in abridging their Expectation for free Sharing the Spoil; and, having loſt many in that Conflict, he retired to *York*, and there ſtaid, as well to reform the State of the Country, greatly diſordered by Means of theſe Wars, as alſo both to refreſh and repair his Army.

In the mean Time, the Duke of *Normandy*, receiving Intelligence that the Sea-coaſts were left naked of Defence, looſed from St. *Valery's* with Three-hundred, or, as ſome Writers report, Eight-hundred and ninety-ſix, or, as one *Norman* Writer affirms, with more than One-thouſand Sail; and, having a gentle Gale, arrived at *Pemſey* in *Suſſex*, upon the Twenty-eighth of *September*. The Ship, wherein the Duke was carried, is ſaid (as if it had run for the Garland of Victory) to have outſtripped the reſt ſo far, that the Sailors were forced to ſtrike Sail, and hull before the Wind to have their Company. When he firſt ſtepped upon the Shore, one of his Feet ſlipped a little. The Duke, to recover himſelf, ſtepped more ſtrongly with the other Foot, and ſunk into the Sand ſomewhat deep. One of his Soldiers, eſpying this, ſaid merrily unto him: "You had almoſt fallen, my Lord; but you "have well maintained your Standing, and "have now taken deep and firm Footing in "the Soil of *England*: The Preſage is good; "and hereupon I ſalute you King. The Duke laughed; and the Soldiers, with whom Superſtition doth ſtrongly work, were much confirmed in Courage by the Jeſt.

When he had landed his Forces, he fortified a Piece of Ground with ſtrong Trenches, and diſcharged all his Ships, leaving his Soldiers no Hope to ſave themſelves, but only by Victory. After this, he publiſhed the Cauſes of his Coming in Arms, namely:

1. To challenge the Kingdom of *England*, given to him by his Couſin, King *Edward*, the laſt lawful Poſſeſſor at that Time thereof.

2. To revenge the Death of his Couſin *Alfred*, Brother to the ſame King *Edward*, and of the *Normans*, who did accompany him into *England*, no leſs cruelly than deceitfully ſlain by Earl *Goodwin*, and his Adherents.

3. To revenge the Injury done unto *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who, by the Practice (as it was then given forth) of *Harold*, had been exiled, in the Life-time of King *Edward*.

This laſt Article was added, either to pleaſe the Pope, or generally in Favour of the Clergy; to whom the Example grew then intolerable, that an Archbiſhop ſhould be once queſtioned by any other, than by themſelves.

So the Duke, leaving his Fortification furniſhed with competent Forces to aſſure the Place, as well for a Retreat, as for daily Landing of freſh Supplies, marched forward to *Haſtings*, and there raiſed another Fortreſs, and planted likewiſe a Gariſon therein. And, in all Places, he reſtrained his Soldiers either from ſpoiling, or harming the Country-People, for Fear that, thereby, they would fall into * Diſorder; but giving forth, that it were Cruelty to ſpoil them, who in a ſhort Time ſhould be his Subjects. Here the Duke, becauſe he would not either adventure, or truſt his Soldiers, went forth in Perſon to diſcover the Country, with fifteen Horſemen in his Company, and no more. His Return was on Foot, by Reaſon of the evil-qualitied Ways; and, when *Fitz-Osborne*, who went with him, was over-wearied with the Weight of his Armour, the Duke eaſed him †, by bearing his Helmet upon his Shoulder. This Action may

* Fury, or Deſpair.

† —— Monſtrat tolerare labores,
Non jubet. —— *Lucan.* lib. ix.

ſeem of ſlender Regard, but yet did gain him both Favour and Duty among his Soldiers.

King *Harold*, hearing of theſe Approaches, haſted by great Journies towards *London*, ſending his Meſſengers to all Places, both to encourage and intreat the People to draw together for their common Defence. Here he muſtered his Soldiers; and, albeit he found that his Forces were much impaired by his late Battle againſt *Harfager*, yet he gathered an able Army, countenanced and commanded by divers of the Nobility, which reſorted unto him from many Parts of the Realm. The Duke, in the mean Time, ſent a Meſſenger unto him, who demanded the Kingdom in ſo ſtout a Manner, that he was at the Point to have been evil-intreated by the King. Again, the King ſent his Meſſenger to the Duke, forbidding him, with lofty Language, to make any Stay within that Country, but to return again no leſs ſpeedily, than raſhly he had entered. The Duke, between Mirth and Scorn, returned Anſwer, "That, as he came not "upon his Intreaty, ſo at his Command he "would not depart. But (ſaid he) I am not "come to word with your King, I am "come to fight, and am deſirous to fight: I "will be ready to fight with him, albeit I "had but Ten-thouſand ſuch Men, as I "have brought Sixty-thouſand."

King *Harold* ſpent little Time, loſt none (unleſs haply that which he might have taken more) both in appointing and ordering his Army. And, when he was ready to take the Field, his Mother intreated him, firſt moderately, then with Words of Paſſion, and with Tears, that he would not adventure his Perſon to the Battle. Her Importunity was admired the more, for that it was both without any apparent Cauſe, and not uſual in former Times. But *Harold*, with undaunted Countenance and Heart, conducted his Army into *Suſſex*, and incamped within ſeven Miles of the *Normans*; who thereupon approached ſo near to the *Engliſh*, that the one Army was within View of the other.

Firſt, Spies were ſent on both Sides, to diſcover the State and Condition of their Enemies. They, who were ſent from the *Engliſh*, made a large Report, both of the Number, and Appointment, and Diſcipline of the *Normans*. Whereupon *Girth*, younger Brother to King *Harold*, preſented him with Advice, not to play his whole State at a Caſt; not to be ſo carried with Deſire of Victory, as not to wait the Time to attain it; that it is proper to Invaders preſently to fight, becauſe they are then in the very Pride and Flouriſh of their Strength; but the Aſſailed ſhould rather delay Battle, rather obſerve only and attend their Enemies, cut off their Relief, vex them with Incommodities, weary them, and wear them out by Degrees *: That it could not be long before the Duke's Army, being in a ſtrange Country, would be reduced to Neceſſities; it could not be long but, by Reaſon it conſiſted of divers Nations, it would draw into Diſorder; that it was proper to an Army, compounded of different People, to be almoſt invincible at the firſt, whilſt all contend to excel or, at leaſt, to equal others in brave Performance; but, if they be adviſedly endured, they will eaſily fall into Diſorders, and laſtly of themſelves diſſolve. 'Or if, ſaid he, you reſolve to fight, 'yet, becauſe you are ſworn to the Duke †, 'you ſhall do well to withdraw your Preſence, 'to employ your Authority in muſtering a 'new Army, to be ready to receive him with 'freſh Forces. And, if you pleaſe to commit 'the Charge of this Encounter unto me, I will 'not fail to expreſs both the Love of a Brother, and the Care and Courage of a Commander. For, as I am not obliged to the 'Duke by Oath, ſo ſhall I either prevail with 'the better Cauſe, or with the quieter Conſcience die.'

Both theſe Counſels were rejected by *Harold*: The *Firſt* out of a violent Vehemency of theſe Northern Nations, who do commonly eſteem Delay of Battle a dejected Cowardice, a baſe and ſervile Deflowering of Time, but to bear through their Deſigns, at once, they account a Point of honourable Courage ‡. The *Second* he eſteemed both ſhameful to his Reputation, and hurtful to the State of his Affairs. "For, what Honour had he gained by his former Vic-

* Multa bella, impetu valida, per tædia & moras evanuere. *Tacit.* ii. Hiſt.

† This refers to the Oath *Harold* had taken to the Duke of *Normandy* in King *Edward*'s Life-Time.

‡ Barbaris cunctatio ſerviliis, ſtatim exequi regium videtur. *Tacit.* vi Annal.

tories,

tories, if, when he came to the greateſt Pinch of Danger, he ſhould fearfully ſhrink back *? With what Heart ſhould the Soldiers fight, when they have not his Preſence for whom they fight; when they have not their General an Eye-witneſs of their Performance; when they want his Sight, his Encouragement, his Example to inflame them to Valour? The Preſence of the Prince is worth many Thouſands of ordinary Soldiers: The ordinary Soldier will undertake both Labour and Danger for no other Reſpects ſo much, as by the Preſence of the Prince. And therefore he did greatly extenuate the Worth of the *Normans*, terming them a Company of Prieſts; becauſe their Faſhion was to ſhave their Faces: But whatſoever they were, as he had (he ſaid) digeſted in his Mind the hardeſt Events of Battle; ſo either the Infamy or Suſpicion of Cowardice in no Caſe he would incur. He reſolved not to overlive ſo great Diſhonour; he reſolved to ſet up, as his laſt Reſt, his Crown, and Kingdom; and Life withal. And thus oftentimes Fortune dealeth with Men, as Executioners do with condemned Perſons; ſhe will firſt blindfold, and then diſpatch them †.

After this, the *Norman* ſent a Monk to offer the Choice of theſe Conditions to *Harold*; either to relinquiſh his Kingdom upon certain Conditions; or to hold it under Homage to the Duke; or to try their Cauſe by ſingle Combate; or to ſubmit it to the Judgment of the Pope, according to the Laws of *Normandy* or of *England*, which he would. Again, ſome Conditions were propounded from King *Harold* to the Duke: But their Thoughts were ſo lifted up, both with Pride and Confidence, by Reaſon of their former Victories, that no moderate Overture could take Place; and ſo they appointed the Day following, which was the Fourteenth of *October*, to determine their Quarrel by Sentence of the Sword. This happened to be the Birth-Day of King *Harold*, which, for that Cauſe, by a ſuperſtitious Error, he conjectured would be proſperous unto him.

The Night before the Battle for divers Reſpects was unquiet. The *Engliſh* ſpent the Time in Feaſting and Drinking, and made the Air ring with Shoutings and Songs; the *Normans* were more ſoberly ſilent, and buſied themſelves much in Devotion ‡; being rather ſtill than quiet, not ſo much watchful as not able to ſleep. At the firſt Appearance of the Day, the King and the Duke were ready in Arms, encouraging their Soldiers, and ordering them, in their Arrays; in whoſe Eyes it ſeemed that Courage did ſparkle, and that in their Face and Geſture Victory did dance. The Duke put certain Relicks about his Neck, upon which King *Harold* had ſworn unto him. It is reported that, when he armed, the Back of his Curaſſes was placed before, by the Error of him that put it on; ſome would have been diſmayed hereat, but the Duke ſmiled and ſaid, Aſſuredly this Day my Fortune will turn, I ſhall either be a King, or Nothing, before Night.

The *Engliſh* were knit in one main Body on Foot; whereof the firſt Ranks conſiſted of *Kentiſhmen* (who by an ancient Cuſtom did challenge the Honour of that Place) the next were filled with *Londoners*; then followed the other *Engliſh*. Their chief Weapons were Pole-ax, Sword, and Dart, with a large Target for their Defence. They were paled in Front with Paviſes in ſuch wiſe, that it was thought impoſſible for the Enemy to break them. The King ſtood on Foot by his Standard, with two of his Brothers, *Girth* and *Leofwine*; as well to relieve from thence all Parts that ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed, as alſo to manifeſt to the Soldiers, that they retained no Thought of Eſcaping by Flight. On the other Side, the *Normans* were divided into three Battles: The firſt was conducted by *Roger Montgomery*, and *William Fitz Oſborne*; it conſiſted of Horſemen of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Bretagne*, commanded by a *Bretagner* named *Fergent*; it carried the Banner, which the Pope had ſent. The middle Battle, conſiſting of Soldiers out of *Germany* and *Poictou*, was led by *Jeffery Martell*, and a Prince of *Almaigne*. The Duke himſelf cloſed the laſt Battle, with the Strength of his *Normans*, and the Flower of his Nobility ‖. The Archers were divided into Wings; and al-

* Si ſtatus imperii in diſcrimine vertatur, debebit in acie ſtare. Minora bella, minoribus ducibus, deleganda. *Tacit.* iv. Hiſt.

† Occæcat animos Fortuna, ubi vim ſuam ingruentem frangi non vult. *Liv.* Lib. v.

‡ Fortiſſimus in ipſo diſcrimine exercitus, qui ante diſcrimen modeſtiſſimus. *Tacit.* i. Hiſt.

‖ Ad victoriam plurimum confert, ut lectiſſimos de peditibus & equitibus habeat dux poſt aciem in ſubſidiis præparatos. *Veget.* iii. cap. 17.

ſo

ſo diſperſed by Bands through all the three Battles.

Thus were both Sides ſet upon a bloody Bargain; Ambition, Hope, Anger, Hate, inflaming them to Valour. The Duke edged his Soldiers, by declaring unto them the noble Acts of their Anceſtors *, the late admirable Atchievement of their fellow *Normans*, in ſubduing the Kingdom of *Sicily*; their own brave Exploits under him; by ſhewing them all that pleaſant and plentiful Country, as the Purchaſe of their Proweſs, as the Gain and Reward of their Adventure †; by putting them in Mind, that they were in a Country both hoſtile and unknown, before them the Sword, the vaſt Ocean behind, no Place of Retreat, no Surety but in Valour and in Victory; ſo that they, who would not contend for Glory, were upon Neceſſity to fight for their Lives: *Laſtly*, by aſſuring them, that, as he was the firſt in Advice, ſo would he be the foremoſt in Adventure, being fully reſolved either to vanquiſh, or to die. The King ‡ encouraged his Men, by preſenting to their Remembrance the Miſeries which they ſuſtained, not long before, under the Oppreſſion of the *Danes* ‖; which whether they were again to endure, or never to fear, it lieth (ſaid he) in the Iſſue of this Field. The King had the Advantage both for Number of Men, and for their large able Bodies. The Duke both in Arms, eſpecially in Regard of the Bow and Arrows, and in Experience and Skill of Arms; both equal in Courage; both confident alike in the Favour of Fortune, which had always crowned their Courage with Victory. And,

Now, by fronting of both the Armies, the Plots and Labours of many Months were reduced to the Hazard of a few Hours. The *Normans* marched with a Song of the valiant Acts of *Rowland*, eſteeming Nothing of Peril, in Regard to the Glory of their Adventure. When they approached near their Enemies §, they ſaluted them firſt with a Storm of Arrows: *Robert Fitz-Beaumant* a young Gentleman of *Normandy*, beginning the Fight from the right Wing. This Manner of Fight, as it was new, ſo was it moſt terrible to the *Engliſh*, and they were leaſt provided to avoid it. *Firſt*, they opened their Ranks, to make Way for the Arrows to fall; but, when that Avoidance did nothing avail, they cloſed again, and covered themſelves with their Targets, joined together in Manner of a Pent-houſe; encouraging one another, to haſte forward, to leap luſtily to Hand-ſtrokes, and to ſcour their Swords in the Intrails of their Enemies. Then the Duke commanded his Horſemen to charge; but the *Engliſh* received them upon the Points of their Weapons, with ſo lively Courage, in ſo firm and ſtiff Order, that the Overthrow of many of the Foremoſt did teach their Followers to adventure themſelves with better Advice. Hereupon they ſhifted into Wings, and made Way for the Footmen to come forward. Then did both Armies join in a horrible Shock, with Pole-axes, and the Prince of Weapons, the Sword: Maintaining the Fight with ſo manlike Fury, as if it had been a Battle of Giants, rather than of Men. And ſo they continued the greateſt Part of that Day, in cloſe and furious Fight; Blow for Blow, Wound for Wound, Death for Death; their Feet ſteady, their Hands diligent, their Eyes watchful, their Hearts reſolute; neither their Adviſement dazzled by Fierceneſs, nor their Fierceneſs any Thing abated by Adviſement.

In the mean Time the Horſemen gave many ſharp Charges, but were always beaten back with Diſadvantage. The greateſt Annoyance came from the Archers, whoſe Shot ſhowered among the *Engliſh* ſo thick, that they ſeemed to have the Enemy in the Midſt of their Army. Their Armour was not ſufficiently either compleat or of Proof to defend them, but every Hand, every Finger's Breadth, unarmed, was almoſt an aſſured Place for a deep, and many Times a deadly Wound. Thus, whilſt the Front was maintained in good Condition, many Thouſands were beaten down behind, whoſe

* The *Norwegians* and *Danes*, as well in *England*, as in *France*.

† Eo impenditur labor & periculum, unde emolumentum & honos ſperetur. *Liv.* iv.

‡ *Harold.*

‖ *Viz.* The Spoil and Ruin of their flouriſhing Land and common Government; the Rifling of their private Estates; the Abuſing of their Wives and Daughters; the Deſtruction, or, what is worſe, the Oppreſſion and Slavery of all Sorts of People.

§ One named *Taillefer* advanced forward at the Head of the Army, and challenged any one of the *Engliſh* to a ſingle Combate, which being accepted, he ſlew the firſt and ſecond; but was himſelf ſlain by the third Aſſailant: Upon which the *Normans* began the Attack.

Death

Death was not ſo grievous unto them, as the Manner of their Death, in the Midſt of their Friends, without an Enemy at Hand, upon whom they might ſhew ſome Valour, and work ſome Revenge.

This Manner of Fight would ſoon have determined as well the Hopes as the Fears of both Sides, had not the Targets of the *Engliſh* been very ſerviceable unto them; had not K. *Harold* alſo, with a lively and conſtant Reſolution, performed the Part not only of a ſkilful Commander, by directing, encouraging, providing, relieving, but of a valiant Soldier, by uſing his Weapon, to the Example of his Soldiers. In Places of greateſt Danger he was always preſent, repairing the Decays, reforming the Diſorders, and encouraging his Company, that in doing as Men, whether they prevailed, or whether they periſhed, their Labour was always glorioufly employed. So they knit ſtrongly together, and ſtood in cloſe and thick Array, as if they had been but one Body; not only bearing the Brunt of their Enemies, but making ſuch an Impreſſion upon their Squadron that the great Body began to ſhake. The Duke adventured in Perſon ſo far, moved no leſs by his natural Magnanimity, than by Glory of the Enterpriſe, that, beſides his often alighting to fight on Foot, two, or (as ſome report) three Horſes were ſlain under him. And having a Body both able by Nature, and by Uſe hardened to endure Travail, he exacted the greater Service of his Soldiers, commending the Forward, blaming the Slow, and crying out (according to his Nature) with vehement Geſture and Voice unto all, that it was a Shame for them, who had been victorious againſt all Men with whom they dealt, to be ſo long held by the *Engliſh* in Delay of Victory. So partly by his Authority, and partly by his Example, he retained his Soldiers, and impoſed upon them the faireſt Neceſſity of Courage; whilſt every Man contended to win a good Opinion of their Prince.

Then the Fight entered into a new Fit of Heat; nothing leſs feared than Death, the Greatneſs of Danger making both Sides the more reſolute; and they, who could not approach to ſtrike with the Hand, were heard to encourage their Fellows by Speech, to purſue the Victory, to purſue their Glory, not to turn to their own both Deſtruction and Diſgrace. The Claſhing of Armour, the Juſtling of Bodies, the Reſounding of Blows, was the faireſt Part of this bloody Medley; but the Griſlineſs of Wounds, the hideous Falls and Groans of the Dying, all the Field defiled with Duſt, Blood, broken Armour, mangled Bodies, repreſented Terror in her fouleſt Form. Never was Fury better governed; never Game of Death better played. The more they fought, the better they fought; the more they ſmarted, the leſs they regarded Smart.

At the laſt, when the Duke perceived that the *Engliſh* could not be broken by Strength of Arm, he gave Direction that his Men ſhould retire and give Ground; not looſely, not diſorderly, as in a fearful and confuſed Haſte, but adviſedly and for Advantage; keeping the Front of their Squadron firm and cloſe, without diſbanding one Foot in Array. Nothing was more hurtful to the *Engliſh*, being of a frank and noble Spirit, than that their violent Inclination carried them too faſt into Hope of Victory. For, feeling their Enemies to yield under their Hand, they did raſhly follow thoſe who were not haſty to fly; and in the Heat of their Purſuit, upon a falſe Conceit of Victory, looſed and diſordered their Ranks, thinking then of nothing but of executing the Chace. The *Normans* eſpying the Advantage to be ripe, made a ſtiff Stand, redoubled upon the *Engliſh*, and, preſſing on with a Fury equal to their favourable Fortune, with a cruel Butchery broke into them. This Error could not poſſibly be repaired*. But it is ſcarce credible with what Strength both of Courage and Hand the *Engliſh*, even in Deſpight of Death, ſuſtained themſelves in this Diſorder; drawing into ſmall Squadrons, and beating down their Enemies on every Hand, being reſolved to ſell their Lives with their Place.

But a Miſchief is no Miſchief, if it comes alone. Beſides this Diſadvantage of Diſ-array, the Shot of the *Normans* did continually beat upon the *Engliſh*, with a grievous Execution. Among others, King *Harold*, about the Cloſing of the Evening, as he was buſy in ſuſtaining his Army, both with Voice and Hand, was ſtruck with an Arrow through the left Eye into his Brains, of which Wound he preſently died. His two Brothers, *Girth* and *Leofwine*, were alſo ſlain, and alſo moſt of the Nobility that were preſent; ſo long as the King ſtood,

* Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πολέμῳ δὶς ἁμαρτανεῖν. Non licet in bello bis peccare. Plut. *in* Apoph.

they

they ſtood ſtoutly, both with him and for him, and by him; his Directions ſupported them, his brave Behaviour breathed freſh Boldneſs and Life into them. But his Death was a deadly Stab to their Courage; upon Report of his Death, they began to waver in Reſolution, whether to truſt to the Force of their Arms, or to commend their Safety to their good Footmanſhip. In this Uncertainty many were ſlain; many retired in reaſonable Order to a riſing Ground, whither they were cloſely followed by the *Normans*; but the *Engliſh*, having gotten Advantage of the Place, and drawing Courage out of Deſpair, with a bloody Charge did drive them down. Count *Euſtachius*, ſuppoſing freſh Forces to be arrived, fled away with fifty Soldiers in his Company, and, meeting with the Duke, rounded him ſecretly in his Ear, that, if he went any further, he was undone. Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, he was ſtruck between the Shoulder with ſo violent a Blow, that he fell down as dead, and voided much Blood at his Noſe and Mouth. In this Conflict many of the nobleſt *Normans* were ſlain, which moved the Duke to make a ſtrong ordered Stand, giving Liberty, thereby, for thoſe *Engliſh* to retire. Others fled through a watery Channel, the Paſſages whereof were well known unto them; and, when the *Normans* did more ſharply than adviſedly purſue, the Place being ſhadowed partly with Sedges and Reeds, and partly with the Night, they were either ſtifled in the Waters, or eaſily deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*, and that in ſo great Numbers, that the Place was filled up with dead Bodies. The Reſidue ſcattered in ſmaller Companies, and had their Flight favoured by increaſing Darkneſs; the Enemy not adventuring to follow, both in a ſtrange Country, and in the Night. Earl *Edwin* and Earl *Morchard*, Brothers of approved both Courage and Faith, did great Service at that Time, in collecting theſe diſperſed Troops, and leading them in ſome Faſhion to *London*.

Duke *William*, ſurpriſed with Joy, gave publick Charge for a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God. Then he erected his Pavilion in the Midſt of the Field, among the thickeſt of thoſe Bodies whom Death had made to lie quietly together. There he paſſed the Reſidue of that Night; and the next Morning muſtered his Soldiers, buried thoſe that were ſlain, and gave Liberty to the *Engliſh* to do the like. The Body of King *Harold* could not be known by his Face, it was ſo deformed by Death, and by his Wound; by his Armour and by certain Marks upon his Body it was known. As it lay upon the Ground, a *Norman* Soldier did ſtrike it into the Leg with his Sword; for which unmanly Action he was caſſed by the Duke with open Diſgrace. It was carried into the Duke's Pavilion, and there kept under the Cuſtody of *William Mallet*. And, when his Mother made Suit for it to be buried, the Duke denied it at firſt, affirming, that Burial was not fit for him, whoſe Ambition was the Cauſe of ſo many Funerals. The Mother, beſides her Lamentations and Tears, offered for it (as one *Norman* Writer affirms) the Weight thereof in Gold; but the Duke, with a manly Compaſſion, gave it freely, as holding it diſhonourable both to value the Body of a King, and make Sale of a ſlain Enemy. So his Body was buried by his Mother, at *Waltham-croſs*, within the Monaſtery which he had founded. Verily there was nothing to be blamed in him, but that his Courage could not ſtoop to be lower than a King.

I have been the longer in deſcribing this Battle, for that I eſteem it the moſt memorable and beſt executed that ever was fought within this Land; as well for ſkilful Direction, as for courageous Performance, and alſo for the Greatneſs of the Event. The Fight continued with very great both Conſtancy and Courage, and Variety of Fortune, from Seven of the Clock in the Morning until Night. Of the *Normans* were ſlain Six-thouſand and more, beſides thoſe that were drowned and beaten down in the Water. The Slaughter of the *Engliſh* is uncertainly reported, but certainly it was far greater than that of the *Normans*. Certain alſo that their Death was moſt honourable and fair, not any one baſely abandoning the Field; not any one yielding to be taken Priſoner. And yet one Circumſtance more I hold fit to be obſerved, that this Victory was gotten only by the Means of the Blow of an Arrow *; the Uſe whereof was by the *Normans* firſt brought into this Land. Afterwards the *Engliſh*, being trained to that Fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themſelves with

* *Al.* By the Means of the Bow and Arrow, which the *Engliſh* were Strangers unto; or elſe this Expreſſion refers to the Wound given by an Arrow, of which King *Harold* died.

honourable

honourable Advantage, againſt all Nations with whom they did contend in Arms, being generally reputed the beſt Shot in the World.

But of late Years it hath been altogether laid aſide, and inſtead thereof the Harquebuz and Calliver are brought into Uſe; yet not without Contradiction of many expert Men of Arms; who, albeit they do not reject the Uſe of theſe ſmall Pieces, yet do they prefer the Bow before them. *Firſt*, For that, in a reaſonable Diſtance, it is of greater both Certainty and Force. *Secondly*, For that it diſchargeth faſter. *Thirdly*, For that more Men may diſcharge therewith at once; for only the firſt Rank diſchargeth the Piece, neither hurt they any but thoſe that are in Front; but with the Bow ten or twelve Ranks may diſcharge together, and will annoy ſo many Ranks of the Enemies. *Laſtly*, For that the Arrow doth ſtrike more Parts of the Body; for in that it hurteth by Deſcent (and not only Point-blank like the Bullet) there is no Part of the Body but it may ſtrike; from the Crown of the Head even to the Nailing of the Foot to the Ground. Hereupon it followeth, that the Arrows falling ſo thick as Hail upon the Bodies of Men, as leſs fearful of their Fleſh, ſo more ſlenderly armed than in former Times, muſt neceſſarily work moſt dangerous Effects.

Beſides theſe general Reſpects, in many particular Services and Times, the Uſe of the Bow is of greateſt Advantage. If ſome Defence lie before the Enemy, the Arrow may ſtrike where the Bullet cannot. Foul Weather may much hinder the Diſcharge of the Piece, but it is no great Impediment to the Shot of the Bow. A Horſe, ſtruck with a Bullet, if the Wound be not mortal, may perform good Service; but, if an Arrow be faſtened in his Fleſh, the continual Stirring thereof, occaſioned by the Motion of himſelf, will force him to caſt off all Command, and either bear down or diſorder thoſe that are near.

But the Crack of the Piece (ſome Men ſay) doth ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy. True, if they be ſuch as never heard the like Noiſe before. But a little Uſe will extinguiſh theſe Terrors. To Men, yea to Beaſts acquainted with theſe Cracks, they work a weak Impreſſion of Fear. And if it be true, which all Men of Action do hold, that the Eye in all Battles is firſt overcome *, then, againſt Men equally accuſtomed to both, the Sight of the Arrow is more available to Victory than the Crack of the Piece. Aſſuredly, the Duke, before the Battle, encouraged his Men, for that they ſhould deal with Enemies, who had no Shot. But I will leave this Point to be determined by more diſcerning Judgments, and haply by further Experience in theſe Affairs, and return again to my principal Purpoſe.

The next Day after the Victory, the Duke returned to *Haſtings*, about ſeven Miles from the Place of the Encounter, partly to refreſh his Army, and partly to ſettle in Advice and Order, for his further Proſecution. *Firſt*, He diſpatched Meſſengers to ſignify his Succeſs to his Friends Abroad. To the Pope he ſent King *Harold*'s Standard, which repreſented a Man fighting, wrought curiouſly with Gold and precious Stones. Afterwards, placing a ſtrong Gariſon at *Haſtings*, he conducted his Army towards *London*, not the direct Way, but coaſted about through *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; the Ways where he paſſed being as free from Reſiſtance, as his Thoughts were from Change. At *Wallingford* he paſſed over the *Thames*, and then marched forward through *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hertfordſhire*, until he came to the Caſtle at *Berkhamſtead*. In this Paſſage many of his Soldiers languiſhed and died of the Flux. And whether it were upon Licentiouſneſs after the late Victory, or whether for Want of neceſſary Proviſion, or whether to ſtrike a Terror into the *Engliſh*, or whether to leave no Danger at his Back, he permitted the Sword to range at large, to harraſs freely, to defile many Places with Ruin and Blood.

In the mean Time the *Engliſh* Lords aſſembled at *London*, to adviſe upon their common Affairs; but the Variety of Opinions was the chief Impediment to the preſent Service; the Danger being more important than the Council reſolute, or the Confidence aſſured †. The Nobility inclined to declare *Edgar*, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironſides*, to be their King; and with theſe the *Londoners* wholly went. But thoſe of the Clergy were of Opinion (ſome upon particular Reſpects, all upon Fear to diſ-

* Primi in omnibus prælíis oculi vincuntur. *Tacit.* De Mor. *Germ.*

† Timet, atque eum deficere omnia videntur, qui in ipſo negotio Conſilium capere cogitur. *Cæſ.* Com. Lib. vi.

pleaſe the Pope) to yield to the Storm and Stream of the preſent Time, to yield to the mighty Arm of God; that, their Forces being proſtrated, their Hopes feeble and forlorn, they muſt be content not to be conſtrained; they muſt not provoke the Victor too far; againſt whoſe Forces and Felicities, Time gave them not Power to oppoſe. This Deliberation held ſo long, that all the Time of Action was ſpent. For the Duke approached ſo near the City, that many, preferring their Safety before other Reſpects, withdrew themſelves and went unto him. Hereupon the Reſidue diſſolved, and *Alfred**, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Wolſtane*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wilfire*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates of the Realm went unto the Duke at *Berkhamſtead*, accompanied with *Edgar*, Earl *Edwin*, Earl *Morchard*, and divers others of the Nobility; who gave Pledges for their Allegiance, and were thereupon received to Subjection and Favour. The Duke, preſently diſpatched to *London*, was received with many Declarations of Joy, the leſſer in Heart, the fairer in Appearance, and upon *Chriſtmas* Day next following was crowned King †.

Now the Means, whereby this Victory was aſſured, were the very ſame whereby it was atchieved ‡; even by a ſtiff and rigorous Hand. For whoſoever ſuppoſeth that a State, attained by Force, can be retained by milder Means, he ſhall find himſelf diſappointed of his Hopes. A People, newly ſubdued by Force, will ſo long remain in Obedience, as they find themſelves not of Force to reſiſt.

And firſt he endeavoured either to prevent or appeaſe all foreign Wars ‖, eſpecially againſt the *Danes*, who were then chiefly feared in *England*, as well in Regard of their former Victories, as for that they pretended Title to the Crown. And herein two Things did eſpecially favour his Affairs: One, for that the *Normans* were in ſome Sort allied to the *Danes*; being the Progeny of thoſe *Norwegians* and *Danes*, which under the Conduct and Fortune of *Rollo* invaded *France*, and, after many great Atchievements, ſeated in *Normandy*. The other was, for that, after the Death of *Canutus*, the State of *Denmark* was much infeebled by Diviſion. For the *Norwegians* ſet up *Magnus*, the Son of *Olaus*, for their King; but the *Danes* acknowleged *Canutus the Third* of that Name; by Means whereof that puiſſant Empire did languiſh in Conſumption of itſelf, and could not be dangerous to any Neighbour Country. Yet ceaſed they not, for many Years, to continue Claim to the Crown of *England*; but King *William* had purchaſed many ſure and ſecret Friends in that diſeaſed State, wherein all publick Affairs were ſet to Sale; eſpecially he uſed the Authority of *Adelbert*, Archbiſhop of *Hamburgh*, either to croſs all Counſel of Hoſtility againſt him, or elſe to delay, and thereby to delude the Enterpriſe, or laſtly ſo to manage the Action, that it ſhould not work any dangerous Effect.

After the Death of *Swain*, *Canutus* prepared a Navy of one-thouſand Sail for Invaſion of *England*; and was aided with ſix-hundred more, by *Robert le Frizon*, whoſe Daughter he had taken to Wife. But either for Want, or elſe by Negligence, or haply of Purpoſe, this Navy continued, partly in Preparation, and partly in Readineſs, the Space of two Years, and then the Voyage was laid aſide. The Cauſe was attributed to Contrariety of Winds, but the Contrariety of Wills was the trueſt Impediment. Likewiſe *Swain* had furniſhed againſt *England* a Navy of two-hundred and four Sail, commanded by Earl *Oſborne*, his Brother. Another Fleet of two-hundred Sail was ſet forth, under the Charge of Earl *Hacon*; but King *William* ſo corrupted them both, that the one departed out of the Realm without performing any great Exploit, the other never would arrive.

Alſo, out of thoſe Confuſions in *England*, *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, did take his Opportunity for Action. He received into Protection many *Engliſh*, who, either for Fear or for Diſcontentment, forſook their Country; of whom many Families in *Scotland* are deſcended, and namely theſe, *Lindſey*, *Vaus*, *Ramſey*, *Lovell*, *Towbris*, *Sandlands*, *Biſſart*, *Sowlis*, *Wardlow*, *Maxwell*, and divers others. He

* al. *Aldred*.

† By *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, refuſing to perform the Ceremony.

‡ Imperium iis artibus facillime retinetur quibus partum eſt. *Sal. Catil.*

‖ Novis ex rebus auſti, tuta & præſentia, quod vetera & periculoſa malunt. *Tacit.* i. Ann.

entertained

entertained in his Court *Edgar Atheling*, and took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife. He poſſeſſed himſelf of a great Part of *Cumberland*, and of *Northumberland* * ; wherewith the People were well content, for that he was their Earl's Sister's Son.

Hereupon King *William* ſent againſt him, firſt, *Roger*, a *Norman*, who was traiterouſly ſlain by his own Soldiers; then *Goſpatrick*, Earl of *Glouceſter* : Theſe did only repreſs the Enemy, but were not able to finiſh the War fully. Laſtly, he went himſelf with a mighty Army into *Scotland*, where he made wide Waſte; and, in *Lothian*, found King *Malcolm*, prepared both in Force, and Reſolution, to entertain him with Battle. The great Army of King *William*, their fair Furniture and Order, their ſudden Coming, but eſpecially their firm Countenance and Readineſs to fight, much daunted the *Scots*: Whereupon King *Malcolm* ſent a Herald to King *William*, to move him to ſome Agreement of Peace. The more that the King was pleaſed herewith, the more he ſeemed unwilling and ſtrange: The more he muſt be perſuaded to that, which, if it had not been offered, he would have deſired. At the laſt, a Peace was concluded †, upon Conditions honourable to King *William*, and not unreaſonable for the King of *Scots*; whereby all the *Engliſh* were pardoned, who had fled into *Scotland*, and borne Arms againſt their King.

As for the *Welch*, albeit both their Courage and their Power had been extremely broken in the Time of King *Edward*, and that by the Valour and Induſtry of *Harold*; yet, upon Advantage of theſe troubled Times, they made ſome Incurſions into the Borders of *England*; but in Companies ſo diſordered, and ſmall, ſo ſecretly aſſaulting, ſo ſuddenly retiring, ſo deſirous more of Pillage than of Blood, that they ſeemed more like to ordinary Robbers, than to Enemies in a Field. Againſt theſe the King led an Army into *Wales*, reduced the People both to Subjection and Quiet, made all the principal Men tributary unto him, and received Pledges of all, for Aſſurance of their Obedience and Faith.

Whilſt the King thus ſettled his Affairs Abroad, he ſecured himſelf againſt his Subjects, not by altering their Will, but by taking away their Power to rebel ‡. The ſtouteſt of the Nobility and Gentlemen were ſpent, either by War, or by Baniſhment, or by voluntary Avoidance out of the Realm. All theſe he ſtripped of their Eſtates, and in Place of them advanced his *Normans*; inſomuch as ſcarce any noble Family of the *Engliſh* Blood did bear either Office or Authority within the Realm. And theſe ran headlong to Servitude; the more haſty, and with the fairer Shew, the more either countenanced or ſafe. Theſe he did aſſure unto him, not only by Oath of Fidelity and Homage, but either by Pledges, or elſe by retaining them always by his Side.

And, becauſe at that time the Clergy were the principal Strings of the *Engliſh* Strength, he permitted not any of the *Engliſh* Nation to be advanced to the Dignities of the Church, but furniſhed them with *Normans*, and other Strangers. And whereas, in Times before, the Biſhop and Alderman ‖ were abſolute Judges in every Shire, and the Biſhop, in many Cauſes, ſhared in Forfeitures and Penalties with the King; he clipped the Wings of their temporal Power, and confined them within the Limits of their Eccleſiaſtical Ju-

* He invaded all the Country as far as *Tiſidale*, which he foraged with the Places adjoining; deſtroyed *Holderneſs*, waſted the Lands of *Cuthbert* and *Durham*, fired the Church of St. *Peter* at *Weremouth* and divers others, and deſtroyed thoſe that had taken Sanctuary in them; and having perpetrated the greateſt Sacrileges and Cruelties by robbing the Churches, and putting the old Men and young Children to the Sword, he returned with the moſt able-bodied and well-favoured both Men and Women to be made Captives.

† Melior certa pax, quam ſperata victoria, *Liv* xxx.

‡ Quos viceris cave amicos tibi credas. *Curt.* lib. vii.

‖ This Title, *Alderman*, is of a *Saxon* Extraction, and, in its firſt Uſe, ſtood for the Peers of the Land, that were not Princes, Sons of the King, or foremoſt in the Royal Line. As for thoſe Aldermen, or more properly, according to its Original, *Ealdermen*, which were ranked with Biſhops in the *Saxon* Laws, as here mentioned, they were ſuch as had Counties, or other Territories, under their Government, and had the ſame Power and Juriſdiction as the *Earl* had afterwards, which was the ſame Charge and Care of Counties, as at this Time is committed to *High Sheriffs*, or, as we find it ſpelt in King *Athelſtan*'s *Saxon* Laws, *High-gereves*.

riſdiction; to maintain the Canons and Cuſtoms of the Church, to deal in Affairs concerning the Soul. He procured *Stigand* *, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Angelwine*, Biſhop of *Eaſt-Angles*, and certain other Biſhops and Abbots, to be deprived by Authority from *Rome* †, and detained them in Priſon, during their Lives, that Strangers might enjoy their Places. The Matters, objected ‡ againſt *Stigand*, were theſe:

I. "That he had intruded upon the Archbiſhoprick, whilſt *Robert* the Archbiſhop was "in Life.

II. "That he received his Pall from *Bene*"*dict the Fifth*, who, for Buying the Papacy, "had been depoſed.

III. "That he kept the See of *Wincheſter* "in his Hands, after his Inveſtiture into the "See of *Canterbury*."

He was otherwiſe alſo infamous in Life; altogether unlearned, of heavy Judgment and Underſtanding, ſottiſhly ſerviceable both to Pleaſure and Sloth; in Covetouſneſs, beneath the Baſeneſs of Ruſticity; inſomuch as he would often ſwear, that he had not one Penny upon the Earth, and yet, by a Key, which he did wear about his Neck, great Treaſures of his were found under the Ground. And this was a Grief and Sickneſs to honeſt Minds, that ſuch ſpurious and impure Creatures ſhould ſuſtain, or rather deſtain the Reverence and Majeſty of Religion.

Further, the King cauſed all the Monaſteries and Abbies to be ſearched, pretending, that the richer Sort of the *Engliſh* had laid up their Money in them: Under Colour whereof, he diſcovered the State of all, and bereaved many of their own Treaſure. Some of theſe Religious Houſes he appropriated wholly to himſelf; of divers others he ſeized the Liberties, which they redeemed afterward at a very high and expenſive Rate. Thoſe Biſhopricks and Abbies which held Baronies, and had been free before from ſecular Subjection, he reduced under the Charge of his Service, appointing how many Soldiers, and of what Sort, they ſhould furniſh for him, and his Succeſſors, in the Time of their Wars. Thoſe Strangers, which he entertained in Pay, he diſperſed into Religious Houſes, and ſome alſo among the Nobility, to be maintained at their Charge; whereby he not only favoured his own Purſe, but had them as a Watch, and ſometimes as a Gariſon over thoſe, of whoſe Allegiance he ſtood in Doubt.

Now, againſt the inferior Sort of People, knowing right well that he was generally hated, he prepared theſe Remedies for his Eſtate: All their Armour was taken from them, they were cruſhed down with Change of Calamity, which held them proſtrate under the Yoke, and brake the very Heart of their Courage, leaving them no Hope to be relieved, no Hope to riſe into any Degree of Liberty, but by yielding intire Obedience unto him. Thoſe, who either reſiſted or favoured not his firſt Entrance, he bereaved of all Means afterward to offend him; holding them down, and keeping them ſo low, that their very Impotency made him ſecure. All ſuch as had their Hand in any Rebellion, albeit they were pardoned their Lives, loſt their Livings, and became Vaſſals to thoſe Lords to whom their Poſſeſſions were given. And, if they attained any Thing afterward, they held it only at the Pleaſure of their Lords; that at the Pleaſure of their Lords they might be diſpoiled ‖.

He much condemned the Judgment of *Swanus* the *Dane*, ſometime King of *England*, who permitted thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, to retain their former Authority and Eſtates; whereby it happened, that, after his Death, the Inhabitants were of Force to expel the Strangers, and to quit themſelves both from their Society and Subjection. Hereupon many ſevere Laws were made; divers of all Sorts were put to Death, baniſhed, ſtripped of their Wealth, diſabled in their Bodies by un-

* Whom he ever hated, for Refuſing to ſet the *Engliſh* Crown upon his Head.

† In a Provincial Council held at *Wincheſter*, in the Preſence of two Cardinals.

‡ Publickly.

‖ He alſo ſeized the Charters and Privileges of Cities, and Towns Corporate, and of the Politick Bodies throughout the Land, and never reſtored them, without a large Sum of Money; by which Means he got the greateſt Part of the Nation's Wealth into his own Power, and ſo impoveriſhed them all, that he had nothing to fear from them: So that, when it was told him at any Time, That the oppreſſed People *ſpake Evil of him*, his uſual Reply was, *It is well they can do me no Evil.*

uſual

uſual Variety of Puniſhments, as, Putting out the Eyes, Cutting off the Hands, and ſuch like: Not only to diminiſh his Fears, if they were ſuſpected; but ſometimes, if they were of Wealth, to ſatisfy therewith either his Pleaſure or Wants. His Cruelty made the People rebellious, and their Rebellions made him the more cruel; in which Caſe, many Innocents were made the Oblations of his ambitious Fears. Many heavy Taxations were impoſed upon them; their ancient Lords were removed, their ancient Laws and Policies of State were daſhed to Duſt; all lay couched under the Conqueror's Sword, to be newly faſhioned by him, as ſhould be beſt fitting for his Advantage.

He erected Caſtles in divers Parts of the Realm, of which the *Tower*, near *London*, was the chief, which afterward was increaſed, both in Compaſs, and in Strength, by Addition of the outward Walls. In theſe he planted Gariſons of the *Normans*, as if it had been in a hoſtile Country; not without Oppreſſion to the People, although they remained quiet, and ſufficient to ſuppreſs them, if they ſhould rebel. Thus he ſecured the Realm againſt a general Defection; as for particular Stirs, they might haply moleſt him, but endanger him they could not, *Exeter*, *Northumberland*, and ſome other Parts did riſe againſt him in Arms; but, being unable to maintain their Revolt, their Overthrow did much confirm his State.

He either imitated, or concurred with *Cæſar* in Advice: For, as *Cæſar* invaded the *Germans*, which kept the great Foreſt of *Ardenna*, not with his own Soldiers, but with his Aids out of *Gallia*; gaining thereby Victory over the one, and Security from the other, without any Diſpence of the *Roman* Blood; ſo after the King's great Victory over the valiant, but too adventurous, King *Harold*, when many of the *Engliſh* fled into *Ireland*, and from thence with freſh, both Courage, and Supplies, returned into *England*, commanded by two of *Harold*'s Sons; he encountered them only with *Engliſh* Forces. In the firſt Conflict the King's Party was overthrown, and the valiant Leader *Ednothus* ſlain, who had been Maſter of the Horſe to King *Harold*. In the ſecond his Enemies were ſo defeated, as they were never able to make Head again. So, the Victors being weakened, and the Vanquiſhed waſted, the King with Pleaſure triumphed over both. Likewiſe, when he was occaſioned to paſs the Seas into *Normandy*, either to eſtabliſh Affairs of Government, or to repreſs Rebellions, which in his Abſence were many Times raiſed, he drew his Forces out of *England*, and that in a more large Proportion, than the Importance of the Service did require. He alſo took with him the chief Men of *Engliſh* Blood, as well to uſe their Advice and Aid, as alſo to hold them and their Friends from working Innovation in his Abſence.

He incloſed the great Foreſt near unto the Sea in *Hampſhire*, for which he diſpeopled Villages and Towns *, about the Space of thirty Miles, to make a Deſart for Beaſts of Chace; in which Place two of his Sons †, *Richard* and *William*, ended their Lives; *Richard*, by a Fall from his Horſe, and *William*, by the Stroke of an Arrow. The King's great Delight in Hunting was made the Pretence of this Foreſt; but the true End was rather, to make a free Place of Footing for his *Normans*, and other Friends out of *France*, in caſe any great Revolt ſhould be made. Divers other Parts of the Realm were ſo waſted with his Wars, that, for Want both of Huſbandry and Habitation, a great Dearth did enſue, whereby many were forced to eat Horſes, Dogs, Cats, Rats, and other loathſome and vile Vermin; yea, ſome abſtained not from the Fleſh of Men. This Famine and Deſolation did eſpecially rage in the North Parts of the Realm; for the Inhabitants beyond *Humber*, fearing the King's ſecret Hate, ſo much the more deep and deadly, becauſe unjuſt, received without Reſiſtance, and perhaps drew in the Army of the King of *Swedeland*, with whom *Edgar Atheling*, and the other *Engliſh* that fled into *Scotland*, joined their Power. The *Normans* within *York* fired the Suburbs, becauſe it ſhould not be a Lodging for their Enemies: But the Strength of the Wind carried the Flame into the City, which conſumed a great Part thereof, with the Minſter of St. *Peter*, and therein a fair

* He, in this Exploit, demoliſhed Thirty-ſix Towns.

† As alſo his Grandſon, *Richard*, the Son of *Robert*, who, being in full Chace, was ſtruck in the Jaws by a Bough, upon which he hung, till he expired. See *Malmſbur.* p. 111. See *Dunelm.* p. 225.

Library.

Library. And herein, whilſt the *Normans* were partly buſied, and partly amazed, the Enemies entered, and ſlew in *York*, in *Dureſme* *, and thereabout, Three-thouſand *Normans*, among whom were many of eminent Dignity, as well for Birth, as for Place of their Charge. But in a ſhort Time the King came upon them, and having partly by Arms, and partly by Gifts, diſpatched the Strangers †, exerciſed upon the *Engliſh* an ancient and aſſured Experience of War, to repreſs with main Force a Rebellion in a State newly ſubdued; inſomuch as all the Land between *Dureſme* and *York*, except only the Territory of Sir *John* of *Beverlace* ‡, lay waſte for the Space of nine Years, without Inhabitants to manure the Ground.

And, becauſe Conſpiracies and Aſſociations‖ are commonly contrived in the Night, he commanded, that in all Towns and Villages a Bell ſhould be rung in the Evening at Eight of the Clock; and that in every Houſe they ſhould then put forth their Fire and Lights, and go to Bed. This Cuſtom of Ringing a Bell at that Hour, in many Places, is ſtill obſerved.

And, for that Likeneſs is a great Cauſe of Liking and of Love, he enjoined the Chief of the *Engliſh*, and theſe were ſoon imitated by the reſt, to conform themſelves to the Faſhions of *Normandy*, to which they had made themſelves no Strangers before. Yea, Children in the School were taught their Letters and Principles of Grammar in the *Norman* Language. In their Speech, Attire, Shaving of the Beard, Service at the Table; in their Buildings, and Houſhold Furniture; they altogether reſembled the *Normans*.

In the Beginning of his Reign, he ordained that the Laws of *Edward* ſhould be obſerved, together with thoſe Laws which he did preſcribe; but afterwards he commanded, that nine Men ſhould be choſen out of every Shire, to make a true Report, what were the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm. Of theſe he changed the greateſt Part, and brought in the Cuſtoms of *Normandy* in their Stead §; commanding alſo that Cauſes ſhould be pleaded, and all Matters of Form diſpatched in *French*. Only he permitted certain *Daniſh* Laws, which before were chiefly uſed in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeſhire*, to be generally obſerved; as having great Affinity with his *Norman* Cuſtoms; both being derived from one common Head.

Likewiſe, at the great Suit of *William*, a *Norman*, then Biſhop of *London*, he granted a Charter of Liberty to that City **, for enjoying the Uſe of King *Edward*'s Laws ††; a Memorial of which Benefit the Citizens fixed upon the Biſhop's Grave, being in the Midſt of the great Weſt Iſle of St. *Paul*'s. Further, by the Council of *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Egleſine*, Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s (who at that Time were the Chief Governors of *Kent*) as the King was riding towards *Dover*, at *Swaneſcomb*, two Miles from *Graveſend*, the *Kentiſh* Men came towards him armed, and bearing Boughs in their Hands, as if it had been a moving Wood; they incloſed him upon the ſudden, and with a firm Countenance, but Words well tempered with Modeſty and Reſpect, they demanded of him the Uſe of their ancient Liberties and Laws; that in other Matters they would yield Obedience unto him; that, without this, they deſired not to live. The

* Al. *Durham*.

† *Viz.* the Army of the King of *Swedeland*.

‡ Al. *Beverley*. And this happened more through Superſtition, than any Devotion for God, or his Saints; for, one of his Horſemen riding full Speed into the Lands belonging to *Beverley*, the Horſe fell, and broke his Neck, and the Man's Face became ſo convulſed, as to turn behind him: Which the King eſteemed a bad Omen, and ſo deſiſted from his intended Violence on that Place. *ib.*

‖ Summum periculum eſt ſi cœtus, concilia, & ſecretas conſultationes eſſe ſinas. *Liv.* xxxiv.

§ This I apprehend is a Miſinterpretation of *Ingulphus*, who does not ſay that the Conqueror changed the Laws, or brought in the *Norman* Cuſtoms in their Stead; but *Ipſum etiam Idioma tantum abhorrebant* (Normanni) *quod Leges Terræ, Statutaque Anglicorum Regum Lingua Gallica tractarentur*, p. 71. which affirms only, that the Emperor had the ancient *Engliſh* Laws tranſlated into *French*, but ſtill they remained the *Laws of the Land*, and *the Statutes of the* Engliſh *Kings*. And whoever will conſult *Madox*'s Hiſtory of the *Exchequer*, p. 123, will find good Authority for what is here advanced, and that the *Change*, mentioned by our Author, was not compleatly brought about till the Reign of *Hen.* II.

** *N. B.* In this firſt Charter given by the Conqueror to *London*, there is no Word that ſignifies *City*, and its Inhabitants are there called *Burghers*, *Burgeſſes*, or *Inhabitants* of the *Borough*; and the Lord Mayor is ſtiled the *Port-Reeve*.

†† Here by Laws we muſt underſtand the Liberties and Privileges granted by King *Edward* to the City of *London* by Charter.

King

King was content to ſtrike Sail to the Storm, and to give them a vain Satisfaction for the preſent; knowing right well, that the general Cuſtoms and Laws of the Reſidue of the Realm would in a ſhort Time overflow theſe particular Places. So, Pledges being given on both Sides, they conducted him to *Rocheſter*, and yielded the County of *Kent* and the Caſtle of *Dover* into his Power.

In former Times many Farms and Manors were given by bare Word, without Writing, only with the Sword of the Lord, or his Head-piece; with a Horn or ſtanding Goblet, and many Tenements with a Quill, with a Horſe-comb, with a Bow, with an Arrow; but this ſincere Simplicity at that Time was changed. And whereas Charters and Deeds were before made firm by the Subſcription of the Party, with Croſſes of Gold, or of ſome other Colour; then they were firmed by the Parties ſpecial Seal, ſet upon Wax, under the *Teſte* of three or four Witneſſes.

He ordained alſo his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, his Courts of Juſtice, which always removed with his Court. Theſe Places he furniſhed with Officers, and aſſigned four Terms in the Year for determining Controverſies among the People *; whereas before all Suits were ſummarily heard and determined in the *Gemote*, or monthly Convention in every Hundred, without either Formalities or Delay.

He cauſed the whole Realm to be deſcribed in a cenſual Roll, ſo as there was not one Hide of Land, but both the yearly Rent and the Owner thereof were therein ſet down; how many Plough-lands, what Paſtures, Fens, or Marſhes; what Woods, Parks, Farms, and Tenements were in every Shire, ; and what every one was worth. Alſo how many Villains † every Man had, what Beaſts or Cattle, what Fees; what other Goods, what Rent or Commodity his Poſſeſſions did yield ‡. This Book was called, *The Roll of Winton*, becauſe it was kept in the City of *Wincheſter*. By the *Engliſh* it was called *Domeſeday Book*, either by Reaſon of the Generality thereof, or elſe corruptly inſtead of *Domus Dei Book*; for that it was laid in the Church of *Wincheſter*, in a Place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were impoſed; ſometimes two Shillings, and ſometimes ſix Shilling upon every Hide of Land (a Hide containing twenty Acres) beſide ordinary Proviſions for his Houſe.

In all thoſe Lands, which he gave to any Man, he reſerved *Dominion in Chief* to himſelf; for Acknowledgement whereof a yearly Rent was paid unto him, and likewiſe a Fine, whenſoever the Tenant did alien or die. Theſe were bound as Clients unto him, by Oath of Fidelity and Homage; and if any died his Heir, being in Minority, the King received the Profits of the Land, and had the Cuſtody and Diſpoſing of the Heir's Body, until his Age of one and twenty Years.

It is reported of *Caligula* ‖, that when he intended to make Advantage of his penal Edicts, he cauſed them to be written in ſo ſmall Letters, and the Tables of them to be faſtened ſo high, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any Man to read them. So the King cauſed Part of thoſe Laws, that he eſtabliſhed, to be writ in the *Norman* Language, which was a barbarous and broken *French*, not well underſtood of the natural *French*, and not at all of the vulgar *Engliſh*. The Reſidue were not written at all, but left almoſt arbitrary, to be determined by Reaſon and Diſcretion at large. Hereupon it followed, partly through Ignorance of the People, and partly through the Malice of ſome Officers of Juſtice, who many Times are Inſtruments of ſecret and particular Ends; that many were extremely intangled, many endangered, many rather made away, than juſtly executed.

But here it may be queſtioned, ſeeing theſe Laws were laid upon the *Engliſh*, as Fetters about their Feet, as a ponderous Yoke upon their Neck, to depreſs and detain them in ſure Subjection: How it falleth out, that afterwards they became not only tolerable, but acceptable and well eſteemed.

Aſſuredly, theſe Laws were exceeding harſh and heavy to the *Engliſh* at the firſt: And therefore King *William Rufus*, and *Henry the*

* See *Madox*'s Hiſtory of the *Exchequer*.

† Farms. ‡ And tho' the Counties of *Durham*, *Lancaſter*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, were not contained in this Survey; yet it appears that the remaining Part of *England*, without *Cornwall*, was divided into thirty-four Pariſhes, containing 52080 Towns or Villages; 45002 Pariſh Churches; 75000 Knights Fees, whereof 28015 were of Religious Order. See *Polycronicon*.

‖ *Tranquil.* in *Calig.*

Firſt,

First, at such Time as *Robert* their elder Brother came in Arms against them to challenge the Crown, being desirous to win the Favour of the People, did fill them with fair Promises, to abrogate the Laws of King *William* their Father, and to restore to them the Laws of King *Edward*. The like was done by King *Stephen*, and by King *Henry the Second*; whilst, both contending to draw the State to himself, they did most grievously tear it in Pieces. The like by others of the first Kings of the *Norman* Race, whensoever they were willing to give Contentment to the People; who desired no other Reward for all their Adventures and Labours, for all their Blood spent in the Service of their Kings, but to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored. At the last, the Nobility of the Realm, with great Dispence, both of their Estates and Blood, purchased a Charter of Liberty *. *First*, From King *John*, which was soon revoked, as violently forced from him; afterwards from King *Henry the Third*, which remained in Force †. And thereby the sharp Severity of these Laws was much abated.

In that afterward they become, not only tolerable, but easy and sweet, and happily not fit to be changed; it is by Force of long grounded Custom, whereby those Usages, which our Ancestors have observed for many Ages, do never seem either grievous or odious to be endured. So *Nicetas* writing of certain *Christians*, who, by long conversing with the *Turks*, had defiled themselves with *Turkish* Fashions: *Custom*, saith he, *winneth such Strength by Time, that it is more firm than either Nature or Religion* ‡. Hereupon *Dio. Chrysostom* ‖ compareth Customs to a King, and Edicts to a Tyrant; because we are subject voluntarily to the one, but upon Constraint, and upon Necessity, to the other. *It is manifest*, saith *Agathias*, *that, under whatsoever Law the People hath lived, they do esteem the same most excellent and divine* §. *Herodotus* reporteth, that *Darius* the Son of *Hydaspes*, having under his Dominion certain *Grecians* of *Asia*, who accustomed to burn their dead Parents and Friends, and certain Nations of *India*, who used to eat them, called the *Grecians* before him; and told them that it was his Pleasure, that they should conform themselves to the Custom of the *Indians*, in eating their deceased Friends. But they applied all Means of Intreaty and Persuasion, that they might not be forced to such a barbarous, or rather brutish Observation. Then he sent for the *Indians*, and moved them to Conformity with the *Grecians*, but found that they did far more abhor to burn their Dead, than the *Grecians* did to eat them.

Now these Severities of the King were much aggravated by the *English*, and esteemed not far short of Cruelties. Notwithstanding he tempered it with many admirable Actions both of Justice and of Clemency and Mercy **, for which he is much extolled by the *Norman* Writers ††. He gave great Privileges to many Places; and the better to give the People Contentment, and to hold them quiet, he often Times renewed the Oath, which first he took at his Coronation; namely, *to defend the holy Church of God, the Pastors thereof, and the People subject to him justly to govern, to ordain good Laws, and observe true Justice, and, to the uttermost of his Power, to withstand all Rapines and false Judgments*. Such of the Nobility, as had been taken in Rebellion, were only committed to Prison; from which they

* Which is that commonly known by the Name of *Magna Charta*, and on which we to this Day pretend to found our Liberty and Property.

† And, to make the same more effectual, this *great Charter* raised, on this Basis, is, by Act of Parliament in *Edward* the Ist's Time, commanded to be allowed by the Justices in their Judgments and Resolutions, as the Common Law of *England*.

‡ *Nicet*. pag. 19. ὅτω χρόνω κραλενθὲν ἔθος γένος καὶ θρεσκείας ἐστιν ὀχυρότερον.

‖ *Chrys*. Orat. 76, περὶ ἔθους. *Suid. dict*. ἔθος.

§ *Agath*. lib. ii. εὔδηλον μὲν ὅτι δὴ τῶν ανθροπείων ἐθνῶν ὡς ἕκαστος εἴγε ὅτοδηεν νόμω ἐν πλείστω νενικεκότι ἐμβιοτεύσαιεν, τούτον δὴ ἄριστον ἡγοῦνται καὶ θεσπέσιον.

** Temperatus enim timor est qui cohibet, assiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat. *Senec*. i. de Clemen.

†† He published the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, as such; and confirms them to be the Laws of *England*, and commands them to kept under severe Penalties, himself at the same Time taking an Oath to keep inviolable those good and approved ancient Laws of the Realm, enacted and set forth by the holy and pious Kings of *England*, his Ancestors, and especially by King *Edward*. See the Preface by *John Fortescue Aland*, to Sir *John Fortescue*'s Treatise of *Monarchy*, Page 26.

were

were releaſed in Time; ſuch, as yielded and ſubmitted themſelves, were freely pardoned, and oftentimes received to Favour, Truſt, and Employment *.

Edric †, the firſt that rebelled after he was King, he held near and aſſured unto him. *Goſpatric*, who had been a Stirrer of great Commotions, he made Earl of *Glouceſter*, and employed him againſt *Malcom* King of *Scots*. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulogne*, who upon Occaſion of the King's firſt Abſence in *Normandy* attempted to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Dover*, he embraced afterward with great Shew of Love and Reſpect. *Waltheof* Son to Earl *Siward*, who, in Defending the City of *York* againſt him, had ſlain many *Normans*, as they eſſayed to enter a Breach, he joined in Marriage to his Niece *Judith Edgar*, who was the Ground and Hope of all Conſpiracies; who, after his firſt Submiſſion to the King, fled into *Scotland*, and maintained open Hoſtility againſt him; who pretended Title to the Crown, as next Heir to the *Saxon* Kings; he not only received to Favour, but honoured with fair Entertainments. He furniſhed him to the War of *Paleſtine*, where he attained an honourable Eſtimation with the Emperors of *Almaigne* ‡ and of *Greece*. After his Return he was allowed twenty Shillings a Day by Way of Penſion, and large Livings in the Country beſides, where he mellowed to old Age in Pleaſure and Vacancy of Affairs; preferring ſafe Subjection, before ambitious Rule, accompanied both with Danger and Diſquiet.

Thus was no Man more mild to a relenting and vanquiſhed Enemy; as far from Cruelty, as he was from Cowardice, the Height of his Spirit overlooking all caſual, all doubtful and uncertain Dangers. Other great Offenders he puniſhed commonly by Exile or Impriſonment, ſeldom by Death ‖. Only among the *Engliſh* Nobility, *Waltheof* Earl of *Northampton*, *Northumberland*, and *Huntington* §, was put to Death, for that, after twice Breaking Allegiance, he conſpired the third Time, with divers both *Engliſh* and *Normans*, to receive the *Danes* into *England*, whilſt the King was abſent in *Normandy*. And for the ſame Conſpiracy *Ralph Fitz-aubert*, a *Norman*, was alſo executed, who had furniſhed forty Ships for the King in his Voyage for *England*; for which, and for his other Services in that War, he was afterward created Earl of *Hereford*. But preſent Injuries do always overbalance Benefits that are paſt.

He much delighted in Hunting and in Feaſting. For the *Firſt* he incloſed many Foreſts and Parks, and filled them with Deer; which he ſo dearly loved, that he ordained great Penalties for ſuch as ſhould kill thoſe or any other Beaſts of Game. For the *Second* he made many ſumptuous Feaſts, eſpecially upon the high Feſtival Days in the Year. His *Chriſtmas* he often kept at *Glouceſter*, his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, his *Whitſontide* at *Weſtminſter*; and was crowned once in the Year at one of theſe Places, ſo long as he continued in *England*. To theſe Feaſts he invited all his Nobility, and did then principally compoſe himſelf to Courteſy, as well in familiar Converſation, as in Facility to grant Suits, and to give Pardon to ſuch as had offended. At other Times he was more majeſtical and ſevere; and employed himſelf both to much Exerciſe and great Moderation in Diet; whereby he preſerved his Body in good State, both of Health and Strength, and was eaſily able to endure Travel, Hunger, Heat, Cold, and all other Hardneſs both of Labour and of Want.

Many Wrongs he would not ſee, of many Smarts he would not complain; he was abſolute Maſter of himſelf, and thereby learned to ſubdue others. He was much commended for Chaſtity of Body; by which his princely Actions were much advanced. And albeit the Beginning of his Reign was peſtered with ſuch Routs of Outlaws and Robbers, that the peaceable People could not account themſelves in Surety within their own Doors **; he ſo well provided for Execution of Juſtice upon Offen-

* Nihil glorioſius eſt principe impune læſo. *Senec.* i. *de Clem.*

† Sirnamed *Sylvaticus*, a Man of great Spirit and Power, and had done him much Harm by joining with *Blethyn* and *Rywallon* Kings of *Wales*, who made an Incurſion into *Herefordſhire*.

‡ *Germany*. ‖ Principi non minus turpia multa ſupplicia, quam medico funera. *Senec. de Clem.* i.

§ Beſides it is thought that thoſe Courtiers, who envied his Eſteem with the King, and ſought to obtain Part of his great Poſſeſſions, could they ruin him; and above all, the Intrigues of his Wife *Judith*, who was Niece to the King, and wanted to get another Husband, contrived and chiefly affected his Death.

** There were obliged to be placed Guards between Town and Town.

ders, or rather for Cutting off the Cauſes of Offence, that a young Maiden, well charged with Gold, might travel in any Part of the Realm, without any Offer of Injury unto her. For, if any Man had ſlain another upon any Cauſe, he was put to Death; and, if he could not be found, the Hundred paid a Fine to the King; ſometimes twenty-eight and ſometimes thirty-ſix Pounds, according to the Largeneſs of the Hundred in Extent. If a Man had oppreſſed * any Woman, he was deprived of his privy Parts. As the People by Arms, ſo Arms by Laws were held in Reſtraint.

He talked little and bragged leſs, a moſt aſſured Performer of his Word: In Proſecution of his Purpoſes conſtant and ſtrong †, and yet not obſtinate; but always appliable to the Change of Occaſions; earneſt, yea violent, both to reſiſt his Enemies, and to exact Duties of his Subjects. He neither loved much Speech, nor gave Credit to fair; but truſted truly to himſelf, to others ſo far as he might not be abuſed by Credulity ‡.

His Expedition (the Spirit of Actions and Affairs) may hereby appear. He invaded *England* about the Beginning of *October*; he ſubdued all Reſiſtance, he ſuppreſſed all riſing Rebellions, and returned into *Normandy* in *March* following. So as, the Time of the Year conſidered, a Man ſhould hardly travel through the Land in ſo ſhort a Time as he did win it. A greater Exploit than *Julius Cæſar* or any other Stranger could ever atchieve upon that Place.

He gave many Teſtimonies of a religious Mind ‖. For he did often frequent Divine Service in the Church, he gave much Alms, he held the Clergy in great Eſtimation, and highly honoured the Prelates of the Church. He ſent many coſtly Ornaments, many rich Preſents of Gold and Silver to the Church of *Rome*; his *Peter* Payments § went more readily, more largely than ever before **: To divers Churches in *France*, after his Victory, he ſent Croſſes of Gold, Veſſels of Gold, rich Palls, or other Ornaments of great Beauty and Price. He bare ſuch Reverence to *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that he ſeemed to ſtand at his Directions. At the Requeſt of *Wolſtane* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, he gave over a great Advantage that he made by Sale of Priſoners taken in *Ireland*. He reſpected *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, by whom he had been crowned King of *England*, as his Father. At a Time upon the Repulſe of a certain Suit, the Archbiſhop brake forth into Diſcontentment, expoſtulated ſharply againſt the King, and in a humorous Heat offered to depart: But the King ſtaid him, fell down at his Feet, deſired Pardon, and promiſed Satisfaction in the beſt Manner that he could. The Nobility, that were preſent, put the Archbiſhop in Mind, that he ſhould cauſe the King to ariſe. Nay (anſwered the Archbiſhop) let him alone; let him ſtill abide at St. *Peter*'s Feet ††. So with much ado he was appeaſed, and intreated to accept his Suit. And ſo the Name of St. *Peter*, and of the Church, hath been often uſed as a Mantle, to cover the Pride, Paſſions, and Pleaſures of diſordered Men.

He founded and enlarged many Houſes of Religion: He furniſhed Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, with Men of more Sufficiency and Worth, than had been uſual in former Times. And becauſe within his own Dominions Studies did not flouriſh and thrive, by Reaſon of the turbulent Times, by Reaſon of the often Invaſions of barbarous People, whoſe Knowledge lay chiefly in their Fiſts; he drew out of *Italy* and other Places many famous Men, both for Learning and Integrity of Life; to wit, *Lanfrank*, *Anſelm*, *Durand*, *Trahern*, and others. Theſe he honoured, theſe he advanced, to theſe he expreſſed great Teſtimonies both of Favour and Regard.

* Defloured.

† Ὁι ἀνδρεῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὀξεῖς, πρότερον, δὲ ἡσύχιοι. Fortes, in opere acres, ante id placidi. *Ariſt.* iii. *Eth.*

‡ ——— σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας ὀδ' ἐστὶν ἄλλο χρήσιμώτερον βροτοῖς. Sapiente diffidentia non alia res utilior eſt mortalibus. *Eurip.*

‖ Romani non calliditate aut robore, ſed pietate ac religione omnes gentes nationeſq; ſuperavere. *Cic. Orat.* de *Aruſp. Reſp.*

§ See this explained in the Beggar's Petition to *Hen. the Eighth* againſt Popery, printed in this Vol.

** But, though *Lanfrank* the Archbiſhop endeavoured to perſuade him to make Allegiance to that See, he never could be brought to it, and ſaid, That *he neither promiſed ſo much, neither could he find that any of his Anceſtors did perform it.*

†† Or, as ſome Authors more probably write, at his Father's Feet.

And

And yet he preferred *Odo*, his Brother by his Mother's Side, to the Biſhoprick of *Bayonne*, and afterwards created him Earl of *Kent*: A Man proud, vain, mutinous, ambitious; outrageous in Oppreſſion, Cruelty, and Luſt; a Prophaner of Religion, a manifeſt Contemner of all Virtue. The King, being called by Occaſions into *Normandy*, committed unto him the Government of the Realm: In which Place of Credit and Command, he furniſhed himſelf ſo fully with Treaſure, that he aſpired to the Papacy of *Rome*, upon a Prediction, then caſt Abroad (which commonly deceive thoſe that truſt unto them) that the Succeſſor of *Hildebrand* was named *Odo*. So, filled with proud Hopes, he purchaſed a Palace and Friends at *Rome*; he prepared for his Journey, and drew many Gentlemen to be of his Train. But the King, returning ſuddenly out of *Normandy*, met with him in the *Iſle of Wight*, as he was ready to take the Seas. There he was arreſted, and afterwards charged with infinite Oppreſſions; alſo, for Seducing the King's Subjects to forſake the Realm; and, *laſtly*, for ſacrilegious Spoiling of many Churches. Hereupon his Treaſure was ſeized, and he committed to Priſon; not as Biſhop of *Bayonne*, but as Earl of *Kent*, and as an Accomptant to the King. And ſo he remained about four Years, even until the Death of the King. His Servants, ſome in Falſhood, and ſome for Fear, diſcovered ſuch hidden Heaps of his Gold, as did exceed all Expectation: Yea, many Bags of grinded Gold were drawn out of Rivers, wherein the Biſhop had cauſed them for a Time to be buried. After this, he was called *the King's Sponge*; as being preferred by him to that Place of Charge, wherein he might, in a long Time, ſuck that from others, which ſhould at once be preſſed from himſelf. By this Means, the King had the Benefit of his Oppreſſion without the Blame; and the People (being no deep Searchers into Secrets of State) were ſo well pleaſed with the preſent Puniſhment, as they were thereby, although not ſatisfied, yet well quieted for all their Wrongs.

Towards the End of his Reign, he appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and *Henry*, with joint Authority, Governors of *Normandy*; the one to ſuppreſs either the Inſolency, or Levity of the other. Theſe went together to viſit the *French* King, lying at *Conſtance*: Where, entertaining the Time with Variety of Diſports, *Henry* played with *Lewis*, then *Dauphin* of *France*, at Cheſs, and did win of him very much. Hereat, *Lewis* began to grow warm in Words, and was, therein, little reſpected by *Henry*. The great Impatience of the one, and the ſmall Forbearance of the other, did ſtrike, in the End, ſuch a Heat between them, that *Lewis* threw the Cheſs-men at *Henry*'s Face, and called him the Son of a Baſtard. *Henry* again ſtruck *Lewis* with the Cheſs-board, drew Blood with the Blow, and had preſently ſlain him upon the Place, had he not been ſtaid by his Brother *Robert*. Hereupon they preſently went to Horſe, and their Spurs claimed ſo good Haſte, as they recovered *Pontoiſe*, albeit they were ſharply purſued by the *French*.

It had been much for the *French* King to have remained quiet, albeit no Provocations happened, in Regard of his Pretence to many Pieces, which King *William* did poſſeſs in *France*: But, upon this Occaſion, he preſently invaded *Normandy*, took the City of *Vernon*, and drew *Robert*, King *William*'s eldeſt Son, to combine with him, againſt his own Father. On the other Side, King *William*, who never loſt any Thing by Loſing of Time, with incredible Celerity paſſed into *France*, invaded the *French* King's Dominions, waſted and took many principal Places of *Zantoigne* and *Poictou*, returned to *Roan*, and there reconciled his Son *Robert* unto him. The *French* King ſummoned him to do his Homage for the Kingdom of *England*: For the Duchy of *Normandy* he offered him Homage, but the Kingdom of *England* (he ſaid) he held of no Man, but only of God, and by his Sword. Hereupon the *French* King came ſtrongly upon him; but, finding him both ready and reſolute to anſwer in the Field; finding alſo, that his Hazard was greater than his Hope; that his Loſs, by Overthrow, would far ſurmount his Advantage by Victory, after a few light Encounters, he retired, preferring the Care to preſerve himſelf, before the Deſire to harm others.

King *William*, being then both corpulent and in Years, was diſtempered in Body, by Means of thoſe Travels, and ſo retired to *Roan*, where he remained not perfectly in Health. The *French* King, hearing of his Sickneſs, pleaſantly ſaid, *That he lay in Child-bed of his great Belly*. This would have been taken in Mirth, if ſome other had ſpoken it; but, coming from an Enemy, it was taken in Scorn. And, as

great Perſonages are moſt ſenſible of Reproach, and the leaſt Touch of Honour maketh a wide and incurable Wound, ſo King *William* was ſo nettled with this Jeſt, that he ſwore *by God's Reſurrection, and his Brightneſs* (for this was the uſual Form of his Oath) *that, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be churched of that Child, he would offer a thouſand Lights in* France. So, preſently after his Recovery, he entered *France* in Arms, took the City of *Meaux* *, ſet many Towns and Villages, and Corn-fields on Fire; the People abandoning all Places where he came, and giving forth, that it was better the Neſts ſhould be deſtroyed, than that the Birds ſhould be taken in them. At the laſt, he came before *Paris*, where *Philip* King of *France* did then abide; to whom he ſent Word, that he had recovered to be on Foot, and was walking about, and would be glad, likewiſe, to find him Abroad. This Enterpriſe was acted in the Month of *Auguſt*, wherein the King was ſo violent and ſharp, that by Reaſon both of his Travel, and of the unreaſonable Heat, he fell into a Relapſe of his Sickneſs. And, to accompliſh his Miſhap, in Leaping on Horſe-back, over a Ditch, his fat Belly did bear ſo hard upon the Pommel of his Saddle, that he took a Rupture in his inner Parts; and ſo, overcharged with Sickneſs and Pain, and Diſquietneſs of Mind, he returned to *Roan*, where his Sickneſs increaſed by ſuch dangerous Degrees, that in a ſhort Time it led him to the Period of his Days.

During the Time of his Sickneſs, he was much moleſted in Conſcience †, for the Blood which he had ſpilt, and for the Severity, which he had uſed againſt the *Engliſh*; holding himſelf, for that Cauſe, more guilty before God, than glorious among Men. He ſpent many good Speeches in reconciling himſelf to God and the World, and in exhorting others to Virtue and Religion. He gave great Sums of Money to the Clergy of *Meaux*, and of ſome other Places in *France*, to repair the Churches which a little before he had defaced. To ſome Monaſteries he gave ten Marks of Gold, and to others ſix. To every Pariſh Church, he gave five Shillings, and to every Borough Town, a hundred Pounds, for Relief of the Poor. He gave his Crown, with all the Ornaments thereto belonging, to the Church of St. *Stephen*, in *Caen*, which he had founded; for Redeeming whereof, King *Henry the Firſt* did afterwards give to the ſame Church the Manor of *Brideton*, in *Dorſetſhire*. He retained perfect Memory and Speech, ſo long as he retained any Breath. He ended his Life upon the ninth Day of *September*, full both of Honour and of Age, when he had reigned twenty Years, eight Months, and ſixteen Days, in the ſixty-fourth Year of his Age.

So ſoon as he was dead, the chief Men that were about him went to Horſe, and departed forthwith to their own Dwellings, to provide for the Safety of themſelves, and of their Families and Eſtates; for all Men were poſſeſſed with a marvellous Fear, that ſome dangerous Adventures would enſue. The Servants and inferior Officers alſo fled away; and, to double the Baſeneſs of their Diſpoſition, took with them whatſoever was portable about the King; his Armour, Plate, Apparel, Houſhold-ſtuff, all Things were held as lawful Booty. Thus the dead Body was not only abandoned, but left almoſt naked upon the Ground, where it remained from Prime ‡, until Three of the Clock, neither guarded nor regarded by any Man. In the mean Time, the Religious Perſons went in Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Gervaſe*, and there commended his Soul to God. Then *William*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, commanded that his Body ſhould be carried to *Caen*, to be there buried in the Church of St. *Stephen*. But he was ſo forſaken of all his Followers, that there was not any found, who would undertake either the Care or the Charge. At the laſt, *Herlwine*, a country Knight, upon his own Coſt, cauſed the Body to be embalmed, and adorned for funeral Pomp; then conveighed it by Coach to the Mouth of the River *Soame*, and ſo partly by Land, and partly by Sea, brought it to *Caen*.

Here the Abbot, with the Convent of Monks, came forth, with all accuſtomed Ceremonies, to meet the Corpſe, to whom the whole Multitude of the Clergy and Lay-people did adjoin: But, when they were in the Midſt of their ſad Solemnities, a Fire broke out of a certain Houſe, and ſuddenly embraced a great Part of the Town. Hereupon, the King's Body was once again abandoned; all the People running from it in a headlong

* And burnt its fine Church.

† Perfecto demum ſcelere, magnitudo ejus intelligitur. *Tacit.* xv. *Annal.*

‡ The Morning.

Haſte,

Haſte, ſome to ſave their Goods, others to repreſs the Rage of the Flame, others (as the lateſt Novelty) to ſtand and look on. In the End, a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Hearſe to the Abbey Church.

Afterward, all the Biſhops and Abbots of *Normandy* aſſembled to ſolemniſe the Funeral: And when the Divine Office was ended, and the Coffin of Stone ſet into the Earth, in the Preſbytery, between the Quire and the Altar (but the Body remained upon the Hearſe) *Guiſlebert*, Biſhop of *Eureux*, made a long Sermon, wherein he beſtowed much Breath in extolling the honourable Actions of the King. In the End, he concluded, That, foraſmuch as it was impoſſible for a Man to live, much leſs to govern, without Offence; *Firſt*, By Reaſon of the Multitude of a Prince's Affairs; *Secondly*, For that he muſt commit the Managing of many Things to the Conſcience and Courteſy of others; *Laſtly*, For that perſonal Grievances are many Times beneficial to the main Body of a State; in which Caſe, particular, either Loſſes or Harms, are more than manifoldly recompenſed by the Preſervation or Quiet of the Whole: If, therefore, any that were preſent did ſuppoſe they had received Injury from the King, he deſired that they would in Charity forgive him.

When the Biſhop had finiſhed his Speech, one *Anſelm Fitz-Arthur* ſtood up amongſt the Multitude, and with a high Voice ſaid; 'This Ground, whereupon we ſtand, was 'ſometimes the Floor of my Father's Houſe, 'which that Man, of whom you have ſpoken, 'when he was Duke of *Normandy*, took vio-'lently from my Father, and afterwards 'founded thereon this Religious Building. 'This Injuſtice he did not by Ignorance or 'Overſight; not by any Neceſſity of State; 'but to content his own covetous Deſire: 'Now, therefore, I do challenge this Ground 'as my Right; and do here charge you, as 'you will anſwer it before the fearful Face of 'Almighty God, that the Body of the Spoil-'er be not covered with the Earth of my 'Inheritance.'

When the Biſhops and Noblemen that were preſent heard this, and underſtood by the Teſtimony of many, that it was true, they agreed to give him three Pounds preſently for the Ground that was broken for the Place of Burial; and, for the Reſidue which he claimed, they undertook he ſhould be fully ſatisfied. This Promiſe was performed in a ſhort Time after, by *Henry*, the King's Son, who only * was preſent at the Funeral; at whoſe Appointment, *Fitz-Arthur* received, for the Price of the ſame Ground, One-hundred Pounds.

Now, when the Body was to be put into the Earth, the Sepulchre of Stone, which ſtood within the Grave, was hewn ſomewhat too ſtrait for his fat Belly; whereupon they were conſtrained to preſs it down with much Strength: By this Violence, whether his Bowels burſt, or whether ſome Excrements were forced out at their natural Paſſage, ſuch an intolerable Stink proceeded from him, as neither the Perfumes that ſmoaked in great Abundance, nor any other Means, were able to qualify. Wherefore, the Prieſts haſtened to finiſh their Office, and the People departed in a ſad Silence, diſcourſing diverſly afterwards, of all thoſe extraordinary Accidents.

A Man would think, that a Sepulchre, thus hardly attained, ſhould not eaſily again be loſt: But it happened otherwiſe to this unquiet King, not deſtined to reſt, either in his Life, or after his Death. For, in the Year 1562, when *Caſtillion* took the City of *Caen*, with thoſe broken Troops that eſcaped at the Battle of *Dreux*; certain ſavage Soldiers of divers Nations, led by four diſſolute Captains, beat down the Monument, which King *William* his Son had built over him, and both curiouſly and richly adorned with Gold and coſtly Stones. Then they opened his Tomb, and, not finding the Treaſure, which they expected, they threw forth his Bones with very great Deriſion and Deſpight. Many *Engliſh* Soldiers were then in the Town, who were very curious to gather his Bones; whereof ſome were afterwards brought into *England*. Hereby the Report is convinced for vain, that his Body was found uncorrupt, more than four-hundred Years after it was buried. Hereby alſo it is found to be falſe, that his Body was eight Feet in Length. For neither were his Bones proportionable to that Stature (as it is teſtified by thoſe who ſaw them) and it is otherwiſe reported of him by ſome, who lived in his Time; namely, that he was of a good Stature, yet not exceeding the ordinary Proportion of Men.

* Of his Sons.

And

And this was the laſt End of all his Fortunes, of all that was mortal in him beſides his Fame; whoſe Life is too much extolled by the *Normans*, and no leſs extenuated by the *Engliſh*. Verily, he was a very great Prince; full of Hope to undertake great Enterpriſes, full of Courage to atchieve them; in moſt of his Actions commendable, and excuſable in all. And this was not the leaſt Piece of his Honour, that the Kings of *England*, which ſucceeded, did account their Order only from him; not in Regard of his Victory in *England*, but generally in Reſpect of his Virtue and Valour.

For his Entrance was not by Way of Conqueſt, but with Pretence of Title to the Crown; wherein he had both Allowance and Aid from divers *Chriſtian* Princes in *Europe*. He had alſo his Party within the Realm, by whoſe Means he prevailed againſt the oppoſite Faction (as *Cæſar* did againſt *Pompey*) and not againſt the intire Strength of the State.

Again, he did not ſettle himſelf in the Chair of Sovereignty, as one that had reduced all Things to the proud Power and Pleaſure of a Conqueror, but as an univerſal Succeſſor of former Kings, in all the Rights and Privileges which they did enjoy. He was received for King by general Conſent; he was crowned with all Ceremonies and Solemnities then in Uſe; he took an Oath in the Preſence of the Clergy, the Nobility, and of much People, for Defence of the Church; for moderate and careful Government, and for upright Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

Laſtly, during the whole Courſe of his Government, the Kingdom received no univerſal Change, no Loſs or Diminution of Honour. For, neither were the old Inhabitants expelled, as were the *Britons*; neither was the Kingdom either ſubjected or annexed to a greater; but rather it received Increaſe of Honour, in that a leſs State was adjoined unto it: The Change of Cuſtoms was not violent, and at once, but by Degrees, and with the ſilent Approbation of the *Engliſh*; who have always been inclinable to accommodate themſelves to the Faſhions of *France*. The Grievances and Oppreſſions were particular, and with ſome Appearance either of Juſtice, or of Neceſſity for the common Quiet; ſuch as are not unuſual in any Government moderately ſevere. So the Change was chiefly in the Stem and Family of the King; which, whether it be wrought by one of the ſame Nation (as it was in *France* by *Pepin* and *Capett*) or by a Stranger, (as in the ſame Country by *Henry the Fifth*, and *Henry the Sixth*, Kings of *England*) it bringeth no Diſparagement in Honour; it worketh no eſſential Change. The State ſtill remained the ſame, the ſolid Body of the State remained ſtill *Engliſh*; the Coming in of many *Normans* was but as Rivers falling into the Ocean; which change not the Ocean, but are confounded with the Waters thereof.

This King had by his Wife, *Matilda*, Daughter to *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: He alſo had five Daughters, *Cicely*, *Conſtance*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Eleanor* *.

Robert, his eldeſt Son, ſirnamed *Courtcuiſe*, by Reaſon of the Shortneſs of his Thighs, ſucceeded him in the Duchy of *Normandy*. He was a Man of exceeding honourable Courage and Spirit, for which Cauſe he was ſo eſteemed by the *Chriſtian* Princes in the great War againſt the *Saracens*, that, when they had ſubdued the City and Territory of *Jeruſalem*, they offered the Kingdom thereof firſt unto him. Yet afterwards, either by the Malice of his Fortune, or for that he was both ſudden and obſtinate in his own Advice (two great Impediments that Valour cannot thrive) he received many Foils of his Enemies, which ſhall be declared in their proper Place. Before the King made his Deſcent into *England*, he gave the Duchy of *Normandy* unto him: But whether he did this only to teſtify his Confidence, or whether afterwards his Purpoſe changed, being often demanded to perform this Gift, he would neither deny, nor accompliſh his Word, but interpoſed many Excuſes and Delays; affirming, that he was not ſo ſurely ſettled in *England*, but the Duchy of *Normandy* was neceſſary unto him, both for Supply for his Services (which he found, like *Hydra*'s Heads to multiply by Cutting off) and alſo for an aſſured Place for Retreat, in Caſe he ſhould be overcharged with Extremities. Hereupon *Robert*, unable to linger and pine in Hopes, declared openly againſt him in Arms. *Philip*, King of *France*, was ready to

* To thoſe ſhould be added a ſixth Daughter, named *Gundred*, who was married to *William de Warren*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, and afterwards the firſt Earl of *Surrey* in *England*.

put

put Fuel to the Flame; who, as he never favoured in his own Judgment the proſperous Increaſes of the King of *England*, ſo then he was vigilant to embrace all Occaſions either to abate, or limit the ſame. And thus *Robert*, both encouraged, and enabled by the King of *France*, invaded *Normandy*, and permitted his Soldiers licentiouſly to waſte; to ſatisfy thoſe by Spoil, which by Pay he was not able to maintain. At the laſt he encountered the King, his Father, in a ſharp Conflict, before the Caſtle of *Gerbery*, wherein the King was unhorſed, and wounded in the Arm; his ſecond Son, *William*, was alſo hurt, his Soldiers defeated, and many of them ſlain. And albeit *Robert*, ſo ſoon as he knew his Father by his Voice, alighted forthwith, mounted him upon his own Horſe, and withdrew him out of the Medley; yet did he caſt upon his Son a cruel Curſe, which lay ſo heavy upon him, that he never proſpered afterward in any Thing, which he undertook. And although after this he was reconciled to his Father, and employed by him in Services of Credit and Weight, yet did the King often bewray of him an unquiet Conceit, often did he ominate Evil unto him: Yea, a little before his Death he openly gave forth, "That it was a miſerable Country which "ſhould be ſubject to his Dominion, for that "he was a proud and fooliſh Knave, and to "be long ſcourged by cruel Fortune."

Richard * had erected the good Expectation of many, as well by his comely Countenance and Behaviour, as by his lively and generous Spirit. But he died young by Miſadventure, as he was hunting within the New-foreſt, before he had made Experiment of his Worth. Some affirm, that he was gored to Death by the Deer of that Foreſt, for whoſe Walk his Father had diſpeopled that large Compaſs of Ground: Others report, that he, as he rode in a Chace, was hanged upon the Bough of a Tree by the Chops; others more probably do write, that he periſhed by a Fall from his Horſe. He was buried at *Wincheſter*, with this Inſcription: *Hic jacet* Richardus, *filius* Willielmi *ſenioris*, Berniæ *Dux*.

William did ſucceed next to his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. To *Henry*, the King gave, at the Time of his Death, Five-thouſand Pounds out of his Treaſure; but he gave him neither Dignity nor Lands; foretelling, that he ſhould enjoy the Honour of both his Brothers in Time, and far excel them both in Dominion and Power. Whether this was deviſed upon Event, or whether ſome do propheſy at their Death, or whether it was conjecturally ſpoken, or whether to give Contentment for the Preſent, it fell out afterward to be true. For he ſucceeded *William* in the Kingdom of *England*, and wreſted *Normandy* out of the Poſſeſſion of *Robert*. Of theſe two I ſhall write more fully hereafter.

His Daughter, *Cicely*, was Abbeſs of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Conſtance* was married to *Allen Fergant*, Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* was Wife to *Stephen*, Earl of *Blois*, to whom ſhe bare *Stephen*, who, after the Death of *Henry*, was King of *England*. *Margaret* was promiſed in Marriage to *Harold*; ſhe died before he attained the Kingdom, for which Cauſe he held himſelf diſcharged of that Oath which he had made to the Duke her Father. *Eleanor* was betrothed to *Alphonſo*, King of *Gallicia*; but ſhe deſired much to die a Virgin: For this ſhe daily prayed, and this in the End ſhe did obtain. After her Death, her Knees appeared brawny and hard, with much Kneeling at her Devotions. Aſſuredly it will be hard to find, in any one Family, both greater Valour in Sons, and more Virtue in Daughters.

In the Beginning of this King's Reign, either no great Accidents did fall, or elſe they were obſcured with the Greatneſs of the Change: None are reported by the Writers of that Time.

In the fourth Year of his Reign, *Lanfrank*, Abbot of *Caen* in *Normandy*, but born in *Pavia*, a City of *Lombardy*, was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and *Thomas*, a *Norman*, and Canon, of *Bayonne*, was placed in the See of *York*. Between theſe two a Controverſy did ariſe, at the Time of their Conſecration, for Priority in Place: But this Contention was quieted by the King, and *Thomas*, for the Time, ſubſcribed Obedience to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. After this they went to *Rome* for their Palls, where the Queſtion for Primacy was again renewed, or, as ſome affirm, firſt moved before Pope *Alexander*. The Pope uſed them both with honourable Reſpect, and eſpecially *Lanfrank*, to whom he gave two Palls, one of Honour, and the

* The Son of *Robert*.

other.

other of Love: But their Controverſy he referred to be determined in *England.*

About two Years after it was brought before the King and the Clergy at *Windſor.* The Archbiſhop of *York* alledged, that, when the *Britons* received the *Chriſtian* Faith, in the Time of *Lucius*, their King, *Eleutherius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent *Faganus* and *Damianus* unto them, who ordained twenty-eight Biſhops, and two Archbiſhops, within the Realm, one of *London*, and the other of *York.* Under theſe the Church of *Britain* was governed almoſt Three-hundred Years, until they were ſubdued by the *Saxons.* The *Saxons* remained Infidels, until *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent *Auguſtin* unto them. By his Preaching, *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, was firſt converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith: By Reaſon whereof *Auguſtine* was made Archbiſhop of *Dover*, by Appointment of Pope *Gregory*, who ſent unto him certain Palls, with his Letter from *Rome.* By this Letter it is evident, that *Gregory* intended to reduce the Church of the *Saxons* to the ſame Order wherein it was among the *Britons*; namely, to be under twelve Biſhops, and two Archbiſhops, one of *London*, and the other of *York.* Indeed he gave to *Auguſtine*, during his Life, Authority and Juriſdiction over all Biſhops and Prieſts in *England:* But after his Deceaſe he joineth theſe two Metropolitans in equal Degree, to conſtitute Biſhops to overſee the Church, to conſult and diſpoſe of ſuch Things as appertain to the Government thereof, as in former Times among the *Britons.* Between theſe he put no Diſtinction in Honour, but only as they were in Priority of Time: And as he appointeth *London* to be conſecrated by no Biſhop, but of his own Synod, ſo he expreſſeth, that the Biſhop of *York* ſhould not be ſubject to the Biſhop of *London.* And albeit *Auguſtine*, for the Reaſon before-mentioned, tranſlated the See from *London* to *Dover*; yet, if *Gregory* had intended to give the ſame Authority to the Succeſſors of *Auguſtine*, which he gave unto him, he would have expreſſed it in his Epiſtle: But, in that he maketh no Mention of his Succeſſors, he concludeth, or rather excludeth, them by his Silence.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* alledged, that from the Time of *Auguſtine*, until the Time of *Bede* (which was about a Hundred and forty Years) the Biſhops of *Canterbury*, which, in ancient Time, ſaid he, was called *Dover*, had the Primacy over the whole Land of *Britain*, and of *Ireland*; that they did call the Biſhops of *York* to their Councils, which divers Times they kept within the Province of *York*; that ſome Biſhops of *York* they did conſtitute, ſome excommunicate, and ſome remove. He alledged alſo divers Privileges granted by Princes for the Primacy of that See; divers granted from the Apoſtolick See, to confirm this Dignity in the Succeſſors of *Auguſtine*; that it is Reaſon to receive Directions of well Living, from whence we firſt received Directions of right Believing; and therefore as the Biſhop of *Canterbury* was ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he had his Faith from thence; for the very ſame Cauſe the Biſhop of *York* ſhould be in Subjection to the Biſhop of *Canterbury:* That like as the Lord ſaid that to all the Biſhops of *Rome*, which he ſaid to St. *Peter*; ſo that, which *Gregory* ſaid to *Auguſtine*, he ſaid likewiſe to all his Succeſſors. And whereas much is ſpoken of the Biſhop of *London*, what is that to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury?* For neither is it certain that *Auguſtine* was ever reſident at *London*, neither that *Gregory* appointed him ſo to be.

In the End, it was decreed, That *York*, for that Time, ſhould be ſubject to *Canterbury*; that, whereſoever within *England* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould hold his Council, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould come unto it, with the Biſhops of his Province, and be obedient to his Decrees: That, when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould deceaſe, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould go to *Canterbury*, to conſecrate him that ſhould ſucceed; that, if the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould deceaſe, his Succeſſor ſhould go to *Canterbury*, or to ſuch Place as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould appoint, there to receive his Conſecration, making firſt his Oath of Canonical Obedience. And thus was the Contention for this firſt Time taken up; but in ſucceeding Times it was often renewed, and much buſied the Clergy of the Realm.

In the ninth Year of the Reign of King *William*, a Council was holden at *London*, where another Matter of like Quality and Nature was decreed; namely, that Biſhops ſhould tranſlate their Sees from Villages to Cities; whereupon, in a ſhort Time after, Biſhops Sees were removed, from *Seleſe* to *Chicheſter*, from *Cornwall* to *Exeter*, from *Wells* to *Bath*, from *Sherbourn* to *Saliſbury*, from *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*,

coln, from *Lichfield* to *Cheſter*, and from thence again to *Coventry*. And albeit the Archbiſhop of *York* did oppoſe againſt the Erecting of a Cathedral Church in *Lincoln*, becauſe he challenged that City to be of his Province; yet *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, being ſtrong both in Reſolution and in Friends, did proſecute his Purpoſe to Effect. Not long before the Biſhoprick of *Lindafferne*, otherwiſe called *Holy Land*, upon the River *Tweed*, had been tranſlated to *Durham*.

In the tenth Year of his Reign the Cold of Winter was exceeding memorable, both for Sharpneſs and for Continuance: For the Earth remained hard frozen from the Beginning of *November*, until the Midſt of *April* then enſuing.

In the fifteenth Year a great Earthquake happened in the Month of *April*; ſtrange for the ſtrong Trembling of the Earth, but more ſtrange for the doleful and hideous Roaring which it yielded forth.

In the twentieth Year there fell ſuch Abundance of Rain, that the Rivers did greatly overflow in all Parts of the Realm. The Springs alſo, riſing plentifully in divers Hills, ſo ſoftened and decayed the Foundations of them, that they fell down, whereby ſome Villages were overthrown. By this Diſtemperature of Weather much Cattle periſhed, much Corn upon the Ground was either deſtroyed, or greatly impaired. Hereupon enſued firſt a Famine, and afterwards a miſerable Mortality of Men.

And, that all the Elements might ſeem to have conſpired the Calamity of the Realm, the ſame Year moſt of the principal Cities in *England* were lamentably deformed with Fire. At *London* a Fire began at the Entry of the Weſtgate *, which apprehending certain Shops and Ware-houſes, wherein was Merchandiſe apt to burn, it was at once begun and ſuddenly at the higheſt. Then being carried with a ſtrong Wind, and the City apt to maintain the Flame, as well by Reaſon of the crooked and narrow Streets, as for that the Buildings at that Time had open and wide Windows, and were covered with baſe Matter †, fit to take Fire, the Miſchief ſpread more ſwiftly than the Remedies could follow. So it raged until it came to the *Eaſt-gate* ‡, and proſtrated Houſes and Churches all the Way, being the moſt grievous that ever as yet ‖ hath happened to that City. The Church of St. *Paul* was at that Time fired; whereupon *Maurice*, then Biſhop of *London*, began the Foundation of the new Church of St. *Paul*. A Work ſo admirable, that many did judge, it would never have been finiſhed; yet all might eaſily eſteem thereby his Magnanimity, his high erected Hopes, his generous Love and Honour to Religion. The King gave, towards the Building of the Eaſt End of this Church, the choice Stones of his Caſtle §, at the Weſt End of the City, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*; which Caſtle at the ſame Time was alſo fired; in Place whereof *Edward Killwarby*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monaſtery of Black Friars. The King alſo gave the Caſtle of *Storford*, and all the Lands which thereto belonged, to the ſame *Maurice*, and to his Succeſſors in that See. And doubtleſs nothing more than either parcimonious or prophane Expending the Treaſures of the Church hath, ſince thoſe Times, much dried up thoſe Fountains, which firſt did fill them.

After the Death of *Maurice*, *Richard* his next Succeſſor, as well in Virtue as in Dignity, beſtowed all the Rents riſing out of this Biſhoprick, to advance the Building of this Church; maintaining himſelf by his Patrimony and Friends; and yet all, which he could do, made no great Shew; ſo that the Finiſhing of this Work was let to many other ſucceeding Biſhops. He purchaſed the Ground about the Church whereupon many Buildings did ſtand, and incloſed the ſame with a ſtrong Wall of Stone for a Place of Burial. It ſeemeth that this Wall was afterwards either battered and torn in ſome Civil Wars, or elſe by Negligence ſuffered to decay; for that a Grant was made by King *Edward the Second*, that the Church-yard of St. *Paul*'s ſhould be incloſed with a Wall, becauſe of the Robberies and Murthers that were there committed. Many Parts of this Wall remain at this Time **, on both Sides of the Church, but covered for the moſt Part with Dwelling-houſes.

The ſame Year in *Whitſun*-week, the King honoured his Son *Henry* with the Order of

* Now called *Ludgate*.
† Thatch, *viz.* Straw, *&c.*
‡ *Aldgate*.
‖ *viz.* Anno 1613.
§ In the Precinct now called *Black Friars*.
** *Anno* 1613.

Knighthood. What Ceremonies the King then uſed, it is not certainly known; but before his Time the Cuſtom among the *Saxons* was thus:

Firſt, he, who ſhould receive the Order of Knighthood, confeſſed himſelf in the Evening to a Prieſt.

Secondly, Then he continued all that Night in the Church, watching and applying himſelf to his private Devotions.

Thirdly, The next Morning he heard Maſs, and offered his Sword upon the Altar.

Fourthly, After the Goſpel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a Benediction put about his Neck.

Fifthly and *Laſtly*, He communicated of the Myſteries of the bleſſed Body of Chriſt, and from that Time remained a lawful Soldier or Knight. This Cuſtom of conſecrating Knights the *Normans* did not only abrogate, but abhor; not for any Evil that was therein, but becauſe it was not altogether their own.

This Year in a Province of *Wales* called *Roſs*, the Sepulchre of *Wawyn*, otherwiſe called *Gawen*, was found upon the Sea-ſhore. He was Siſter's Son to *Arthur the Great*, King of the *Britons*; a Man famous in our *Britiſh* Hiſtories, both for civil Courteſy, and for Courage in the Field. I cannot but eſteem the Report for fabulous, that his Body was fourteen Feet in Length. I do rather conjecture that one credulous Writer did take that for the Length of his Body, which haply might be the Length of his Tomb.

It is conſtantly affirmed that the Ground, whereon the *Engliſh* and the *Normans* did combate, doth ſhew, after every Rain, manifeſt Marks of Blood upon the Graſs; which if it was not a Propriety of the Soil before *, it is hard now to aſſign, either from what natural Cauſe it doth proceed, or what it ſhould ſupernaturally portend.

* For it is remarkable that ſome Soils always look reddiſh after Rain.

N. B. *The other two Lives ſhall be publiſhed with all convenient Speed.*

An Anſwer to the *French* Declaration of War, in Alliance with the *Dutch* and *Danes*, in the Year 1665. *London*, printed for the Author, in 1665-6, on a Broad-ſide.

THE *Heavens* look big with Wonder, and inform
Our Expectations of ſome preſent Storm.
French, *Dutch*, and *Dane* too, all at once? Why then
'Tis Time to ſhew that we are *Engliſhmen*.
They ſay, at Foot-ball, Three to One is Odds;
But this is nothing, for the Cauſe is God's.
Have at them all, we care not where we come,
Since gracious Heaven is reconcil'd at Home.
Courage, brave *Britons*, then, we do no more
But fight with thoſe whom we have beat before.
And now, methinks, much better may we, ſince
We fight for ſuch an all-accompliſh'd Prince,
Who the World's Conqueſt is as fair to get
As *Alexander*, like himſelf, the Great.
Talk not of Ten to One, pitiful Story,
Alas! The Odds does but increaſe the Glory:

Eſides

Beſides the *Engliſh* from their Anceſtry
Derive themſelves the Heirs of Victory.
Where ſhould the Sons of Honour, if they die,
But in the Field, the Bed of Honour, lie?
The World will know, when Time ſhall ſerve, we dare
Come out, and meet that *Prince of Pitch and Tar* * ;
Bring your Wind-ſelling *Laplanders* too, do,
Sure we ſhall *deal* † with you, and *board* † you too ;
And you will tell us, when this comes to paſs,
Your *Bergen* Bus'neſs no ſuch Bargain was.
Danes! We don't fear you; come, alas! ye know
Our Women beat you once ‡, and ſo may now.
Nor value we that Kingdom of *Kick-ſhaws* ‖,
We come not to receive, but give them Laws;
We ſhall provide 'em ſuch a *Fricaſee*
Of Legs and Arms §, they'll ſcarce be glad to ſee.
They now muſt underſtand with whom they cope,
A *mighty Prince* **, and not a *miter'd Pope* †† ;
One that will otherwiſe the Matter handle,
With glitt'ring Swords, and not *Bell*, *Book*, and *Candle*;
One that ſhall anathematiſe you worſe,
Not to pronounce, but execute your Curſe.
He'll bring you *Jeggery* Home to your Door;
Inſtead of ‡‡ *Bulls* you'll hear his Cannons roar;
And I make bold to tell you in the Cloſe,
Although no *Popes*, we'll make you kiſs our *Toes*.
An *Engliſh* Monarch ‖‖ (*Monſieur*) no new Thing,
Has ſent his Son to fetch him a *French* King;
If ye ſuſpect, or ſcruple our Report,
Enquire at *Poictiers*, *Creſſy*, *Agincourt* §§,
That Place *** never to be forgotten, where
The Priſoners more than we that took them were:
The *French* ſhall know it too, as we advance,
'Tis we, not they, fight for the *King* ††† of *France*.
Ye boaſt of Gold and Silver, and ſuch Stuff,
We'll bring you Pockets for it ſure enough.
And, if we meet ye on the foaming Source ‡‡‡,
We'll have a Word or two of *deep* ‖‖‖ Diſcourſe.
A Fig for *France*, or any that accords
With thoſe *Low-Country* Leather-Apron §§§ Lords.

* The King of *Denmark*, to whom *Norway* is ſubject, from whence comes our Pitch and Tar.

† Two Epithets intimating that, although we trade with him for *Deal* and *Boards*, yet we are able to *deal*, or behave manfully in Fight with him, and upon Occaſion *board* his Ships.

‡ *Viz.* When they in one Night conſpired to cut all the *Daniſh* Men's Throats throughout *England*, thereby to deliver their Country from their Government; upon which Account it is ſaid, that the *Engliſhmen* have ever ſince given the Women the Wall, and the moſt honourable Places at all Times.

‖ *France*. § Of Soldiers ſlain in Battle. ** The King of *Great-Britain*.

†† Alluding to the Diſpute which then ſubſiſted between the *French* King and the *Pope*.

‡‡ Pope's. ‖‖ *Henry* V.

§§ At which Place the *Engliſh* have given the *French* total Overthrows in Battle.

*** *Agincourt*.

††† Becauſe the King of *Great-Britain* ſtill maintains his Title of King of *France*.

‡‡‡ The Sea.

‖‖‖ Equivocally ſignifying both *ſerious* and *on the Sea*; for *the Deep* is *the Sea*. §§§ The *Dutch*.

The Caſe of the Biſhop of *Roſs*, Reſident of the Queen of *Scots*; who was ſeized and committed to the *Tower* by Queen *Eliſabeth*, for traiterous Practices, and Endeavouring to raiſe a Rebellion againſt her *. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

RIDOLPHO, the *Florentine*, who was ſent to ſollicit the Queen of *Scots* Affairs beyond Sea, had communicated to *Charles Bayliff*, a *Netherlander*, the Queen of *Scots* Servant, all his Tranſactions with the Duke *d'Alva*; and had given him Letters, written in Cyphers, for her, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Roſs*, and the Baron of *Lumley*, made up in one Packet; which *Bayliff* brought over himſelf, though *Roſs* had ordered him to leave them with the Governor of *Calais* to be conveighed over.

But, as ſoon as *Bayliff* was arrived at *Dover*, he was apprehended and impriſoned, and the Pacquet ſent to the Lord *Cobham*, Governor of the Cinque-ports. *Roſs* was the firſt that had Notice of it, who managed his Buſineſs ſo induſtriouſly and cunningly with the Lord *Cobham*, that the Packet was delivered to him, and another Packet made up of other obſolete Letters delivered to the Council; and this *Bayliff* was acquainted with. But however, being put to the Rack, he confeſſed ſome Things, and amongſt the reſt, that a Pacquet of Letters was come to *Roſs*'s Hands. Nor was *Roſs* ignorant of this, who preſently ſent away *Cuthbert* his Secretary, and left his Cyphers and what elſe might do him any Prejudice, among his Friends; ſo that, when *Suſſex*, *Burleigh*, *Mildmay*, and *Sadler* made a careful Search in his Houſe, they found nothing, nor could they get any Thing out of him by Queſtions, who ſtifly maintained, that an Ambaſſador was not to be accountable to any but his Prince. However, the third Day after he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Ely*, and a While after conveighed to the Iſle of *Ely*.

But ſince by the Confeſſion of all, even of the Duke of *Norfolk* himſelf, the Biſhop of *Roſs* was charged as principal Contriver of the Buſineſs, they entered into a ſerious Conſultation what ſhould be done with him, being an Ambaſſador? For, whilſt he, after the Manner of other Ambaſſadors, thought he might lawfully promote the Intereſt of his Prince by any Methods, and that, by the ſacred and inviolable Privilege of Ambaſſadors, he was not to be accountable to another's Juriſdiction; he had already committed many Irregularities, by raiſing Rebellion, and holding Nocturnal Cabals with the Earl of *Southampton* and others; and now lately with the *Engliſh* Fugitives in the *Netherlands*, the Duke *d'Alva* the *Spaniard*, and the Pope, for Invading of *England*. It was therefore propoſed to *Daniel Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*, learned Civilians,

Firſt, *Whether an Ambaſſador, that raiſes Rebellion againſt the Prince to whom he is ſent, ſhould enjoy the Privileges of an Ambaſſador, and not rather be liable to Puniſhment as an Enemy?*

They anſwered:

"That ſuch an Ambaſſador, by the Law "of Nations, and the Civil Law of the *Ro*"*mans*, has forfeited the Privileges of an Am"baſſador, and is liable to Puniſhment."

Secondly, *Whether the Miniſter or Agent of a Prince depoſed from his publick Authority, and in whoſe Stead another in ſubſtituted, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambaſſador?*

* Which is in ſome Meaſure applicable to the Caſe of the Marquis *de Botta* and M. *de Chetardie*, Ambaſſador at the Court of *Ruſſia* from *France*, and detected of treaſonable Practices againſt the *Czarina*.

They

They anſwered:

" If ſuch a Prince be lawfully depoſed, his " Agent cannot challenge the Privileges of an " Ambaſſador, ſince none but abſolute Princes, " and ſuch as enjoy a Royal Prerogative, can " conſtitute Ambaſſadors.

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince, which comes into another Prince's Kingdom, and is there kept Priſoner, can have his Agent; and whether that Agent can be reputed an Ambaſſador?*

They anſwered:

" If ſuch a Prince have not forfeited his " Principality, he may have an Agent; but, " whether that Agent may be reputed an Am- " baſſador, depended upon the Authority of " his Commiſſion."

Fourthly, *Whether, if a Prince declare to ſuch an Agent, and his Prince in Cuſtody, that he ſhall be no longer reputed an Ambaſſador, that Agent may, by Law, challenge the Privilege of an Ambaſſador?*

They anſwered:

" That the Prince may forbid the Ambaſ- " ſador Entrance into his Kingdom, and may " command him to leave the Kingdom, if he " keep himſelf not within the Bounds pre- " ſcribed to an Ambaſſador; yet in the mean " Time he may enjoy the Privileges of an " Ambaſſador according to the Authority de- " puted to him."

According to theſe Anſwers of the Civilians, *Roſs* being called up from the Iſle of *Ely*, and receiving a ſharp Reprimand, it was declared by the council, that he ſhould be no longer reputed an Ambaſſador, but be ſeverely puniſhen, according to his Demerits. He anſwered: " That he was the Ambaſſador of an abſo- " lute Queen that was unjuſtly depoſed, and " had, according to his Duty, carefully en- " deavoured the Delivery of his Princeſs, and " the Safety of both Kingdoms; that he came " into *England* with the full Authority of an " Ambaſſador under public Warrandiſe, which " he had produced; and that the ſacred Pri- " vileges of Ambaſſadors are by no Means to " be infringed."

Burleigh moſt gravely informed him, " That " neither the Privileges of an Ambaſſage, nor " Letters of publick Warrandiſe could pro- " tect Ambaſſadors that offended againſt the " publick Majeſty of a Prince, but that they " are liable to be puniſhed for the ſame; elſe " wicked Ambaſſadors might plot againſt the " Life of Princes without any Puniſhment."

On the other Hand, he ſtifly maintained, *That the Privileges of Ambaſſadors had never been violated* (to uſe his own Words) via Juris, *but* via Facti; and he pleaſantly wiſhed them *not to ſhew him fouler Play than the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors* Throckmorton *in* France, *and* Randolph *and* Tamworth *in* Scotland *had found; who had raiſed Rabellions and openly fomented them; and yet ſuffered no greater Puniſhment, than the being commanded to depart within ſuch a Time.*

When they began to urge him with Teſtimonies of *Engliſhmen*, he gently deſired them not to do it, ſince by a common received Cuſtom, which (as he ſaid) was grown into a Law, *The Teſtimony of an* Engliſhman *againſt a* Scotchman, *or of a* Scotchman *againſt an* Engliſhman, *was not to be allowed.*

After ſome Debates whether this would hold good, unleſs betwixt the Borders of both Kingdoms, and that in Caſes relating to the Frontiers; and whether the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had raiſed Rebellions; *Roſs* was committed to the *Tower* of *London*; where being kept cloſe Priſoner, within a While he anſwered to all Queſtions, with this Proviſo, that his Anſwers ſhould not be prejudicial to any: " He excuſ- " ed the Queen of *Scots*, for that, ſhe being a " Priſoner, in the Flower of her Age, could " not but uſe her utmoſt Endeavours to regain " her Freedom, ſince Queen *Eliſabeth* denied " her Acceſs to her Preſence, debarred her " from all Hope of her Liberty, and openly " relieved her Enemies. The Duke of *Nor-* " *folk* he excuſed, in that he had done nothing " as to the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, " but with the Conſent of many of the Queen's " Council; nor could he forſake her, though " he had promiſed to do ſo under his Hand " and Seal, ſince there was before a mutual " Engagement of Marriage betwixt them. " *Laſtly*, He excuſed himſelf, for that, ſince " he was an Ambaſſador and a Servant, he " could not without a Sin depart from his " Duty, and abandon his Princeſs in her Diſ- " treſs. But that he propoſed the Deſign of " ſeizing on the Queen, with no other Intent, than

" than to try whether the Duke had Courage " to undertake ſuch an Attempt." The Crimes of the other Conſpirators he cunningly extenuated, but could by no Means be brought to tell the Names of the Gentlemen who had devoted their Service to the Duke in ſeizing the Queen. But he confeſſed, that, by the Queen of *Scots* Orders, he had, by Servants employed betwixt them, treated with the Duke, *Arundel*, *Lumley*, and *Throckmorton*, and with the Lord Viſcount *Montacute* by *Lumley*, about putting the Caſtles in *Scotland*, the Hoſtages, and the King of *Scots* into *Engliſhmen's* Hands, about renouncing the Title, and giving up the *Engliſh* Rebels. Thus far of theſe Tranſactions for this Year, extracted wholly out of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Confeſſion, and *Roſs*'s own Account under his own Hand to the Queen of *Scots*.

The Emperor's Conceſſions to his *Proteſtant* Subjects of *Hungary*, as they were ſent from *Vienna* in *Latin*, and are now tranſlated out of the original Copy. *London*, printed in 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

As our News-Papers often mention the Queen of Hungary's *Ratification of the Privileges granted by her Imperial Anceſtors to the* Proteſtants *in* Hungary, *I preſume, that the following Specimens of them will be acceptable, and worthy to be preſerved in this Collection.*

The moſt gracious Reſolution of his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, our moſt benign Lord, in the Matters of Religion; obtained by the Mediation of his Excellency the Palatine of Hungary, *the Eighth of this preſent Month of* October, 1681. *Exhibited by the Vice-Palatine to the Noble and Magnificent Lord, repreſenting the Royal Perſon, and to all the Illuſtrious States and Orders of the Realm, in the State-houſe of that Kingdom*; viz.

I. THAT all and ſingular the States and Orders within that Kingdom, whether they be Peers, or Gentlemen, or Free Cities and Privileged Towns, that immediately relate to the Crown, ſhall remain in their Faith and Religion.

II. That all the *Hungarian* Soldiers, that inhabit on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, ſhall enjoy the ſame Freedom of Religion.

III. That not only the aforeſaid Liberty in Religion ſhall be granted to them, but alſo the free Uſe and Exerciſe thereof; ſaving to the ſeveral Lords of the Soil their Rights and Properties.

IV. That it ſhall not be lawful for either Party, hereafter, to remove, or expel the Miniſters of the Church for Religion, in ſuch Places where the Exerciſe of their Religion is practiſed.

V. That there ſhall be no more Seizures of Churches.

VI. That thoſe Churches, which, in the Time of the late Troubles, from 1670, till now, have been ſeized, ſhall remain to the preſent Poſſeſſors.

VII. That, in every County, thoſe of the *Auguſtan* * Confeſſion, and all ſuch as are comprehended under that Name, ſhall have Liberty to build a Church for the Exerciſe of their Religion, if there be none there already.

VIII. That, if they have any Churches there already, they ſhall be left to them, together

* *Proteſtant.*

gether with the Revenues thereunto belonging.

IX. That it ſhall be lawful for the Peers and Gentlemen, in the ſaid Counties, to erect and endow Chapels, or Places of Worſhip, for the Exerciſe of their Religion, within their reſpective Caſtles.

X. That all Things, contained in the Firſt Article of the Pacification at *Vienna*, ſhall be in Force.

XI. That, in all Parts of the Kingdom of *Hungary* belonging to the Emperor, the *Catholicks* ſhall have the free Uſe and Exerciſe of their Religion.

XII. That particularly thoſe of *Poſnia*, that are of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, ſhall have Power to build one Church, in a convenient Place to be appointed for that Purpoſe: Alſo, that thoſe of the City of *Sopronia* ſhall remain undiſturbed in the Poſſeſſion of the Exerciſe of their Religion, which they now enjoy.

XIII. That the Grievances, which hereafter ariſe, in Matters of Religion, ſhall not be determined by Force of Arms, but by the King only, after he hath heard both Parties; and that the eighth Article of the Sixth Decree of King *Ladiſlaus* ſhall be revived and obſerved.

XIV. That all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, of what Rank, Order, or Degree ſoever, ſhall abſtain from reviling and reproaching each other's Religion, or the Profeſſors thereof, upon Pain of incurring his Majeſty's higheſt Diſpleaſure.

"Letters, which came by the ſame Poſt "with the foregoing Conceſſions, add, 'That "the Diet at *Odenburg* were then upon the "Point of reſtoring the Goods and Eſtates "which had been taken from the Malecon-"tents, and to make Satisfaction for Da-"mages ſuſtained by them; and that there "was no Doubt but, the grand Affair of Re-"ligion being adjuſted, this and other Points "would ſoon be determined. Alſo that the "Peace between the Emperor and the Grand "Seignior would be continued ten Years "longer. So that it was hoped, that his Im-"perial Majeſty, together with the States of "*Hungary*, and the Princes and States of the "Empire, would ſpeedily unite againſt the "*French*, whom they now look upon as the "common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, rather "than the *Turk*."

A View of the Reign of King *Charles the Firſt*; wherein the true Cauſes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord *Clarendon*, Sir *Philip Warwick*, *H. L'Eſtrange*, and other moſt authentick and approved Hiſtorians. *London*, printed in *Quarto*, containing Twenty-eight Pages.

IT is a melancholy Reflexion, that the beſt Things, through the Perverſeneſs of our Nature, are generally corrupted to the worſt Ends; and that the Liberty we enjoy in *England*, under the beſt of Queens, and the beſt-conſtituted Government, ſhould, by ſome licentious and ſervile Writers, be abuſed to the Defaming honeſt Patriots, and Branding publick-ſpirited Nations; which naturally tends to the Bringing in Slavery: For nothing can more effectually deſtroy our happy Conſtitution, than the Heats and Animoſities induſtriouſly raiſed and fomented amongſt us by a Party of deſigning Men, who, under Pretence of vindicating the Memory of the Royal Martyr, aſperſe and calumniate thoſe who endeavour to compoſe our Differences.

A ſad Inſtance of this we find in the Uſage the Reverend Dr. *Kennet*, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, and Miniſter of St. *Botolph*'s without *Aldgate*, has lately met with, upon Account of an excellent Sermon by him preached before his Pariſhioners, on the Thirty-firſt of *January* laſt, and ſince made publick in Print, to clear the Miſapprehenſion of ſome few who heard it, and to ſilence

ſilence the confident, though falſe, Report of a far greater Number who did not hear it.

The Publication of this Sermon has, in a great Meaſure, had a contrary Effect to what that Reverend Divine ought reaſonably to have expected: For, though it has undeceived many honeſt People, yet, at the ſame Time, it has given Birth to ſeveral Libels, in which his innocent Expreſſions are maliciouſly made to ſignify what the Author never had in his Thoughts.

The *firſt* Thing, excepted againſt by the Doctor's unfair Cenſurers, is the Title, as well as the Subject of his Sermon, endeavouring to inſinuate to the World, 'That *Civil* 'War is an Expreſſion that palliates the Crime, 'rather than any Ways agreeable to the So- 'lemnities of the Day.' How this can give Offence to any, is hard to be imagined, ſince the Word *Civil War* was ever uſed as ſynonymous with *Rebellion*, even by the warmeſt Sticklers for that unfortunate Prince; as Dr. *Kennet* himſelf does, in ſeveral Places in this very Sermon.

However, which of the two Words, *Civil War*, or *Rebellion*, is the propereſt, Hiſtory alone can determine; and therefore let us liſten to Hiſtorians.

'Things were now going faſt on (ſays Dr. '*Welwood* *) towards leſſening the Confidence 'betwixt the King and Parliament; and yet 'there were not wanting Endeavours, on both 'Sides, to accommodate Matters by ſoft and 'healing Methods, when the King's Coming 'to the Houſe of Commons in Perſon, to de- 'mand five of their Members, whom he had 'ordered the Day before to be impeached of 'High-Treaſon, did put all into Combuſtion, 'and gave Occaſion to the Houſe to aſſert 'their Privileges. This was the moſt unlucky 'Step King *Charles* could have made at that 'Juncture, and the Indiſcretion of ſome, that 'attended the King to the Lobby of the Houſe, 'was inſiſted upon, as an Argument, that the 'King was reſolved to uſe Violence upon the 'Parliament; which, it is to be preſumed, 'was a Thing far from his Thoughts: Who- 'ever they were, that adviſed the King to this 'raſh Attempt, are juſtly chargeable with all 'the Blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this 'ſudden Action was the firſt and viſible 'Ground of all our following Miſeries. For, 'immediately upon it, there was nothing but 'Confuſion and Tumults, Fears and Jealou- 'ſies every where, which ſpread themſelves to '*Whitehall* in the rudeſt Manner, ſo that, his 'Majeſty thinking himſelf not ſafe there, he 'retired with his Family to *Hampton-Court*. 'The King leaving the Parliament in this 'Manner, there were ſcarce any Hopes of a 'thorough Reconciliation. But when, after 'a great many Removes from Place to Place, 'his Majeſty came to ſet up his Standard at '*Nottingham*, there enſued a fatal and bloody 'War; which, it is reaſonable to believe, 'was never deſigned by either Side. Each 'Party blamed the other for Beginning this 'War, and it is not eaſy to determine, which 'of them began it. Though the King made 'the firſt Steps that ſeemed to tend that Way, 'ſuch as, Raiſing a Troop for a Guard to his 'Perſon, Summoning the Gentlemen and 'Freeholders of ſeveral Counties to attend 'him in his Progreſs to the *North*, and Or- 'dering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in '*Holland* for his Uſe; yet the Parliament did 'as much at the ſame Time, for they likewiſe 'raiſed Guards of their own, and took Care 'that the Magazine of *Hull* ſhould not fall into 'the King's Hands: So that the King and 'Parliament prepared themſelves inſenſibly for 'War, without conſidering, that theſe Pre- 'parations muſt gradually and inevitably come 'to Blows in the End. ——— During the 'whole Courſe of this unnatural War, it was 'hard to divine what would be the Fate of '*England*, whether an abſolute, unlimited 'Monarchy, a new huddled-up Common- 'wealth, or a downright Anarchy. If the 'King ſhould prevail, the *Firſt* was to be fear- 'ed; if the Parliament, the *Second* was to 'be apprehended; and, if the Army ſhould 'ſet up for themſelves, as afterwards they did, 'the *Laſt* was inevitably to follow. All which 'ſome of the beſt Men about the King wiſely 'foreſaw, and trembled at the Event of every 'Battle that was fought, whoever happened 'to be the Victors. It was the Dread of theſe 'Misfortunes, that hindered the Lords and 'Commons, whom the King called to *Ox- 'ford*, to aſſume to themſelves the Name of 'the Parliament of *England*, and from de- 'claring thoſe met at *Weſtminſter* REBELS; 'though the King again and again impor- 'tuned them to it, and took their Refuſal ſo

* *Welwood*'s Memoirs, *p.* 67, *&c ſeq.*

'ill,

'ill, that, in one of his Letters to the Queen, 'he called them in Deriſion his *Mungrel Par-* '*liament.*'

Thus far Dr. *Welwood*. Let us now hear the Account the Earl of *Clarendon* gives of the Beginning of the Civil War *: 'The Rebel- 'lion of *Ireland*, ſays that noble Hiſtorian, 'which was highly detrimental to the King's 'Affairs that began to recover Life, broke 'out in all Parts of the Kingdom, during his 'Majeſty's Stay in *Scotland*, and made a won- 'derful Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, 'who were induced to believe, that it was in- 'fluenced by the Court; the Scandal of which 'Aſperſion ſtuck upon the Queen's Skirts. 'Some Time after, the King commanded his 'Attorney-General to accuſe the Lord *Kim-* '*bolton*, and five Commoners, of High-Tre- 'ſon; and, the next Day, his Majeſty, at- 'tended by his ordinary Guard and ſome few 'Gentlemen, came to the Houſe of Com- 'mons; and, commanding his Attendants to 'wait without, himſelf, with the Prince E- 'lector his Nephew, went into the Houſe, to 'the great Aſtoniſhment of all, to demand 'the impeached Members: But finding, as 'he ſaid, the Birds were all flown, he re- 'turned to *Whitehall*, and the Houſe, in 'great Diſorder, adjourned till the next Day. 'When the Lord *Digby*, the only Perſon that 'gave the Counſel, found the ill Succeſs of 'the Impeachment in both Houſes, he adviſed 'the King to go the next Morning to the '*Guildhall*, and acquaint the Mayor and Al- 'dermen of the Grounds of it. As he paſſed 'through the City, the rude People crouded 'together, crying out, "Privilege of Parlia- "ment, Privilege of Parliament." However, 'the King, though much mortified, purſued 'his Reſolution, and, having dined with one 'of the Sheriffs, he returned to *Whitehall*; 'and, the next Day, a Proclamation came 'forth, for the Apprehenſion of the accuſed 'Members, forbidding any Perſons to conceal, 'or entertain them. Theſe Proceedings of 'the King created a wonderful Change in the 'Minds of all Sorts of People; all the former 'Noiſe of Plots againſt the Parliament, which 'before had been laughed at, was now thought 'to be built upon good Grounds; and what 'hitherto had been only whiſpered of *Ireland*, 'was now talked aloud, and publiſhed in Print. 'They, who with the greateſt Courage had 'thwarted ſeditious Practices, were now con- 'founded with the Thoughts of what had been 'done, and what was like to follow. Though 'they were far from imagining the accuſed 'Members had been much wronged, yet they 'thought they had been called to an Account 'at a very unſeaſonable Time; and the Ex- 'poſing the Dignity and Safety of the King, 'in his Coming in Perſon, in that Manner, 'to the Houſe of Commons, and Going 'the next Day to the *Guildhall*, where he met 'with ſuch Reproaches to his Face, added to 'their Anger and Indignation: All which was 'juſtly charged upon the Lord *Digby*, who 'was before leſs beloved than he deſerved, 'and was now the moſt univerſally hated of 'any Man in the Nation; and yet continued 'in his Majeſty's Confidence.——When the 'King perceived how ill his Accuſation againſt 'the five Members ſucceeded, and that all, 'who expreſſed any ſignal Zeal to his Service, 'would be removed from him, under the No- 'tion of Delinquents, he reſolved the Queen 'ſhould remove to *Portſmouth*, and that himſelf 'would go to *Hull* (*where his Magazine lay*;) 'and that, being ſecured in thoſe Places of 'Strength, whither his Friends might reſort 'and be protected, he would ſit quiet, till the 'angry Party could be brought to Reaſon. 'But this Reſolution was diſcovered to the 'leading Members, who obtained Orders from 'the Parliament, for ſecuring *Hull* and *Portſ-* '*mouth*; for which Reaſon, and a Promiſe 'from ſeveral Lords, that they would vigo- 'rouſly unite to ſupport the Regal Power, to- 'gether with the extreme Fear the Queen had 'of Danger, that Counſel was laid aſide, and 'it was concluded the Queen ſhould tranſport 'herſelf to *Holland*, there to provide Arms and 'Ammunition; and the King retire to *York*, 'and liſten to no Particulars, till he knew how 'far the Alteration would extend. Hitherto 'the greateſt Acts of Hoſtility, excepting Sir '*John Hotham*'s Denying the King Entrance 'into *Hull*, were no more than Votes and 'Orders; but now the King ſaw he was ſo 'far from having *Hull* reſtored, that the Ga- 'riſon there increaſed daily, ſo that Sir *John* '*Hotham* was better able to take *York*, than 'his Majeſty to recover *Hull*; and therefore 'he thought it now high Time to follow their

* See *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

'Example, and put himſelf into a Poſture of 'Defence. Hereupon, ſuch Gentlemen, as 'were willing, liſted themſelves, by his Ma-'jeſty's Appointment, into a Troop of Horſe, 'of whom the Prince of *Wales* was made 'Captain; which, with one Regiment of 'Trained-Bands, was his Body-Guard. As 'ſoon as they heard at *London*, that the King 'actually had a Guard, theſe Votes were 'publiſhed by both Houſes: "That the King, "ſeduced by evil Counſellors, intended to "make War againſt the Parliament: That, "whenſoever he did ſo, it would be a Breach "of the Truſt repoſed in him, contrary to his "Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of the "Government: And that whoſoever ſhall "ſerve him, or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, were "Traytors, by the fundamental Laws of the "Kingdom, and had been ſo adjudged by "two Acts of Parliament, 2 *Rich.* II. and "1 *Hen.* IV." Theſe Votes were ſent to 'the King at *York*, with a Petition, that he 'would disband his new-raiſed Forces, and 'content himſelf with his ordinary Guard; 'otherwiſe they ſhould hold themſelves bound 'with their utmoſt Care to ſerve the Parlia-'ment, and ſecure the publick Peace.'

Upon the King's Denying their Demand, they began to provide for the Raiſing of an Army: And here the ſame noble Author thinks it not amiſs to conſider the Method of God's Juſtice, 'That the ſame Principles ſhould be 'uſed to the Extorting all ſovereign Power 'from the Crown, which the Crown had a 'little before uſed to extend its Authority be-'yond its Bounds, to the Prejudice of the juſt 'Rights of the Subject. A ſuppoſed Neceſſity 'was then thought Reaſon ſufficient to create 'a Power of Taxing the Subject, as they 'thought convenient, by Writs of *Ship-mo-'ney*, never known before; and a ſuppoſed 'Neceſſity is now more fatally concluded a 'good Plea to exclude the Crown from the 'Exerciſe of any Power, by an Ordinance of 'Parliament, *for Ordering the Militia*, never 'before heard of; and the ſame Maxim of '*Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, which had been 'uſed to break in upon the Liberty of the 'People, was applied for the Deſtroying the 'Rights of the Crown. The King (purſues 'our Author) conceiving the Rumours ſpread 'abroad might induce many to believe he in-'tended to raiſe a War againſt his Parliament, 'he profeſſed in Council, and ſaid, "He "declared to all the World, that he ever "had an Abhorrence to ſuch Deſigns; but "that all his Endeavours aimed at a ſure "Settlement of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the "juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty "of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Pro-"ſperity of this Kingdom." However, about 'this Time, the King, by the Advice of ſome 'eminent Judges and Lawyers, iſſued out a 'Declaration concerning the Militia, aſſerting 'the Right of the Crown in granting Com-'miſſions of Array for the better Government 'thereof, and diſpatched thoſe Commiſſions 'into all Counties, expreſly forbidding any 'Obedience to be paid to the Ordinance for 'the Militia by both Houſes, under the Penalty 'of High-Treaſon. This only exaſperated the 'Paper Combates in Declarations, each Party 'inſiſting the Law was on their Side; to which 'the People yielded Obedience, as they ſaw it 'for their Conveniency. Some Men, well-af-'fected to the Crown, and averſe to the extra-'vagant Carriage of the Houſe of Commons, 'could not conceal their Averſion to the Com-'miſſion of Array, as a Thing unwarrantable 'by Law; and many believed, if the King had 'applied himſelf to the old known Way of 'Lords Lieutenants, and their Deputies, it had 'been more beneficial to his Service; for the 'People, having never heard of a Commiſſion 'of Array, were eaſily blown up to a Jea-'louſy by the ſpecious Suggeſtions of the 'Houſes. Some Time after, the King made a 'vain Attempt upon *Hull*, and, upon his 'Return to *York*, found himſelf, by an Acci-'dent that fell out, under an abſolute Neceſ-'ſity of *Declaring War:* The Accident was, 'That Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portſ-'mouth*, had declared for his Majeſty, and 'refuſed to obey the Parliament; who had 'thereupon ſent Sir *William Waller*, with an 'Army under his Command, to reduce that 'Town. The King's Affairs received a con-'ſiderable Reputation, in that ſo important a 'Place as *Portſmouth*, and ſo good an Officer 'as *Goring* was returned to his Duty; where-'upon, he forthwith publiſhed a Declaration, 'in which he recited all the inſolent rebellious 'Actions of the two Houſes againſt him, for-'bidding all his Subjects to pay any Obedience 'to them; and at the ſame Time publiſhed 'his Proclamation, "requiring all Men, who "could bear Arms, to come to him at *Not-"tingham*, where he intended to ſet up his

"Royal

" Royal Standard; which all his good Sub-" jects were obliged to attend." Thus far the Earl of *Clarendon*. By all which Paſſages it appears, that, after reciprocal Provocations given, and many unwarrantable Things done on both Sides, two contending Parties, in the ſame Nation, roſe up in Arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and deſtroy the other; and what is this but a *Civil War?*

The Authors of the Libels publiſhed againſt Dr. *Kennet* are ſo unfair, as to ſuſpect the Praiſes he beſtows, in the firſt Page of his Sermon, upon King *Charles*, whom he ſincerely and juſtly calls 'the Martyr of the Day, and one 'of the moſt virtuous and moſt religious of 'our *Engliſh* Princes,' as if, thereby, he only intended to conveigh the deadly Poiſon more eaſily and effectually. But, to paſs over theſe malicious Slurs, let us proceed to the Vindication of the Doctor's general Poſitions; the firſt of which is, 'That a *French* Intereſt and 'Alliance was one of the leading Cauſes of 'the King's Murder.'

To prove this, Dr. *Kennet* juſtly * remarks, 'That there was that Frame and Conſtitution 'in our Anceſtors, that their true *Engliſh* 'Hearts had continually ſome ſecret Averſion 'and Antipathy to that neighbouring Nation; 'and that *England* and *France*, like *Rome* and '*Carthage*, ſtood always jealous and reviling 'one another. The old *Engliſh* Averſation, 'continues he, ſeems to have begun with the '*Norman* Conqueſt; when our good Fore-fa-'thers, then lately ſecured by the beſt Laws 'and Liberties in the World, were invaded 'and ſubdued by a Pretender from *France*; 'and they ſoon felt that foreign Yoke to be ſo 'hard and grievous, that they would gladly have 'ſhaken it off; but, the more Patience they 'were forced to, the more they hated thoſe 'inſolent new Lords and Maſters, calling often 'for their old Liberties and the Laws of King '*Edward*. This Anger, and Sort of Aver-'ſion to the *French*, did continue fixed and 'rooted in the Minds of our right *Engliſh* 'Forefathers; and it was this inbred Spirit of 'Emulation, that ſo often led our *Engliſh* 'Armies into the Bowels of *France*, and, in 'the Repriſals of Honour, conquered that 'Kingdom more than once, but never once 'more ſuffered this Kingdom to be conquered 'by the *French*.' To deny this would betray an abſolute Ignorance of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and therefore I ſhall not go about to illuſtrate it by Examples.

It is certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural Averſion, the *Engliſh* have to the *French*, but the Conformity in Religion with ſome of the latter; and it was only upon that Score, that the Nation was well-pleaſed with the ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, which Queen *Eliſabeth* yielded, from Time to Time, to the Reformed of *France*. And, by the Succours that politick Princeſs was all along ſending to the *United Provinces*, ſhe put an invincible Bar to the Progreſs *Spain* and *Rome* were then making towards Univerſal Empire, and kept the Balance of Power even between the two great Monarchies of *Europe*.

But the next Prince, † *James the Firſt*, did not tread in her Steps, while he governed: 'National, or the Proteſtant Intereſt was no 'where purſued; ſecret Negotiations were 'carried on with the Pope; the Proteſtants 'were not only oppreſſed in *Germany*, but re-'duced to the laſt Extremity; and beſieged in '*Montauban* by *Lewis the Thirteenth*, and in '*Rochelle* by Count *Soiſſons* and the Duke of '*Guiſe*; and all, that was done towards their 'Relief from hence, was by a Mediation car-'ried on without any Vigour: And, which 'gave the People dreadful Apprehenſions, '*Spain*, in thoſe Days, was ſtill formidable, 'and an Over-balance for all the reſt of *Eu-'rope*; whoſe Deſigns, inſtead of being op-'poſed, were promoted by *England*, and the 'King meanly courted an Alliance with his 'greateſt Enemy. The Fear of Univerſal 'Monarchy awakened the whole Kingdom, 'and brought on that Parliament, which was 'aſſembled in 1621; where very plain Re-'monſtrances were preſented to the Throne, 'ſetting forth the Dangers that threatened the 'Nation, who ſtill had a freſh Senſe of the 'Calamities their Anceſtors had ſuffered, un-'der the Reign of Queen *Mary*. But *Spaniſh* 'Gold had charmed our Court; and that Par-'liament was diſmiſſed in Anger, and ſeveral 'of the principal Members were impriſoned, 'who could not ſit ſilently and ſee their Country 'loſt. Thus this old Prince choſe rather to 'follow the Dictates of his own Will, and the 'pernicious Advice of his Favourites and Mi-'niſters, than the faithful and diſintereſted

* See his Sermon, *p.* 7.

† See *D'Avenant*'s Eſſay on Balance of Power, *p.* 8. *S.* 7.

'Counſel of his Parliaments, who addreſſed to 'him to arm, and to enter into ſuch Leagues 'as might oppoſe the Growth of the *Spaniſh* 'Monarchy: But he entertained ſecret Hopes, 'that ſo potent an Alliance, as that with *Spain* 'appeared to be, would make him more pow-'erful over his own People; and ſo, notwith-'ſtanding the Repreſentations of his Lords 'and Commons, in order to accompliſh this 'Match, he broke ſome of thoſe wholeſome 'and neceſſary Laws, made againſt *Papiſts*, 'which at laſt proved fatal to him and his 'Poſterity; for, by his rough Dealings with 'the Houſe of Commons, he then ſowed the 'Seed of that Diſcontent, which ended in the 'Ruin of his Son. The general Clamours of 'the People, and their Fear of the Power of '*Spain*, produced in that Reign another Par-'liament, which ſat in 1623, and then the '*Spaniſh* Match was broken off.'

Hereupon, the States General of the *United Provinces* recommended a *Proteſtant* Lady to King *James*; but that Prince, being reſolved to have the Daughter of a great King for his Son, did fatally turn his Eye to *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of *France*.

'The Marriage-Treaty was not ſo fair, 'ſmooth, and plauſible in the Progreſs, as in 'the Entrance: For the *French*, perceiving 'that King *James* deſired the Match unmea-'ſurably, abated of their Forwardneſs, en-'larged their Demands in Favour of the *Pa-'piſts*, as the *Spaniards* had done before; 'and ſtrained the King to the Conceſſion of 'ſuch Immunities, as he had promiſed to his 'Parliament he would never grant, upon the 'Mediation of foreign Princes*.' Cardinal *Richelieu*, who began to have the ſole Ma-nagement of the *French* King's Affairs, in Concert with *Spada*, the Pope's Nuncio, took all imaginable Precautions, by this Treaty, to advance the *Romiſh* Religion and Intereſt, hoping, as indeed it proved, that the Eccleſi-aſticks, the Queen was allowed to bring over with her, would propagate the *Popiſh* Faith; and that the Deſcendants of that Marriage, who were to be under the Tuition and Government of their Mother, till they came to the full Age of Thirteen, would by that Time have ſufficiently imbibed her Religion, and ſhould in Time ſit upon the *Engliſh* Throne; which the *Proteſtants* of this Kingdom felt to their Sorrow; for, of *Henrietta*'s two Sons †, who reigned after their Father ‡, one ‖ did all along ſecretly favour the *Roman* Catholicks, and, '§after a continued Diſſimulation, and a moſt 'ſcandalous Life,' died in that ** Perſuaſion; and the other ††, 'though not ſo diſſolute in 'his Manners, did not ſcruple to own his 'true Sentiments, and, notwithſtanding his 'ſolemn Promiſe to maintain the *Proteſtant* 'Religion, *by Law eſtabliſhed*, endeavoured 'by open Force to deſtroy it.'

The Concluſion of the Marriage-Treaty was attended, in *France*, with many outward and voluntary Expreſſions of Joy, as, Bonfires, and Illuminations; but it was only by expreſs Orders from the Privy-Council, that the like was done in *London:* For, as Dr. *Kennet* ſays very juſtly, 'our *Engliſh* People never could 'heartily approve any Royal Match into the 'Court of *France*; and, wherever any ſuch 'Match was entered into by our former Go-'vernors, it ſeems to have been againſt the 'Genius of our People, and therefore fatally 'againſt the Intereſt of theſe Princes.' He inſtances the two unfortunate Reigns of *Ed-ward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*, whoſe Marriages into that Court had the Conſequence of a calamitous Life, and an untimely Death, to theſe two Monarchs.

'There was ſomewhat of the like pernici-'ous Influence, adds Dr. *Kennet*, that work-'ed upon the Tragedy of this Day. Our 'Royal Martyr, by taking a Royal Conſort 'from the *Bourbon* Family, did apparently 'bring over ſome Evils and Miſchiefs that diſ-'turbed his whole Reign: For, within leſs 'than one Year, the *French* Servants of that 'Queen grew ſo imperious and inſolent, that 'the King was forced to diſcharge them, and 'to humble them by a Return into their own 'Country.'

'A very ſad Doom it was certainly to the '*French*, ſays one of our ‡‡ *Engliſh* Hiſtorians; 'but, as the Animadverſion was extreme ſe-'vere, ſo their Offences were in like Degree 'heinous. The Biſhop of *Mende*, the Queen's 'Almoner, ſtood charged for putting intole-'rable Scorn upon, and making Religion it-

'ſelf

* See *Ruſhworth*'s Collections, Vol. II. p. 52. † *Charles* and *James*. ‡ *Charles* I.
‖ *Charles* II. § See *Le Vaſſor* Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. ** *Popiſh*. †† *James* II.
‡‡ *H. L'Eſtrange* in his Reign of King *Charles* diſpoſed into Annals.

'ſelf do Penance, by enjoining her Majeſty, 'under the Notion of Penance, to go bare-'foot, to ſpin, and to wait upon her Family 'Servants at their ordinary Repaſts, to walk 'on Foot in the Mire on a rainy Morning, 'from *Somerſet-Houſe* to St. *James*'s; her 'Confeſſor, mean while, like *Lucifer* himſelf, 'riding by her in his Coach; but which is 'worſt of all, to make a Progreſs to *Tyburn*, 'there to preſent her Devotions for the de-'parted Souls of the *Papiſts*, who had been 'executed at that Place, on Account of the 'Gunpowder-Treaſon, and other enormous 'Crimes. A moſt impious Piaculary, whereof 'the King ſaid acutely, that the Action can 'have no greater Invective than the Relation. 'The other Sex were accuſed of Crimes of a-'nother Nature, whereof Madam St. *George* 'was, as in Dignity of Office, ſo in Guilt, 'the principal; culpable ſhe was in many Par-'ticulars, but her moſt notorious and unpar-'donable Fault was, her being an accurſed 'Inſtrument of ſome Unkindneſs between the 'King and Queen. Theſe Incendiaries once 'caſhired, the Queen, who formerly ſhewed ſo 'much waſpiſh Protervity, ſoon fell into a 'Mode of loving Compliance: But, though 'this *Renvoy* of her Majeſty's Servants im-'ported Domeſtick Peace, yet was it attended 'with an ill Aſpect from *France*, though our 'King, ſtudying to preſerve fair Correſpon-'dence with his Brother, ſent the Lord *Carle-'ton*, with Inſtructions to repreſent a true 'Account of the Action, with all the Motives 'to it; but his Reception was very coarſe, 'being never admitted to Audience. *Lewis* 'diſpatched Monſieur the Marſhal de *Baſſom-'pierre*, as extraordinary Ambaſſador to our 'King, to demand the Reſtitution of the 'Queen's Domeſticks; which he at laſt ob-'tained for moſt of them.'

'It * was this Match, adds Dr. *Kennet*, 'that began to corrupt our Nation with 'French Modes and Vanities; (which gave 'Occaſion to Mr. *Prynn*, to write that ſevere 'Invective, called *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, againſt the 'Stage-Plays) to betray our Counſels to the 'French Court; to weaken the poor *Proteſtants* 'in *France*, by rendering ineffectual the Re-'lief of *Rochelle*; nay, and to leſſen our own 'Trade and Navigation. Theſe ill Effects, 'beyond the King's Intention, raiſed ſuch a 'Jealouſy, and ſpread ſuch a Damp upon the '*Engliſh* Subjects, that it was unhappily turn-'ed into one of the unjuſt Occaſions of the 'Civil War: Which indeed began more out 'of Hatred to that Party, than out of any 'Diſaffection to the King. The People 'thought themſelves too much under *French* 'Counſels, and a *French* Miniſtry, or elſe, 'they could never have been drawn aſide into 'that great Rebellion. This Intereſt, when 'ſuſpected to prevail, brought the King into 'urgent Difficulties; and in the Midſt of them 'the Aid and Aſſiſtance, which that Intereſt 'offered him, did but the more effectually 'weaken him. On this Side the Water, the 'French Services betrayed him; and on the 'other Side, the *French* Policies were at Work 'to deſtroy him.

And indeed, as Queen *Henrietta* had a mighty, if not a ſupreme Influence over King *Charles*'s Counſels, ſo did her Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, who came over by her Invitation, adminiſter great Cauſe of Jealouſy to this Na-tion. 'The People (ſays the ſame † Hiſtori-'an I mentioned before) were generally Male-'content at her Coming, and wiſhed her far-'ther off. For they did not like her Train 'and Followers, which had often been obſer-'ved to be the Sword or Peſtilence, ſo that 'ſhe was beheld as ſome Meteor of ill Signi-'fication. Nor was one of theſe Calamities 'thought more the Effect of her Fortune than 'Inclination; for her reſtleſs and unconſtant 'Spirit was prone to embroil all whereſoever 'ſhe came. And beſides, as Queen *Henrietta* 'was extraordinary active in raiſing Money, 'among the *Roman* Catholicks of this King-'dom, to enable King *Charles* to make War 'againſt his Subjects of *Scotland*, ſo was ſhe 'extreme buſy in Fomenting the unhappy 'Differences between his Majeſty and his *Eng-'liſh* Parliament.'

'The *French*, ſays the Earl of *Clarendon* ‡, 'according to their Nature, were much more 'active and more intent upon blowing the 'Fire. The former Commotions in *Scotland* 'had been raiſed by the ſpecial Encouragement, 'if not Contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*;

* Dr. *Kennet*'s Sermon, Page 9 and 10.

† *H. L'Eſtrange*'s Annals of King *Charles*, Page 158.

‡ Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. Page [illegible] 73, 74.

'and

'and by his Activity all theſe Diſtempers were 'carried on till his Death, and by his Rules 'and Principles afterwards. Since the Be-'ginning of this Parliament (in 1640) the '*French* Ambaſſador, Monſieur *la Ferté*, diſ-'ſembled not to have notable Familiarity with 'thoſe who governed moſt in the two Houſes, 'diſcovered to them whatſoever he knew, or 'could reaſonably deviſe, to the Prejudice of 'the King's Counſels and Reſolutions; and 'took all Opportunities to leſſen and under-'value the King's Regal Power, by applying 'himſelf on publick Occaſions of State, and 'in his Majeſty's Name, and to improve his 'Intereſt to the two Houſes of Parliament, 'which had in no Age before been ever 'known.—— Beſides theſe indirect Artifices 'in the *French* Ambaſſador, very many of the '*Hugonots* in *France* were declared Enemies 'to the King: And, as this Animoſity proved 'of unſpeakable Inconvenience and Damage 'to the King, ſo the Occaſion, from whence 'theſe Diſaffections grew, was very impru-'dently adminiſtered by the State here. Not 'to ſpeak of the Buſineſs of *Rochelle*, which, 'though it ſtuck deep in all, yet moſt imput-'ed the Counſels of that Time to Men that 'were dead, and not to a fixed Deſign of the 'Court: They had a great Quarrel, which 'made them believe, that their very Religion 'was perſecuted by the Church of *England*. 'Queen *Eliſabeth*, finding and well-knowing 'what notable Uſes might be made of the '*French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, who, in the 'Time of King *Edward the Sixth*, tranſplant-'ed themſelves into *England*, enlarged their 'Privileges by new Conceſſions; drawing by 'this Means great Numbers over, and ſuffer-'ing them to enjoy the Exerciſe of the Reform-'ed Religion after their own Manner: And 'ſo they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canter-'bury*, and other Places, as well as in *London*; 'whereby the Wealth of thoſe Places marvel-'louſly increaſed. The ſame Charters of Li-'berty were continued to them, during the 'peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the 'Beginning of this King's Reign. Some few 'Years before theſe Troubles, when the Power 'of Church-men grew more tranſcendent, 'and indeed the Faculties and Underſtandings 'of Lay-Counſellors more dull, lazy, and un-'active, upon Pretence that the *French*, *Dutch*, 'and *Walloons* exceeded the Liberties which 'were granted to them, and that, under the 'Notion of Foreigners, many *Engliſh* ſepara-'ted from the Church, the Council-Board 'connived at, whilſt the Biſhops did ſome 'Acts of Reſtraint, with which theſe Con-'gregations grew generally diſcontented, and 'thought the Liberty of their Conſciences to 'be taken from them; which cauſed in *Lon-'don* much Complaining of this Kind, but 'much more in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, where 'Dr. *Wren*, the Biſhop there, paſſionately 'and warmly proceeded againſt them; ſo 'that many left the Kingdom, to the Leſſening 'the wealthy Manufacture there of Kerſeys 'and narrow Cloths.—— And, whereas in 'all former Times, the Ambaſſadors, and all 'Foreign Miniſters of State, employed from '*England*, into any Parts where the Reformed 'Religion was exerciſed, frequented their 'Churches, gave all poſſible Countenance to 'their Profeſſion, and particularly the Am-'baſſador *Lieger* at *Paris*, had diligently and 'conſtantly frequented the Church at *Charen-'ton*, and held a fair Intercourſe with thoſe of 'that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by 'which they had ſtill received Advantage. 'The Contrary to this was now with great 'Induſtry practiſed, and ſome Advertiſements, 'if not Inſtructions, given to the Ambaſſador 'there, to forbear any extraordinary Com-'merce with the Men of that Profeſſion. 'And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the laſt 'ordinary Ambaſſador there, before the Be-'ginning of this Parliament, not only decli-'ned Going to *Charenton*, but furniſhed his 'own Chapel with ſuch Ornaments as gave 'great Offence and Umbrage to thoſe of the 'Reformation there, who had not ſeen the 'like: Beſides that, he was careful to publiſh 'upon all Occaſions, that the Church of *Eng-'land* looked not on the *Hugonots* as a Part 'of their Communion: Which was likewiſe 'too much and too induſtriouſly diſcourſed at 'Home.—— They of the Church of *England*, 'who committed the greateſt Errors this 'Way, had undoubtedly not the leaſt 'Thoughts of making Alterations in it, to-'wards the Countenancing of *Popery*, as has 'been uncharitably conceived; but unſkilful-'ly believed, that the total Declining the In-'tereſt of that Party, where it exceeded the 'neceſſary Bounds of Reformation, would 'make this Church of *England* looked upon 'with more Reverence. And ſo the Church 'of *England*, not giving the ſame Countenance

'to

'to thoſe of the Religion in Foreign Parts, 'which it had formerly done, no ſooner was 'diſcerned to be under a Cloud at Home, but 'thoſe of the Religion Abroad were glad of 'the Occaſion, to publiſh their Malice againſt 'her, and to enter into the ſame Conſpiracy, 'againſt the Crown, without which they could 'have done little Hurt to the Church.

'Many tender Lovers of their Faith and 'Country, ſays Dr. *Kennet* *, might well de-'plore the Unhappineſs of that Alliance, with '*France*, which gave no ſmall Occaſion to the 'Calamity and the Curſe of this Day: For it 'was from thence, that did ariſe the Appre-'henſions and Fears of *Popery*. *Popery* that 'irreconcileable Enemy, not only to our Re-'formed Faith and Worſhip, but to our Civil 'Rights, Liberties and Properties, to our eſ-'tabliſhed Laws, and to our ſettled Conſtitu-'tion. It was for this wiſe and good Rea-'ſon, that our firſt Reformers would never 'bear with any expreſs Toleration of *Popery*, 'nor with any long Connivance at it. That 'excellent young *Joſiah*, King *Edward* VI, 'would not diſpenſe with his own Siſter to 'have publick Maſs in her own Family. 'Queen *Eliſabeth* indulged them no longer 'than while there were ſome Hopes to reclaim 'them. Her next Succeſſor, King *James*, 'was a Champion againſt *Popery*, and ſtrenu-'ouſly oppoſed it, both as a wiſe Governor, 'and a learned Writer; and this gave Peace 'and Happineſs to the greateſt Part of his Ad-'miniſtration: But, when toward the Decline 'of it, he fell into a Treaty for a Match 'with *Spain*, and, during that Treaty, did in 'a Manner ſuſpend the Laws againſt the *Pa-'piſts*, and gave his Subjects an Occaſion to 'believe, that one Article of that Match was 'to be a Toleration of *Popery*. This gave 'ſuch univerſal Jealouſy and Diſcontent to 'his People, and the Parliaments of them, 'that it threatened apparent Danger; and, if 'that Treaty had not broke off, and thereby 'eaſed the Minds of People, we know not 'what might have been in the End thereof. 'For certainly his Royal Son, the Martyr of 'this Day, might juſtly impute many of his 'Troubles to theſe Fears and Jealouſies of '*Popery*: And they really began with the '*French* Alliance, where one Article was to 'have a publick Chapel, and Prieſts and Maſs 'for the Queen and her Houſhold. This gave 'an Opportunity of open Reſort to all *Papiſts*, 'Foreigners and Natives; this gave Shelter 'and Protection to Swarms of *Jeſuits* and o-'ther Emiſſaries from *Rome*; This gained an 'Intereſt at Court for Pardons and for Pa-'tents of Profit and Preferment to the leading '*Roman* Cathólicks; this brought over one or 'two *Nuncio*'s from the *Pope*, to attend upon 'the Queen. In ſhort, this did give Counte-'nance to *Popery*; and therefore did caſt a 'Damp and Dread upon many ſincere *Prote-'ſtants*; and did put them into ſuch terrible 'Apprehenſions of the *Romans* coming to take 'away their Place and Nation, that this 'Strength of Fear too much began the Civil 'War, and helped to carry it forward to the 'innocent and ſacred Blood ſhed upon this 'Day.'

In all theſe, Dr. *Kennet* ſpeaks with the moſt authentick and faithful Hiſtorians: 'The '*Jeſuits*, *Seminary Prieſts*, and other *Recuſants*, 'ſays † *H. L'Eſtrange*, preſuming Protection, 'by Reaſon of the late Match, contracted ſo 'much Inſolence, that at *Wincheſter*, and ma-'ny other Places, they frequently paſſed through 'the Churches in Time of Divine Service, 'houting and ho-lo-ing, not only to the Diſ-'turbance of that Duty, but Scorn of our Re-'ligion; yea, and one *Popiſh* Lord, when the 'King was at Chapel, was heard to prate on 'Purpoſe louder, in a Gallery adjoining, than 'the Chaplain prayed, whereat the King was 'ſo moved, that he ſent this Meſſage to him: 'Either let him come and do as we do, or elſe 'I will make him prate farther off.'

In the Year 1627, a notable Diſcovery was made of a College of *Jeſuits* at *Clerkenwell*, of which the ſame ‡ Author gives us this Ac-count. 'The firſt Information was given by 'one *Croſſe*, a Meſſenger to Secretary *Coke*, 'whereupon he ſent the Sheriff to attack them; 'who, coming with a formidable Power, found 'all the holy Foxes retired, and ſneaked away; 'but, after long Search, their Place of Security 'was found out, it being a Lobby behind a 'new Brick-wall wainſcotted over; which 'being demoliſhed, they were preſently unken-'nelled, to the Number of Ten. They found 'alſo divers Letters from the *Pope* to them,

* Dr. *Kennet*'s Sermon, Page 11, 12, 13, 14.
† Annals of King *Charles*'s Reign, in the Year 1625, Page 19.
‡ Page 75.

impowering

'impowering them to erect this College, under 'the Name of *Domus Probationis* (but it pro- 'ved *Reprobationis*) *Sancti Ignatii*; and their 'Books of Accounts, whereby it appeared they 'had Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum* Contri- 'bution from their Benefactors, and had 'purchaſed Four-hundred and fifty Pounds, *per* 'Annum.'

Among their Papers, ſays * Mr. *Ruſhworth*, was found a Copy of a Letter written to their Father Rector at *Bruſſels*, diſcovering their Deſigns upon this State; of which I ſhall tranſcribe theſe remarkable Paſſages: 'Let 'not the Damp of Aſtoniſhment ſeize upon 'your ardent and zealous Souls, in the Appre- 'hending the ſudden Calling of a Parliament: 'We have not oppoſed, but rather furthered it. 'You muſt know, the Council is engaged to 'aſſiſt the King by Way of Prerogative, in 'Caſe the Parliamentary Way ſhould fail. 'You ſhall ſee this Parliament will reſemble 'the Pelican, which takes a Pleaſure to dig 'out with her Beak her own Bowels. The 'Election of Knights and Burgeſſes has been 'in ſuch Confuſion of apparent Faction, as 'that which we were wont to procure hereto- 'fore, with much Art and Induſtry (when the 'Spaniſh Match was in Treaty) now breaks 'out naturally, as a Botch or Boil, and ſpits 'and ſpews out its own Rancour and Venom. 'That great Stateſman, the Count of *Gundo- 'mar*, had but one principal Means to further 'his great and good Deſigns, which was to 'ſet on King *James*, that none but the *Puri- 'tan* Faction, which plotted Nothing but A- 'narchy, and his Confuſion, were averſe to 'this moſt happy Alliance and Union. We 'ſteered on the ſame Courſe, and have made 'great Uſe of this Anarchical Election, and 'have prejudicated and anticipated the great 'One, that none but the King's Enemies, and 'his, are choſen of this Parliament. We have 'now many Strings to our Bow, and have 'ſtrongly fortified our Faction, and have ad- 'ded two Bulwarks more. Now we have 'planted that Sovereign Drug *Arminianiſm*, 'which we hope will purge the *Proteſtants* 'from their Hereſy. The Materials, which 'build up our Bulwark, are the Projectors and 'Beggars of all Ranks and Qualities: Howſo- 'ever, both theſe Factions co-operate to de- 'ſtroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new 'Species and Form of Government, which 'is Oligarchy. Theſe ſerve as direct Mediums 'and Inſtruments to our End, which is the 'Univerſal Catholick Monarchy. Our Foun- 'dation muſt be Mutation, and Mutation will 'cauſe a Relaxation, which will ſerve as ſo ma- 'ny violent Diſeaſes, to the ſpeedy Deſtructi- 'on of our perpetual and inſufferable Anguiſh 'of Body. The *Arminians* and Projectors af- 'fect Mutation: This we ſecond, and inforce 'by probable Arguments. In the *firſt* Place, 'we take into Conſideration the King's Ho- 'nour, and preſent Neceſſity; and we ſhew 'how the King may free himſelf of his Ward, 'as *Lewis the Eleventh* did. And for his great 'Splendor and Luſtre he may raiſe a vaſt Reve- 'nue, and not be beholden to his Subjects, 'which is by Way of Impoſition of Exciſe. 'Then our Church *Catholicks* proceed to ſhew 'the Means how to ſettle this Exciſe, which 'muſt be by a mercenary Army of Horſe and 'Foot. For the Horſe we have made that ſure; 'they ſhall be Foreigners and *Germans*, who 'will eat up the King's Revenues, and ſpoil 'the Country, though they ſhould be well 'paid. In forming the Exciſe, the Country 'is moſt likely to riſe; if the mercenary 'Army ſubjugate the Country, then the Sol- 'diers and Projectors ſhall be paid out of the 'Confiſcations; if the Country be too hard for 'the Soldiers, then they muſt conſequently 'mutiny, which is equally advantageous to 'us; our ſuperlative Deſign is, to work the 'Proteſtants as well as the *Roman Catholicks* to 'welcome in a Conqueror.'

All this is confirmed by the Teſtimony of 'the Earl of *Clarendon*: 'The *Papiſts* †, ſays 'that illuſtrious Hiſtorian, who had for many 'Years enjoyed a great Calm, grew unthrifty 'Managers of their Proſperity: They appear- 'ed more publickly; entertained and forced 'Conference more avowedly, than had been 'known before. They were known not on- 'ly ſecret Authors, but open Promoters of 'the moſt grievous Projects. The Prieſts had 'forgot their former Modeſty and Fear, and 'were as willing to be known, as liſtened to: 'Inſomuch as a Jeſuit at *Paris*, deſigning for 'England, had the Impudence to viſit the Am- 'baſſador there, and offering his Service, ac-

* *Ruſhworth*'s Collections, Part [illegible] Page 474.

† Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Part I. Book II.

quainted

'quainted him with his intended Journey, as 'if there had been no Laws for his Reception. 'And, ſhamefully to countenance the whole 'Party, an Agent from *Rome* reſided at *Lon-* 'don in great State. They had publickly col- 'lected Money to a conſiderable Sum, to be 'by the Queen preſented, as a free Gift from 'his Catholick Subjects to the King, towards 'Carrying on the War againſt the *Scots*, which 'drew upon them the Rage of that Nation: 'In a Word, they behaved themſelves ſo, as 'if they had been ſuborned by the *Scots*, to 'deſtroy their own Religion.

Let us now liſten to a Foreign * Hiſtorian, who has publiſhed his Revolutions of *England*, with the particular Approbation of the late King *James*, and who, being a *Jeſuit*, cannot be ſuſpected of Partiality to the *Proteſtants*. 'The '*Scots*, ſays he, finding themſelves ſo ſtrongly 'ſupported, had no ſooner received an An- 'ſwer from the Court, than there aroſe a thou- 'ſand confuſed Voices, crying out that all was 'loſt; that the King, not contented with ha- 'ving taken away from the two Nations both 'their Liberties and Goods, deſigned to lay a 'Yoke on their Conſciences, and make an 'abſolute Change in Religion. Theſe Com- 'plaints had not moved the Generality of 'People, nor rendered the Government ſuf- 'ficiently odious, according to the Wiſhes of 'the Diſcontented, had it not been inſinuated 'beſides, that the King made great Advances 'to *Popery*, and reſolved to make his Subjects 'embrace it. Nothing was more falſe than 'this Report. *Charles* was a *Proteſtant* by 'Inclination, and never loved the *Roman* '*Catholicks*; but that very Report, tho' falſe, 'had ſuch Appearances of Truth, as made it 'eaſily believed. We muſt do the Queen 'the Juſtice to ſay, that ſhe had, during all 'her Life, a true Zeal for the Reſtoration of 'the Catholick Faith in *England*, and for the 'Honour of the King her Huſband: But it 'cannot be denied, that ſometimes ſhe prac- 'tiſed that Zeal with ſomewhat more Impe- 'rioufneſs, than the Time allowed. Acted 'by that Spirit, which reſults from the Blood 'of thoſe abſolute Monarchs, of whom their 'Subjects require no other Reaſon for 'their Commands, than their Will, ſhe did 'not ſufficiently conſider, that ſhe reigned in 'a Country, where the moſt ſolid Reaſons 'are not always able to make the People fol- 'low the Opinion of thoſe who govern them. 'So limited an Authority, and which muſt be 'managed with Art, was looked on by the 'Queen as a Slavery, from which ſhe uſed all 'her Endeavours to free the King her Huſ- 'band and herſelf. Therefore, without much 'regarding the Nicety of the Nation, ſhe had 'conſtantly near her a Nuncio from the Pope, 'of whoſe Character and Functions none at 'Court were ignorant. She entertained an 'open Correſpondence with the *Popiſh* Lords; 'ſhe loudly, and ſometimes roughly, made 'herſelf a Party in any Thing wherein the '*Romiſh* Church was concerned; and having 'with her a great Number of Eccleſiaſticks, 'who had been reſtored to her by the Peace, 'and who, ſome of them, had more Piety than 'Prudence, ſhe had frequent Diſputes with 'the moſt zealous *Proteſtants*, wherein the 'King, who loved her tenderly, indulged her 'Humour, and even took her Part, when 'ſhe deſired it of him. This Conduct of '*Charles*, in Relation to his Queen, had alrea- 'dy made him ſuſpected of not being too good 'a *Proteſtant*, whatever he did to appear ſuch, 'when the Zeal he ſhewed for the Underta- 'king of Archbiſhop *Laud*, *viz.* the Introdu- 'cing the *Engliſh* Liturgy in *Scotland*, increaſing 'that Suſpicion, gave Occaſion to his Ene- 'mies to publiſh, that he was a *Roman Catho-* '*lick*, and that, in Concert with that Prelate, he 'made it his Buſineſs to reconcile *England* to 'the See of *Rome*. The Conduct of *Laud* was 'ſuch as made theſe Suſpicions probable: For 'tho' every Body agrees now, that, like the 'King his Maſter, he was a zealous Stickler 'for the *Proteſtant* Sect, yet there was then 'Reaſon not to think ſo of him, by the Fond- 'neſs that Prelate had for Ceremonies; by 'the Advice he gave to young Students, to 'read the Fathers, rather than the *Proteſtant* 'Divines; by his Denial to admit the Deci- 'ſions of the Synod of *Dort*; and much 'more than all this, by the Conduct of the 'Earl of *Strafford*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ire-* '*land*, his intimate Friend, and Confident of 'all his Deſigns. —— That Prelate had pro- 'cured him the Government of *Ireland*, in 'Hopes he ſhould ſecond his Projects; and 'that Lord, wiſely foreſeeing that *Laud* would 'raiſe all the *Preſbyterians* againſt the King,

* Father *D'Orleans*, his Revolutions of *England*. Vol. III. pag. 29.

'raiſed an Army in that Iſland, to maintain 'the Royal Authority; and though he was 'a *Proteſtant*, as well as his Maſter and Friend, 'he had done the *Roman Catholicks* the Ho-'nour to believe them better affected to their 'Prince, than the reſt: And therefore had 'compoſed his Army of them.

What the *Jeſuit* advances concerning Archbiſhop *Laud*, may be further illuſtrated by what Dr. *Welwood* ſays * of that Prelate, 'That 'ſcarce any Age has produced a Man, whoſe 'Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxi-'ious to Obloquy, or given greater Occaſion 'for it. There was, adds the Doctor, one 'Thread that run through his whole Accuſa-'tion, and upon which moſt of the Articles 'of his Impeachment turned: And that was, 'his Inclination to *Popery*, and his Deſign to 'introduce the *Romiſh* Religion: Of which 'his immortal Book againſt *Fiſher*, and his 'Declaration at his Death, do ſufficiently ac-'quit him. And yet not *Proteſtants* only, 'but even *Roman Catholicks* themſelves were 'led into this Miſtake; otherwiſe they would 'not have dared to offer one in his Poſt a 'Cardinal's Cup, as he confeſſes in his Diary 'they did twice. The Introduction of a 'great many pompous Ceremonies into the 'Church; the Licenſing ſome Books that 'ſpoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and 'the Refuſing to licenſe others that were writ 'againſt it, were the principal Cauſes of his 'being thus miſrepreſented: And, indeed, his 'Behaviour in ſome of theſe Matters, as like-'wiſe in the Star-chamber, and High-Com-'miſſion-Court, can hardly be accounted for, 'and particularly his Theatrical Manner of 'conſecrating *Catharine Creed Church*, in *Lon-'don*; which is related at Length by Mr. '*Ruſhworth*, in the Second Part of his Hiſtori-'cal Collections, Vol. I. p. 72.

By all theſe it plainly appears, that the Doubts and Fears of *Popery* were not groundleſs, and according to Dr. *Kennet*'s Aſſertion, 'That they loſt an orthodox and moſt regu-'lar Prince the Hearts of too many of his 'People; and almoſt robbed him of the next 'valuable Bleſſing, his Good-Name. For, 'upon his tender Compliance with his intirely beloved Royal Conſort, his Enemies took 'Advantage to miſrepreſent him for a *Papiſt*; 'though this was a Calumny falſe and mali-'cious.'

In the *Third* Place, † Dr. *Kennet* mentions the Jealouſies, the Thoughts and Dread of Oppreſſion and illegal Power, among the leading Cauſes of the King's Murder: For, as he wiſely remarks, 'Tyranny and Oppreſſion ſeem in 'their Nature made to hate, and, yet to help 'forward one another. And former Princes 'did rarely infringe the Charter of Publick 'Liberties, without hurting themſelves, and 'leaving a Wound upon Monarchy itſelf. For 'the leaſt Attempts towards Slavery and ex-'orbitant Power raiſed up the Appearance 'of a Yoke, that our Forefathers were not a-'ble to bear, and we are their Off-ſpring. 'Doctor *Kennet* is far from thinking, that 'King *Charles* ever propoſed to injure the 'Birth-right of his Subjects: But adds he, 'how happy had it been for the Peace of that 'Reign, if even Doubts and Suſpicions had 'been wanting, if the Body of a good-natu-'red *Engliſh* People had but thought them-'ſelves ſecure in their legal Rights and Te-'nures, for then they could never have been 'ſeduced into that unnatural Rebellion. They 'muſt of Neceſſity firſt believe, that their Li-'berties and Eſtates were in ſome Danger, and, 'under that Proſpect and Perſuaſion, they 'muſt have been drawn in, for the Meaning, 'at leaſt, of Self-preſervation. How happy, 'if no Tonnage or Cuſtoms had been exacted, 'without a Bill to be eaſily obtained for them! 'If no Awing into Loans and Benevolence, if 'no Projecting extraordinary Supplies, with-'out the readier Aid of Parliament; and 'eſpecially if no Levying of Ship-money to the 'Surpriſe and Burthen of the People, who 'never had a Notion of Taxes, but as of Mo-'ney given by their own Conſent! Theſe 'Hardſhips (to call them by that Name only) 'did ſerve to exaſperate the Minds of the 'People, and did prepare them by Degrees to 'be led out firſt in Riots and Tumults, and 'then in Troops and Armies, againſt their 'lawful Sovereign. And though it is certain, 'that the King himſelf did not haſtily con-'trive or command any of thoſe hard Mea-'ſures; but he had his Miniſters to propoſe 'them, and his very Judges to approve them; 'yet, good Prince, he anſwered for the Ac-

* *Welwood*'s Memoirs, p. 61. † See his Sermon, p. 15. *& ſeq.*

'count,

'count, and at the Foot of it, with invinci-
'ble Patience paid down his Royalty and his
'Life.'

In all this the Reverend Divine ſpeaks with the moſt faithful and impartial Hiſtorians. In this perplexed Difficulty, ſays * one of theſe: 'At length his Council agreed to ſet that great 'Engine his Prerogative on Work: Many 'Projects were hammered on that Forge, but 'that, which the Council ſtuck cloſeſt to, was 'the Iſſuing of a Commiſſion, dated the Thir-'teenth of *October* 1626, for Raiſing of almoſt 'Two-hundred Thouſand Pounds by Way of 'Loan; and, the more to expedite this Levy, 'the Commiſſioners were inſtructed to repre-'ſent to the Subjects the deplorable Eſtate of '*Rochelle*. Theſe were plauſible Inſinuations: 'But all would not ſmooth the Aſperity of 'this illegal Tax; *Rochelle* and all other foreign 'Conſiderations muſt ſtand by, when inbred 'Liberty is diſputed; ſo that the almoſt Moiety 'of the Kingdom oppoſed it to Durance. Up-'on this Account of Refuſal, Priſoners, ſome 'of the Nobility, and moſt of the prime Gen-'try, were daily brought in by Scores; I 'might almoſt ſay by Counties, ſo that the 'Council-Table had almoſt as much Work to 'provide Priſons, as to ſupply the King's Ne-'ceſſities.' "The Aſſeſſment of the general "Loan, ſays † Mr. *Ruſhworth*, did not paſs "currently with the People; for ſome Per-"ſons abſolutely refuſed to ſubſcribe their "Names, or to ſay, they were willing to lend, "if able. Whereupon the Council directed "their Warrant to the Commiſſioners of the "Navy, to impreſs thoſe Men to ſerve in the "Ships ready to go out in his Majeſty's Ser-"vice. ——— The Non-ſubſcribers of high "Rank and Right, in all the Counties, were "bound over by Recogniſance, to tender "their Appearance, at the Council-Table, "and performed the ſame accordingly, and "divers of them were committed to Priſon; "but the common Sort to appear in the Mi-"litary Yard near St. *Martin's in the Fields*; "before the Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *Lon-"don*, by him to be there enrolled among the "Companies of Soldiers; that they, who re-"fuſed to aſſiſt with their Purſes, ſhould ſerve "in their Perſons." 'Among the reſt ‡, 'Sir *Peter Hayman*, refuſing to part with 'Loan-money, was called before the Lords of 'the Council, and commanded to go into his 'Majeſty's Service into the *Palatinate*.

'Among other Means of raiſing Money, 'ſays Dr. *Welwood* ‖, that of Loan was fallen 'upon; which met with great Difficulties, 'and was generally taken to be illegal. One '*Sibthorp*, an obſcure Perſon, in a Sermon 'preached at the Aſſizes at *Northampton*, 'would make his Court by aſſerting not only 'the Lawfulneſs of this Way of impoſing 'Money by Loan, but that it was the indiſ-'penſable Duty of the Subject to comply 'with it. At the ſame Time Dr. *Manwa-'ring*, another Divine, preached two Sermons 'before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he 'advanced theſe Doctrines, *viz.* "That the "King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of "the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights "and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and "Command, in impoſing Loans and Taxes "without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige "the Subject's Conſcience, upon Pain of e-"ternal Damnation. That thoſe, who refu-"ſed to pay this Loan, did offend againſt "the Law of God, and became guilty of Im-"piety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion. And that "the Authority of Parliaments is not neceſſa-"ry for Raiſing of Aids and Subſidies."

'Every Body knew that *Abbot* was a-'verſe to ſuch Doctrines: And, to ſeek an 'Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, 'with a Dedication to the King, was ſent him 'by Order of his Majeſty to licenſe. *Abbot* 'refuſed, and gave his Reaſons in Writing; 'which Biſhop *Laud* anſwered, and with his 'own Hand licenſed both *Sibthorp*'s and *Man-'waring*'s Sermons. Upon this Archbiſhop '*Abbot* was confined to his Country Houſe, 'and ſuſpended from his Function; the 'Adminiſtration of which was committed to 'Biſhop *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recom-'mendation.'

How happy had it been for King *Charles*, if, in his Time, inſtead of ſuch Divines as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, none had aſcend-ed the Pulpits, but Men of the Principles of Dr. *Kennet*, who has a right Notion of our '*Engliſh* Conſtitution; 'which, if carefully pre-'ſerved, holds out in the moſt regular Health 'and Safety; but, if once put out of Order, 'it is hard to ſet right again!"

* *H. L'Eſtrange*'s Reign of King *Charles*, p. 63, 64. † Hiſtorical Collections, p. 1. Vol. I. p. 422.
‡ *Ib.* pag. 431. ‖ *Welwood*'s Memoirs, p. [illegible]

Let us now attend how the Earl of *Clarendon* relates * the Grievances and Oppreſſion of this Reign: 'The Proclamation, ſays he, iſſued out at the Diſſolution of the ſecond Parliament, afflicted many good Men ſo far, 'that it laid their Ears open to the Inſinuations of thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to 'infuſe an ill Opinion into Men, that by it 'the King declared, he really intended we 'ſhould have no more Parliaments; and, the 'Danger of ſuch an Inquiſition being by this 'Notion removed, ill Men were not only encouraged to all Licenſe, but even thoſe who 'had no Propenſity to Ill, imagining themſelves above the Reach of ordinary Juſtice, 'learned by Degrees to look on that as no 'Fault, which was like to find no Puniſhment. Proviſional Acts of State were formed to ſupply Defect of Laws; ſo Tonnage 'and Poundage, which had abſolutely been 'refuſed to be ſettled by Parliament, were collected upon Merchandiſe by Order of the 'Council-Board; antiquated Laws were revived, and with Rigour executed; — The 'Law of Knighthood, which, tho' founded 'in Right, was in the Method of its Execution very grievous; the Laws of the Foreſt, 'by Virtue of which, not only great Fines 'were impoſed, but yearly Rents deſigned, 'and like to have been ſettled by Contract; 'and *laſtly*, for an everlaſting Supply upon all 'Occaſions, a Writ directed in Form of Law 'to the Sheriff of every County in *England*, 'to ſend a Ship amply provided for the King's 'Service; and with an Inſtruction, that, inſtead of a Ship, ſuch a Sum of Money ſhould 'be levied upon each County; with Directions, how thoſe that were refractory ſhould 'be proceeded againſt, from whence that Tax 'was called *Ship-Money*, were not the only *unjuſt*, *ſcandalous*, and *ridiculous Projects* at 'that Time ſet on Foot. ——— And here 'the Uſe the Judges were put to in this, and 'like Acts of Power, redound much to the 'Miſchief and Damage of the Crown and 'State, in whoſe Integrity and Innocence the 'Dignity of the Laws mainly reſided; the 'Myſteries of which; when they had meaſured by the Standard of what they called 'General Reaſon, and explained by the Wiſdom of State, they juſtly deſerved that Irreverence and Scorn, with which the Houſe 'of Peers afterward uſed them.

'Though the Nation, in general, bore no 'Ill-will to the Church, either in the Point 'of Doctrine or Diſcipline, yet were they 'jealous that *Popery* was not ſufficiently diſcouraged, and were eaſily perſuaded to believe any Thing they had not been uſed to, 'and which they called *Innovation*, was admitted purely to pleaſe the *Papiſts*. The Archbiſhop † had all his Life-time vigorouſly oppoſed *Calvin*'s Doctrine, and thereupon his 'Enemies called him a *Papiſt*. —— He retained, when he came into Authority, too 'ſharp a Memory of thoſe by whom he had 'been perſecuted; and was but too guilty 'himſelf of the ſame Paſſion he complained of 'in his Adverſaries; that, as they accuſed him 'of *Popery*, for maintaining ſome Doctrinal 'Points they diſliked, ſo he looked on ſome 'Perſons as Enemies to the Diſcipline of the 'Church, becauſe they agreed with *Calvin* in 'ſome Points of Doctrine. He was a Man of 'great Courage and Reſolution, and reſolved 'to make the Diſcipline of the Church felt, 'as well as ſpoken of, applying it without any 'Reſpect of Perſons, as much to the greateſt, 'as meaneſt Offenders. There were three 'Perſons, *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, moſt 'notorious for their avowed Malice to the 'Government of the Church, which in their 'ſeveral Writings they had publiſhed: One of 'them was a Divine, the other a common 'Lawyer, and the third a Doctor of Phyſick; 'and, though neither of them had any Intereſt or Eſteem with the worthy Part of their 'ſeveral Profeſſions, yet, when they were all 'ſentenced and expoſed like common Rogues 'upon Scaffolds, to have their Ears cut off, 'and their Faces and Foreheads branded with 'red-hot Irons, Men began no longer to conſider their Manners, but the Men, and each 'Profeſſion imagined their Education, Degree and Quality, had raiſed them above the 'Reach of ſuch infamous Judgments, and 'treaſured up Wrath for the Time to come.

'The Convocation, ſays the ſame Author 'in another Place ‡, was, after the Diſſolution 'of the laſt Parliament, continued by a new 'Writ, and ſat under the proper Name of a 'Synod; made Canons, which Men thought 'it might do, and gave Subſidies, and enjoined 'Oaths, which, without Doubt, it could not 'do; in a Word, did ſeveral Things, which, 'in the beſt of Times, might have been queſtioned,

* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Part I. Book I.

† *Laud*.

‡ Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Book II.

'ſtioned, and were therefore certain to be condemned in the Worſt; and drew the ſame Prejudice upon the whole Body, to which only ſome particular Clergymen were before expoſed.

'The High-Commiſſion-Court was erected in the firſt Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*, and was of great Uſe for the maintaining the Peace and Dignity of the Church, whilſt it was exerciſed with Moderation. But, of late, the great Power of ſome Biſhops at Court had made it overflow its Banks, and and thereupon gained it many Enemies.—— The Star-Chamber-Court was of late grown ſo exorbitant, that there were few Perſons, who had not ſuffered by it. For they had enlarged their Juriſdiction, from the Cogniſance of Riot, Perjury, and the moſt notorious Miſdemeanors, to the Vindicating all Proclamations and Orders of State, to the Maintaining illegal Commiſſions and Grants of Monopolies, ſo that no Man was free from the Laſh of it, any longer than he reſolved to ſubmit to thoſe, and ſuch like extraordinary Courſes.

Fourthly, among the Cauſes that conſpired in the Murder of King *Charles the Firſt**, 'Dr. *Kennet* mentions the Growth of Immorality and Prophaneneſs, which were unhappily objected to the Reign of this Prince, though he was himſelf a very devout and conſcientious Prince. And really, adds that Reverend Divine, it was no Wonder, if, under the Covert of *Popery*, a Spirit of Prophaneneſs did more ſenſibly obtain. It is not Want of Charity to ſay, what we ſee with our Eyes, that the Principles of *Popery* are adapted to a Looſeneſs in Morals; and that therefore the general Practice of the Members of that Church is ſtrict in nothing but little outward Obſervations. We are not to believe all the Complaints that ſerious Perſons made of the Diſſoluteneſs of the King's Army at that Time. It was a juſter Objection†, that the Prophaneneſs of the *Engliſh* Stage began then to be more ſcandalous, than it had been in former Times. So very ſcandalous, that, in pure Indignation, a learned Tract was written againſt this growing Evil, or, as in its own Title, againſt the intolerable Miſchiefs and Abuſes of common Plays and Play-houſes. But this Reproof of Impiety did ſo offend the *French* Party, and made them ſo incenſe the Queen, that the Author Mr. *Prynne* was proſecuted and ſtigmatiſed for it, with a Severity that was thought to be cruel.'

All this is confirmed by the Teſtimonies of Hiſtorians: 'In the Year 1618, ſays *H. L'Eſtrange* (in his Annals ‡ of King *Charles*'s Reign) King *James* publiſhed a Declaration, tolerating Sports on the Lord's Day, called *Sunday*. This Declaration then cauſed ſo many impetuous Clamours againſt it, as it was ſoon after called in: And was, this *October* (1633) revived and ratified by King *Charles*. The expreſs Deſign of this was, to reſtore the Feaſts and Dedications of Churches, commonly called *Wakes*, to their ancient Solemnity, and to allow the Uſe of lawful Paſtimes in the lower Row upon that Day. It was alſo argued in Favour of it, that there was in the Kingdom a potent Tendency in many to *Judaiſm*, occaſioned by the dangerous Doctrine of ſeveral *Puritans*, eſpecially of one *Theophilus Brabourn*, an obſcure and ignorant School-maſter, aſſerting the perpetual and indiſpenſable Morality of the *Sabbath* of the Fourth Commandment. Again, in others no ſmall Inclination to *Popery*, occaſioned by the Rigour and Strictneſs of *Sabbatharian* Miniſters, in denying People Recreations on the *Sunday*. But all theſe plauſible Inſinuations operated little to a welcome Entertainment: Nor was there any one Royal Edict, during all King *Charles*'s Reign, reſented with equal Regret. The Fault was leaſt his Majeſty's, and not only ill Counſel, but ill Cuſtom was to blame: For, too true it is, the Divinity of the Lord's Day was then new Divinity at Court, where the publick Aſſemblies once over, the Indulgence of ſecular Employment and Recreations was thought ſo little Diſſervice to God, as not only Civil Affairs were uſually debated at the Council-Table, but alſo Repreſentations of Maſques were rarely on no other than *Sabbath* Nights: And all this fomented by both Doctrine and Practice of Men very eminent in the Church; which ſeemed the greater Prodigy, that Men, who ſo eagerly cried up their own Orders, and'

* See his Sermon, p. 22, 23. † Hiſt. *Maſtix*, 163[illegible] ‡ *p.* 128, 129.

'Revenues,

'Revenues, for Divine, ſhould ſo much de-
'cry the Lord's Day for being ſuch, when
'they had no other Exiſtence, than in Rela-
'tion to this.

'Prophaneneſs, ſays * another Author, too
'much abounded every where: Luxury in
'Diet, and Exceſs, both in Meat and Drink,
'was crept into the Kingdom in an high De-
'gree, not only in the Quantity, but in the
'wanton Curioſity. And, in the Abuſe of
'thoſe good Creatures which God had be-
'ſtowed upon this plentiful Land, they mixed
'the Vices of divers Nations, catching at
'every Thing that was new and foreign.
'As much Pride and Exceſs was in Apparel,
'almoſt among all Degrees of People, in new
'fangled and various faſhioned Attire; they
'not only imitated, but excelled, their fo-
'reign Patterns, and, in fantaſtical Geſtures
'and Behaviours, the Petulances of moſt
'Nations in *Europe*.

'The Clergy, ſays † the ſame Writer,
'were wholly taken up in Admiration of the
'King's happy Government, which they ne-
'ver concealed from himſelf, as the Pulpit
'gave them Acceſs to his Ear; and not only
'there, but at all Meetings, they diſcourſed
'with Joy upon that Theme; affirming con-
'fidently, that no Prince in *Europe* was ſo
'great a Friend to the Church as King
'*Charles*; that Religion flouriſhed no where
'but in *England*; and no Reformed Church
'retained the Face and Dignity of a Church
'but that: Many of them uſed to deliver
'their Opinion, that God had therefore ſe-
'verely puniſhed the *Palatinate*, becauſe their
'Sacrilege had been ſo great in taking away
'the Endowments of Biſhopricks. Queen
'*Eliſabeth* herſelf, who had reformed Reli-
'gion, was but coldly praiſed, and all her
'Virtues forgotten, when they remembered
'how ſhe cut ſhort the Biſhoprick of *Ely*.
'*Henry the Eighth* was much condemned by
'them, for ſeizing upon the Abbies, and ta-
'king ſo much out of the ſeveral Biſhopricks.
'To maintain therefore that Splendor of a
'Church, which ſo much pleaſed them, was
'become their higheſt Endeavour, eſpecially
'after they had gotten, in the Year 1633,
'an Archbiſhop after their own Heart, Dr.
'*Laud*. Not only the Pomp of Ceremonies
'was daily increaſed, and Innovations of great
'Scandal brought into the Church; but, in
'Point of Doctrine, many fair Approaches
'were made towards *Rome*; as he, that
'pleaſes to ſearch, may find in the Books of
'Biſhop *Laud*, *Montague*, *Heylyn*, *Pockling-*
'*ton*, and the reſt. And, as their Friendſhip
'to *Rome* increaſed, ſo did their Scorn to the
'Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; whom,
'inſtead of ſending that Relief and Succour to
'them, which God had enabled this rich
'Iſland to do, they failed in their greateſt Ex-
'tremities, and, inſtead of Harbours, became
'Rocks to ſplit them. Archbiſhop *Laud*, who
'was now grown into great Favour with
'the King, made Uſe of it eſpecially to ad-
'vance the Pomp and temporal Honours of
'the Clergy, procuring the Lord Treaſurer's
'Place for Doctor *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*;
'and endeavouring, as the general Report
'went, to fix the greateſt temporal Prefer-
'ments upon others of that Coat: Inſomuch
'as the People merrily, when they ſaw that
'Treaſurer, with the other Biſhops riding to
'*Weſtminſter*, called it the *Church Trium-*
'*phant*. Doctors, and Parſons of Pariſhes,
'were made every where Juſtices of Peace, to
'the great Grievance of the Country in Ci-
'vil Affairs, and Depriving them of their ſpi-
'ritual Edification. The Archbiſhop, by the
'ſame Means which he uſed to preſerve his Cler-
'gy from Contempt, expoſed them to Envy;
'and, as the Wiſeſt could then propheſy, to a
'more than Probability of loſing all: As we
'read of ſome Men, who, being foredoomed
'by an Oracle to a bad Fortune, have run in-
'to it by the ſame Means they uſed to pre-
'vent it. The like unhappy Courſe did the
'Clergy then take to depreſs *Puritaniſm*,
'which was to ſet up Irreligion itſelf againſt
'it, the worſt Weapon which they could have
'choſen to beat it down; which appeared
'eſpecially in Point of keeping the Lord's
'Day; when not only Books were written to
'ſhake the Morality of it, as that of *Sunday*
'*no Sabbath*, but Sports and Paſtimes of Jol-
'lity and Lightneſs permitted to the Country
'People, upon that Day, by publick Autho-
'rity, and the Warrant commanded to be
'read in Churches; which, inſtead of pro-
'ducing the intended Effect, may credibly be

* *May*'s Hiſtory of the Parliament of *England*. *Book* I. *p.* 19.

† *Book* I. *p.* 22, 23, 24.

thought

'thought to have been one Motive to a ſtricter 'Obſervance of that Day; and many Men, 'who had before been looſe and careleſs, be-'gan, upon that Occaſion, to enter into a more 'ſerious Conſideration of it, and were aſhamed 'to be invited, by the Authority of Church-'men, to that which themſelves, at the beſt, 'could but have pardoned in themſelves, as a 'Thing of Infirmity. The Example of the 'Court, where Plays were uſually preſented 'on *Sundays*, did not ſo much draw the Coun-'try to Imitation, as reflect, with Diſadvan-'tage, upon the Court itſelf; and ſowre thoſe 'other Court-Paſtimes, and Jollities, which 'would have reliſhed better without that, in 'the Eyes of all the People, as Things ever 'allowed to the Delights of great Princes. 'The Countenancing of Looſeneſs and Irre-'ligion was, no Doubt, a great Preparative 'to the Introducing of another Religion: 'And, the Power of Godlineſs being beaten 'down, *Popery* might more eaſily by Degrees 'enter: And tho' it were queſtionable, whe-'ther the Biſhops and great Clergy of *Eng-'land* aimed at *Popery*, it is too apparent, 'ſuch was the Deſign of *Romiſh* Agents; and 'the *Engliſh* Clergy, if they did not their 'own Work, did theirs. A Stranger of that 'Religion, a *Venetian* Gentleman, out of his 'own Obſervations in *England*, will tell you, 'how far they were going in this Kind; his 'Words are: "The Univerſities, Biſhops, "and Divines of *England* do daily embrace "*Catholick* Opinions, tho' they profeſs it not "with open Mouth, for Fear of the *Puritans*: "For Example, they hold that the Church of "*Rome* is a true Church; that the Pope is "ſuperior to all Biſhops; that to him it ap-"pertains to call General Councils, that it is "lawful to pray for Souls departed; that Al-"tars ought to be erected: In Fine, they be-"lieve all that is taught by the Church, but "not by the Court of *Rome*."

'By all theſe it is very * evident, that the 'Liberty, and the Delight, then taken in 'Plays and Opera's, did help ſadly to corrupt 'the Minds and Manners of our People, and 'to let in that Looſeneſs and Irreligion, which 'ſerved to ſuggeſt the Wickedneſs and Vil-'lainies, ſoon after acted in the Civil War.

'*Fifthly*, and *Laſtly*, 'Dr. *Kennet* juſtly '† reckons Hypocriſy as another lamentable 'Cauſe of King *Charles*'s Murder: For, no 'Doubt, many ſincere Chriſtians came in 'with a good Meaning to one Side of the un-'happy Quarrel, as well as to the other. But 'the prime Engines, and the Workers of them, 'on the prevailing Side were moſt of them Men 'of Craft, and dreadful Diſſemblers with God 'and Heaven. What artificial Faſts! What 'procuring Prayers! What deluding Speeches! 'What Abuſe of Holy Scripture! What a 'Noiſe of *Curſing* Meroz, of *Fighting the Lord's 'Battles*, of *Binding Kings in Chains*, *&c!* 'Nay, and how, at laſt, was the fatal Blow 'given, by an utmoſt Stretch in Hypocriſy, 'by one ‡ Commander putting off ‖ ano-'ther, more tender and loyal, with a ſham 'Pretence of ſeeking God in Prayer, while, 'in the mean Time, the Royal Blood was ſhed, 'and the other's Plea, to ſpare it, was then to 'no Purpoſe.'

All Parties allow, that *Cromwell* was the chief Promoter of the King's Murder; and that Hypocriſy was his Characteriſtical Quality, is alſo acknowledged by all. 'His whole Army, 'ſays Sir *Philip Warwick*, in his § Memoirs, 'was of Men who had all either naturally the 'Phanatick Humour, or ſoon imbibed it. A 'Herd of this Sort of Men, being by him 'drawn together, he himſelf, like *Mahomet*, 'having Tranſports of Fancy, and withal a 'crafty Underſtanding, knowing, that Natu-'ral Principles, tho' not Morally good, will 'conduce to the Attainment of Natural and 'Politick Ends, made Uſe of the Zeal and 'Credulity of theſe Perſons, teaching them 'that they engaged for God, when he led 'them againſt the King. And theſe Men 'habited more to ſpiritual Pride, than carnal 'Riot, or Intemperance, ſo, conſequently, 'having been induſtrious and active in their 'former Profeſſions, where natural Courage 'wanted, Zeal ſupplied its Place; and, at 'firſt, they choſe rather to die than fly; and 'Cuſtom removed Fear of Danger; and after-'wards finding the Sweet of good Pay, and of 'opulent Plunder, and of Preferment, the lu-'crative Part made Gain ſeem to them a na-'tural Member of Godlineſs.

* Dr. *Kennet*'s Sermon, *p.* 23. † See his Sermon, *p.* 23, 24, 5. ‡ *Cromwell.*
‖ Lord *Fairfax*. § *p.* 252.

'The

'The bloody *Independents*, says the same * Author, drew the Curtain, and shew how tragical their Design had been from the Beginning. There are no Words in the Army, but that the King had been a Man of Blood, and therefore must be presented to Blood.

'If the *Puritans*, says the † *French* Historian, I quoted before, adventured on this Blow, it was only in Expectation of an Occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by extinguishing the Royal Authority, with which *Episcopacy* should fall. I say the Royal Authority, not the King's Person and Dignity: For we must do the *Puritans* the Justice to own, that they never intended to carry their Crime so far; and that they only prepared the Victim, which a more bloody Sect sacrificed.——It is hard ‡ to determine when this inhuman Design was formed by the Sect of the *Independents*, for so they were called, because they pretended to carry the Evangelical Liberty further than the *Puritans*. These new Sectaries were at first no otherwise distinguished from the *Presbyterians*, than, (as, in all Religious Societies, the Zealous and Fervent are distinguished from the Lukewarm, and the Strict from the Remiss) by a greater Averseness to pompous Ceremonies and Pre-eminences in Church and State; by a greater Zeal to reduce the Practice of the Gospel to its pristine Purity; by Prayers, Conversations, and Discourses, which seemed to be the Result of Enthusiasm and Inspiration. Their Opinions about *Independency* (for they rejected not only Bishops, but even Synods) procured them a peculiar Appellation, and rendered them suspected to the *Presbyterians*, with whom they had some Disputes. But, notwithstanding this Opposition, the *Independents*, adding Artifice, Flattery, Promises, and good Offices to their affected Air of Sanctity, made such a Progress, that they formed a numerous Sect of those that had been imposed upon by their Hypocrisy; and a formidable Faction of ambitious and mercenary Men, whom they gained in all the other Sects, by their Address and Policy. It was one among the latter, who afterwards became the Chief of the whole Cabal, and who was so already, without being taken Notice of. A Man born without any natural Propensity to Evil, or any Inclination to Virtue; having an equal Facility to practise all Virtues, and to commit all Crimes, according as either suited with his Designs. By this Stroke *Oliver Cromwell* will easily be known. His excellent Talent for War, already so fatal to the King's Party, having added much Lustre to his Qualification for Business, gained him such Ascendant over all those of his Faction, that he was become the very Soul of it. Modesty and Devotion, which, of all the Virtues he wanted, were those he could best *dissemble*, had the more solidly established that Superiority, as it gave the least Offence to the *Independency* professed by that Sect, in a Man who seemed not to affect it, but rather to have nothing in View, besides the Good of Religion and the Publick.'

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable Testimonies already cited, That, with Plainness of Truth, the Reverend Dr. *Kennet* has enquired into, and marked the most visible Causes of the Civil War, which ended in the Murder of King *Charles*.

Since, by laying before us the true Causes of that unnatural Civil War, which terminated in the Destruction of the Monarchy, and the Martyrdom of the Monarch, he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are governed, carefully to avoid any Thing that might tend to break, or hurt, our present happy Constitution, which God preserve.

* *p.* 309. † Father *D'Orleans*'s Revolutions of *England*, *Vol.* III. *p.* 42. ‡ *p.* 112, 113.

A true

A true Account of a late horrid Conſpiracy to betray *Holland* to the *French*. And of the Tryal, Confeſſion, Condemnation, and Execution of *Jacob Martinet*, Sheriff of the Town of *Sluys*, and *Cornelius Reolands*, Maſter of the Ship called the *Argle* of *Amſterdam*, who were executed for the ſaid Conſpiracy, the Sixth of this Inſtant *May*, 1690. Tranſlated from the *Dutch* Copy. *London*, printed in 1690. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

THE unwearied Aims of the *French*, for a great many Years, to ſwallow up the States of *Holland*, are ſufficiently known to all the World; and, by their Intrigues with the late unhappy *Penſioner de Wit*, they were once within an Ace of overturning this Commonwealth for good and all. That the *French* continue in their former Methods of Bribing with their Money ſuch *Villains* as are deſtitute of all Love to their Country, and who are willing to ſacrifice every Thing to their accurſed Greedineſs of Money, we have a freſh Example in the *Treaſon and Tryal* of theſe two Miſcreants *Jacob Martinet* Sheriff or *Scapen* of the Town of *Sluys*, and *Cornelius Reolands* Maſter of the Ship, called the *Argle* of *Amſterdam*, which was as follows.

On the third Day of *April* laſt, there was intercepted a *Pacquet* of Letters ſewed within the Waiſtcoat of a Seaman, going from *Sluys* to *Oſtend* by Land: Which being opened by one of the Magiſtrates of *Oſtend*, before whom the Fellow was brought, they were found to contain a dangerous Conſpiracy to betray to the *French* the ſtrong Town of *Sluys*, and thereby a chief Key of *Holland*. Upon which the Seaman, being examined, 'Declared that he came 'from *Sluys* the Day before, and was deſigned 'to find ſome Way to get thence to *Dunkirk*, 'and that he had received the Letters found 'about him from *Cornelius Reolands* his Maſter at *Sluys*, and was to deliver them to one 'Monſieur *Rayon*, a Colonel of a Regiment 'of *French*, lying in the Town of *Dunkirk*.'

He further confeſſed, 'That he had been three 'Weeks before with Letters from his Maſter 'to the ſame Colonel, and that he had returned with Letters from the ſaid Colonel, 'directed to his Maſter'.

The Fellow, after this Confeſſion, was kept cloſe Priſoner, and an Expreſs immediately diſpatched to acquaint the States with it, who thereupon ordered the Magiſtrates of *Sluys* to ſecure the ſaid *Cornelius Reolands* in cloſe Priſon, and to examine him ſecretly about this Treaſon. *Reolands*, being taken, denied all at firſt, but, the Letter, he had written to Monſieur *Rayon*, being produced againſt him, which had been taken at *Oſtend* about his Servant, he not only confeſſed it was his, but alſo that *Jacob Martinet* the Sheriff of the Town was concerned in the Affair more than he, and that the Letter written in Cyphers, found about his Man, was written by *Martinet*'s own Hand.

Upon this *Martinet* being ſecured, there was one Letter immediately directed to the Marqueſs of *Caſtanage* General Governor of the *Netherlands*, from the Aſſembly of the *States of Holland*, to deſire his *Excellency* would be pleaſed to ſend the Seaman taken in *Oſtend* with the foreſaid Letters, immediately under a Guard to the Town of *Sluys*, which his Excellency was pleaſed to do.

All Things being ready for the Tryal of theſe two Traitors, Count *Horne*, Governor of *Sluys*, was ordered to repair to the Town to be preſent at, and to haſten the Tryal. Upon the firſt Day of this Inſtant *May* the Priſoners, *Jacob Martinet* and *Cornelius Reo-*

Reolands, were brought to their Tryal in the *Town-houſe* of *Sluys*, before Judges appointed for that Effect, of whom Count *Horne* was one. *Cornelius Reolands*, being confronted with his own Servant, acknowledged, 'That he 'and the other Priſoner had kept Correſpon-'dence with one Monſieur *Rayon*, Colonel of 'a *French* Regiment in *Dunkirk*, and by 'his Means and Mediation with one Mon-'ſieur *de Terry*, Secretary of War under the 'Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who was to command 'the *French* Army in the Frontiers of *Flan-'ders* this Summer.' And that he and the ſaid other Priſoner 'Had received ſeveral 'Letters from the ſaid Monſieur *Rayon* upon 'the ſame Subject, and in one of them a Line 'from the ſaid Monſieur *de Terry*, directed to 'him, and the other Priſoner, wherein he aſ-'ſured them, if they would promiſe to ac-'compliſh the Deſign in Hand, he ſhould cauſe 'to be paid them in Hand, each of them ten 'Thouſand Livres, and, upon the Performing 'of it, they ſhould receive, each of them, 'twenty Thouſand more, with an honoura-'ble Retreat and Employment in any Place of 'France they pleaſed.' He likewiſe acknow-ledged, 'That they were to receive the firſt 'ten Thouſand Livres a-piece at the Return 'of his Servant they had ſent upon that Er-'rand, when he was taken beſide *Oſtend*; 'and that the Way of returning the Money 'was by a Bill of *Exchange* from a Banker of '*Paris* upon a *Jew* in *Amſterdam*, payable to 'the ſaid other Priſoner *Jacob Martinet*.' Adding, 'That his Servant knew nothing of 'the Secret, but only was employed to carry 'the Letters betwixt *Martinet* and him, and 'the ſaid Monſieur *Rayon*. And that he 'knew nothing of the Deſign till *Martinet* 'drew him into it, and aſſured him, that 'there was the like Deſign in moſt of the 'Towns of *Holland*.'

Being deſired to give Account of the Deſign itſelf, he gave it thus: 'That the ſaid *Mar-'tinet* and he were to let in a great many '*French* by Threes and Fours, under the Noti-'on of Deſerters from the *French* Army, and 'that, before-hand, they were to provide ſe-'veral private Lodgings for them to be ready 'upon Call. In the mean Time he and *Mar-'tinet* were to provide a great many Firelocks, 'under the Pretence of buying them, in Or-'der to ſell them again to the new raiſed Re-'giments in *Flanders*. That, when they had 'got into Town a competent Number of 'French in the Manner above-mentioned, 'they were to concert with the ſaid Monſieur 'Rayon a particular Night, in which he, 'with other two Regiments, ſhould be in Rea-'dineſs to march from the neareſt Places of 'the *French* Conqueſts, to *Sluys*, by ſuch 'Ways as were laid down in a Plan agreed be-'twixt them. That, at the Night and Hour 'appointed, the ſaid *Martinet* and he were 'to have all the *French* in Readineſs with their 'Arms to fall upon the Gariſon, there be-'ing ordinarily but two-hundred Men upon 'Duty at a Time; and having cut them off, 'they were at the ſame Time to open the 'Eaſt Gate to the other *French*, under the 'Command of Monſieur *Rayon*, and being 'joined together to take Poſſeſſion of, and 'keep the Town for the *French* King, whoſe 'Army, at the ſame Time, was to fall down 'with all Diligence and Force upon the Fron-'tiers of *Holland*.' He further acknowledged, 'That he doubted not but the *French* were 'tampering with ſome in moſt of the Towns 'of *Holland* to the ſame Effect; and that he 'knew, there were ſeveral great Sums of 'Money returned by Bill to *Amſterdam* to 'this End, and that there were ſeveral A-'gents up and down *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, '*Bergen*, *Upſom*, the *Buſh*, *Utrecht*, *Leyden*, 'and all other Towns in *Holland*, who were 'buſy in making Intrigues to betray the re-'ſpective Towns to the *French* for ſeveral 'Sums of Money, and Promiſes of great Pre-'ferment.'

Cornelius Reolands, being found Guilty upon his Confeſſion, was removed, and immedi-ately thereafter *Jacob Martinet*, the other Priſoner, was brought to his Tryal. Who ſtoutly denied he knew any Thing of a Deſign to betray the Town of *Sluys* into the Hands of the *French*, or that he had ever entertained Correſpondence with Monſieur *Rayon*, or Mon-ſieur *de Terry*, to that or any other Effect. Whereupon *Reolands*'s Servant, with whom the above written Letters were found, was pro-duced againſt him as an Evidence; who, be-ing ſworn, depoſed, 'That he had received 'the Letters, which had been taken about him 'at *Oſtend*, from his Maſter *Reolands*, and 'that he the ſaid *Jacob Martinet* was pre-'ſent, when his Maſter gave them him, and 'that *Martinet* deſired him to return as ſoon 'as poſſible, giving him a half Piſtole to drink,

'ſay-

ſaying, that, if he got a good Anſwer of ſome Money Buſineſs he had written about, he, the Deponent, ſhould be well paid.

Martinet briſkly denied that he ever had ſeen this Witneſs, or had been in Company with *Reolands* but once in his Life, about ſix Years ago. The Evidence, immediately in open Court, required two Men, whom he knew, to declare, if they did not ſeveral Times ſee his Maſter *Reolands* and *Martinet* together at the *Maurice Head* Tavern in *Sluys*; who upon Oath declared they had often ſeen them both go into, and come out from that Tavern, they two all alone, and that within leſs than theſe two Months. Notwithſtanding all which, *Martinet* ſtood firmly to his Denial.

At length the *Declaration* and *Confeſſion* of his Accomplice *Reolands* was read before him, whereat he ſeemed to be much ſtunned, having often changed Colour, the Time of the Reading it. But, inſiſting in his Denial, and the Law not allowing the Confeſſion of one Accomplice to be ſufficient Proof, he was adjudged to be put to the Torture. Whereupon all Things being ready for it, his Courage failed him, and he told the People appointed to put it in Execution, that he would confeſs all he knew of the Affair he was charged with, before the Judges.

Being thereupon called into Court, he freely confeſſed, 'His being upon a Plot with '*Reolands* to deliver up the Town of *Sluys* to '*the French*, after the Manner contained in '*Reolands*'s Confeſſion, with this particular 'Circumſtance, that in a Letter, written to 'him by Monſieur *de Terry*, Secretary of War 'under the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, he was pro-'miſed ten-thouſand Livres more than was 'to be given to *Reolands*, together with a 'Place in the Preſidial Court of *Sedan*, worth 'three-thouſand Livres *per Annum*.' And thereafter being deſired to decypher the Letter written in Cyphers found about *Reolands*'s Man: He freely did it in theſe Words, as was dictated by him from the Letter given him in open Court.

S I R,

'WE have fully concerted the Manner 'we are to act here, in delivering 'up the Town; and it reſts only, 'that you be as ready to effectuate your Part 'at a preciſe Time to be appointed, which 'both Mr. *Reolands* and I think to be moſt 'proper ſometime in the Middle of *May* next, 'becauſe the Army of the States will not be in 'the Field till the End of that Month at ſooneſt; you ſee what I venture to ſerve ſo great 'and generous a Prince, and it is but a ſmall 'Part of what I would do to ſerve him. Be 'ſure you, by the Bearer, adjuſt the exact 'Time and Way of your being in a Readineſs 'to accompliſh your Part of the Deſign; and 'I think it were Time, that ſome of theſe 'Soldiers ſhould be ſtealing in, as you know. 'After Receipt of yours, we will be every 'Day making one Step or other to forward 'the Thing: And though I doubt not but 'by the ſame Bearer you will ſend the Bill as 'you promiſed; ſo I aſſure you, I am more 'perſuaded of the Reaſonableneſs of having a 'greater Sum ready in ſome Hand, to make 'Uſe of for gaining others to our Intereſt, as 'as perhaps the Affairs will require. I need 'not ſay more, but commit my Fortune to 'your Conduct, who am

S I R,

Your faithful and

Sluys, *April* 1, 1690.

humble Servant,

Jacob Martinet.

Theſe *Confeſſions* of both *Jacob Martinet* and of *Cornelius Reolands* being again read in open Court, they both of them received Sentence in theſe Words:

'Foraſmuch as you *Jacob Martinet*, and 'you *Cornelius Reolands*, are by your own 'Confeſſion, and other legal Proofs and Letters, found Guilty of holding a Correſpon-'dence with Monſieur *Rayon*, Colonel of a 'French Regiment in the *French* King's Army, and with Monſieur *de Terry*, Secretary 'of War under the Marſhal Duke of *Luxem-burgh*, in Order to betray the Gariſon and 'Town of *Sluys* to the *French* for a Sum of 'Money, agreed to be paid by the ſaid Monſieur *de Terry*, to you *Jacob Martinet*, and 'to you *Cornelius Reolands*, for doing thereof. 'By which Action the whole Province of '*Holland* and neighbouring Provinces would 'have been in imminent Hazards of being there-'upon ruined by the *French* Army; therefore 'the Court does hereby adjudge you the ſaid

'*Jacob*

'*Jacob Martinet*, to be taken back to Priſon, 'and thence, upon the Sixth of *May* Inſtant, 'to be drawn upon a Cart to the publick 'Market-place of this Town, and there to be 'hanged up by the Neck on a Gibbet, and, 'being near dead, to have your Bowels rip-'ped up, and thereafter, being fully dead, to 'have your Body divided into four Quarters, 'to be diſpoſed of as the Court ſhall after-'wards think fit, and your Head to be ſe-'vered from your Body, and affixed upon 'the very ſame Gate of this Town which 'you deſigned to open to the Enemy. Like-'wiſe the Court adjudges you the ſaid *Corne-'lius Reolands*, to be taken back to the Pri-'ſon, and, upon the ſaid Sixth of this Inſtant '*May*, to be taken to the ſaid Market-place 'of this Town of *Sluys*, and there to be hang-'ed up by the Neck upon a Gibbet until you 'be dead. And this we give for a final Sen-'tence againſt you both, wiſhing God may 'ſhew Mercy to your Souls'.

According to this Sentence, upon the ſaid ſixth Day of *May* Inſtant, the ſaid *Jacob Martinet* was brought to the Place of Execution, where he behaved himſelf very impenitently, and refuſed to ſpeak to the People, and had the Sentence executed upon him as aforeſaid.

After him came *Cornelius Reolands*, who, both in Priſon, and at the Place of Execution, carried himſelf very devoutly and penitently: And, asking Leave if he might ſpeak to the People, he expreſſed himſelf in Words to this Purpoſe, a Copy whereof he had given before-hand to the *Sheriff* or *Scapen* that attended him.

Good Chriſtian People,

'I Am brought here juſtly, for Deſigning 'to betray my Country to a Foreign E-'nemy for a Sum of Money; I confeſs 'myſelf Guilty of the Crime, and I beg 'God's Forgiveneſs and your Forgiveneſs for 'it, and am willing to die for it, as I juſtly de-'ſerve. I muſt ſay, I did for ſome Months 'reſiſt the Offers that were made me by the 'unhappy Man that is gone before me; but 'at length my Wants prevailed with me to 'accept what I thought would rid me out of 'them. This I do not ſay to excuſe myſelf 'in the leaſt; God forbid I ſhould. And as 'I conſented to betray this Town, ſo I did 'promiſe to do another Villainy, which in-'deed I forgot to tell my Judges at my Try-'al; and it was, to ſee if I could prevail with 'any Captains of Ships, to betray their Ships 'to the *French*, for which I was to receive 'Money from the *French* Secretary of War 'to give to thoſe Captains. I hope your Diſ-'pleaſure againſt me for ſo villainous Deſigns 'will end, when I have ſatisfied Juſtice with 'my Blood. I earneſtly beg the Aſſiſtance 'of your Prayers for me, in this my Agony; 'and I commit my Soul to God, hoping to 'be ſaved by the Merits of Chriſt, my Re-'deemer'.

Having delivered himſelf thus, and heard the Miniſter that waited on him pray, and having prayed himſelf, he was juſt going to be turned off, when, pulling up the Handkerchief that was over his Eyes, he ſaid, 'Good 'People, there is one Thing my Conſcience 'obliges me to tell you with my laſt Breath, 'and it is this: I am afraid there are ma-'ny ſuch Deſigns in Hand, up and down this 'Country, like this, for which I ſuffer; and 'I wiſh there may be ſome effectual Means 'to prevent them; for I aſſure you the *French* 'Agents are very buſy every where, and they 'ſpare no Money to obtain their Ends. I have 'no more to ſay, but again beg earneſtly the 'Aſſiſtance of your Prayers: And I commit 'my Soul to God'.

Having thus ſaid, he was turned over the Ladder, and his Body afterwards, by Order of the Magiſtrates, was given to his Friends to be buried.

Thus we have one ſad Example more of the ill Effects of the *French* Money towards our Country and Commonwealth; but we hope God will diſappoint all their Deſigns, and bring their Accomplices to juſt Puniſhment.

A Pro-

A Propoſal for an equal Land-tax; humbly ſubmitted to Conſideration. *London*, printed in the Year 1691. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

The Inequality *of the* Land-tax *preſently appeared, even at a Time when the Legiſlature, by a* Pound-rate, *thought to have remedied all the Inconveniencies, which afore-time had attended that Aſſeſſment upon the Subject; and that, which was calculated for the Good of the Whole, was by the zealous Loyalty of one Part, and the crafty Reſervedneſs of the Party that oppoſed the Revolution, turned to the greateſt Oppreſſion of the* true-hearted Proteſtants, *and to the real Advantage of thoſe, who rather than fairly contribute, in Proportion, with their Fellow-ſubjects, to withſtand our common Enemy, would riſque the Loſs of their all by a paſſive Concurrence to ruin our Religion, Laws, and Liberties. For, upon ſo fair a Propoſal to ſettle the Land-tax by a* Pound-rate, *they, who wiſhed well to their* Country *and the* Proteſtant *Eſtabliſhment, gave in a juſt Eſtimate of the intrinſick Value of their Eſtates, and were aſſeſſed according to their ſaid Valuation, and continue ſo to be even to this Day; tho' in many Places, through various Accidents, as, the Falling of Rents, and the Want of Tenants, they are obliged, by a Re-aſſeſſment, to raiſe a Fourth or a Fifth more than the current Aſſeſſment is enacted for. But thoſe, that waited an Opportunity to recall a* Popiſh *Governor, gave in, ſome a* Half, *others a* Third, *and ſome only a* Quarter *of the* intrinſick *Value of their Eſtates, and were, and continue to be aſſeſſed* only *according to that* fallacious *Valuation; and it is againſt this Grievance, which was early perceived, though not yet remedied, that this Pamphlet was written, and, I think, propoſes a good Method to ſettle it upon a better Footing.*

THERE is a great and urgent Neceſſity, at preſent, of raiſing great Sums of Money; to which the common People of *England*, we may ſafely preſume, would willingly contribute their utmoſt; and Matters might be ſo ordered, that their Aſſiſtance would be very conſiderable. But ſome would have the Gentry take the whole Burthen upon themſelves and a few others; and would have this Money raiſed by a Land-tax, which Way will very probably be followed. Here it is confeſſed, that, though this Tax prove heavy, yet upon this great Occaſion it would be borne with Chearfulneſs, if it were made equal; but the monſtrous Inequality of it, as the Rates are now, is more grievous than the Tax itſelf. What can be a greater Heart-breaking, than to pay Double and Treble, in Proportion to other People? And many a poor Gentleman muſt be ruined, if theſe Rates continue.

A Remedy for this Evil hath been nobly attempted already, in Parliament, by bringing the Payments to a Pound-rate. And ſurely it cannot be denied, but that the Taxes of two Shillings in the Pound, and three Shillings in the Pound, were the faireſt that ever were granted. Nor hath there been any Thing done in *England* more becoming a Parliament. But that, which was well deſigned, was ſo villainouſly executed (I mean in the Aſſeſſing) that even thoſe Taxes proved ſhamefully unequal. So that, notwithſtanding all the Care that was taken, ſome Men paid Double and Treble to others. Not that much Land was aſſeſſed above the true Value, for that is not complained of; but,

but, while ſome were aſſeſſed to the Full, others were aſſeſſed at the Half or third Part, by which Means they, that were aſſeſſed to the Full, paid Double or Treble. For Example: If there be three Farms of equal Value, that is, each of them worth three-ſcore Pounds a Year; and one of theſe is duly rated at three-ſcore Pounds, the Second unduly at Thirty, and the Third at Twenty; in this Caſe the Firſt pays Double to the Second, and Treble to the Third.

You will ſay, that, to rectify this Matter, we muſt raiſe all thoſe that are under-rated, and thereby have all Lands aſſeſſed at their juſt and full Value. In Anſwer whereunto, I confeſs, that, if this Thing were done, we might eaſily have equal Taxes; whether they were laid by the Pound-rate, or by a Sum certain upon each County. But all the Skill, and all the Difficulty is, to get this Thing done. The ordinary Aſſeſſors will never do it; for Experience hath taught us, that Men will ſtrangely ſwear and forſwear, to ſave themſelves and their Neighbours from being ſcrewed up. And it hath been propoſed already, to take a more effectual Courſe by rewarding Informers; but that Way doth not pleaſe. Some would have a Tax by the Pound-rate, and the King to name the Commiſſioners; but I doubt it will not be convenient for his Majeſty, or Men deputed by him, to have any Hand in ſcrewing up People; others would have ſuch a Tax farmed out, and the Farmers to try their Skill; but a Tax fit to be farmed out ſhould be of ſome Continuance; whereas this muſt be paid at once, or within a ſhort Time: Beſides, theſe Farmers and Commiſſioners muſt do their Work by the Help of Informers; who, as I have ſaid before, are not pleaſing. Moreover, go which Way you will, this Raiſing and Screwing of People is a harſh and odious Buſineſs, and goes againſt the Hair, ſo that it will be found extremely difficult.

But the Deſign of the Propoſal, here offered, is not to raiſe any Body; but only to eaſe thoſe that are overcharged, and who pay above their Portion. Which is a Thing ſo equitable and ſo favourable, that there is good Reaſon to hope that no Man will be ſo inhuman to oppoſe it. Conſidering withal, that none are to have this Eaſement, unleſs they make their Caſe ſo plain that no Doubt can be made of it.

The Propoſal hath been briefly mentioned already in the *Project of a Deſcent upon France*, and more at large it is this:

I. *That a Land-tax be granted, the ſame with that which was granted this laſt Year (the Amount whereof is, we know, about ſeventeen-hundred thouſand Pounds) and that the ſame Proportions be laid upon the ſeveral Counties, and upon each particular Man.*

II. *Provided, nevertheleſs, that no Man be obliged to pay above two Shillings in the Pound, of the true and full yearly Value of his Land.*

III. *That, in order hereunto, all Perſons aggrieved, that is, all that are to pay above that Proportion, may complain to ſuch Commiſſioners as the Parliament ſhall pleaſe to nominate for each County.*

IV. *That theſe Commiſſioners, upon clear Proofs in Writing of the true Value of the Land, ſhall make juſt Abatements, and ſhall ſettle the Complainants Tax at the ſaid Proportion of two Shillings in the Pound.*

V. *That the Commiſſioners cauſe all theſe Depoſitions, and their Orders upon them, to be fairly tranſcribed into a Book, and ſo tranſmit them to the Committee, which the Parliament ſhall pleaſe to appoint for this Service.*

VI. *That this Committe of Parliament ſhall inſpect the ſaid Depoſitions and Orders, and ſhall diſallow the Orders, if the Evidence ſeem not clear, or alter them as they ſee Cauſe.*

VII. *All Orders and Abatements made by the Commiſſioners to ſtand good, unleſs, and until they are diſallowed by the Committee of Parliament.*

VIII. *No Proof to be admitted, but by written Depoſitions; even the Quality and Credit of the Witneſſes, if there be Occaſion for it, to be proved in Writing.*

Thus I have laid open the whole Deſign, which aims at nothing but to relieve the Oppreſſed. Here will be good Store of Informers, but, of all that ever were, they will be the moſt innocent; for every Man muſt inform for himſelf. And he may eaſily do it with Effect; for there is nothing more eaſy, than for any Man to ſhew plainly the true Value of his Land.

If the Land be let, or have been lately, at a Rack-rent, it is eaſy to ſhew what that Rent is or was; and the Tenant's own Oath will be good Evidence, if he can alſo ſwear, that the whole Tax muſt be allowed by the Landlord, which the Law directs, if there be no Covenants to the Contrary. Alſo the ſame Thing

may

may be proved by the Landlord's Steward or Bailiff, or any Servant that knows.

If the Land be let for Lives or Years, and at an Under-rent; it may be ſhewed what the Rent is, and, likewiſe, what Fine was paid, and for what Term.

But, if the Land be a Man's own, and was never let, there muſt be more ado, though even then the Thing will not be greatly difficult. It will give a great Light, if a Surveyor ſwear to the Quantity; ſhewing alſo how much of it is common Field, and how much Incloſure; likewiſe, how much is Meadow, Arable, Paſture, and Wood. Then others muſt prove the common Rate of thoſe Sorts of Land, in that Place and Neighbourhood. And ſubſtantial Neighbours may make Oath, what they believe and judge to be the true Value of the particular Land in Queſtion. Alſo the Party may ſhew, at what Rate he bought the Land, if he hath lately bought it; or at what Rate he hath offered it to be let or ſold. In ſhort, there are many Ways to make out a Thing of this Nature, if it be true. But to palliate a falſe Value is very difficult, ſo as to give clear and full Satisfaction; without which, there muſt no Relief be expected by the Complainants.

I muſt now anſwer a Queſtion concerning this Matter; and likewiſe two Objections.

The Queſtion that may be aſked is this:

What is the Meaning of this Committee of Parliament, which, according to theſe Propoſals, muſt controul the Commiſſioners of the Counties?

And I anſwer, that the Meaning is:

That the Commiſſioners may take greater Care to do equal and righteous Things, when they find that their Proceedings muſt be ſeen and examined by others; whereas they would be apt to take too much Liberty, if it ſhould be only known to themſelves, what Methods they follow, and upon what Grounds they go. But yet, in all Likelihood, the Committee will not much alter what the Commiſſioners have done.

The firſt of the Objection is:

That the Thing here propoſed is exceeding laborious.

I anſwer:

That the Bringing Taxes to an Equality is ſo glorious an Atchievement, that we ought to ſpare for no Pains to compaſs it. Nor is it only noble and beneficial, but alſo of abſolute Neceſſity. *If the equal Dividing the common Booty be neceſſary to Pirates and Buccaneers, the equal Diſtribution of the publick Burdens is much more to a State*; ſaith a late Author. But, moreover, as this Work is great, ſo there will be many Hands to do it. The Country Commiſſioners will divide themſelves, as they uſed to do in the Caſe of Aſſeſſments. And the Committee of Parliament, which will be numerous, will name ſeveral Sub-committees out of their own Number, and ſhare the Work to them, who, amongſt them, muſt peruſe the Books ſent from the Counties; and report to the whole Committee, what they diſallow and what they doubt of. The Tranſcribing the Depoſitions into theſe Books may ſeem a tedious Buſineſs, and of too much Time. But even here ſo many Hands may be employed, as will make quick Work. For ſeveral Men may be at the ſame Time tranſcribing upon looſe Sheets, and then thoſe Sheets be made up in a Book. Indeed, there ſhould be two Books, one to be ſent to the Parliament, the other to be kept in the County. All this Writing to be paid for, by thoſe, for whoſe Benefit it is done, according to the Length and Depoſitions that concern them. And it is much if it coſt any Man five Shillings.

The ſecond Objection is:

That by theſe Abatements, according to the Propoſals here offered, the Tax will fall ſhort.

In Anſwer to which I muſt acknowledge, That the Tax will fall ſhort, at leaſt, half a Million; but if the publick Occaſions require it, this may and muſt be made good by a farther Tax; which by this Time will be pretty equal. And, ſurely, it is much fitter, that the whole Nation ſhould bear this further Burthen by an equal Tax, than that Part of the Nation ſhould bear it, by having the Inequality continued upon them, and by paying above their Proportion.

It is confeſſed, that, when all is done that is been here propoſed, there will ſtill remain

main ſome Inequality; for, as the Rates are now, there are many that, to the laſt great Tax, pay under two Shillings in the Pound; and there is nothing here offered to raiſe them. We muſt therefore be content, at leaſt at preſent, to let them enjoy this Advantage. Let them pay twenty Pence, or eighteen Pence, or leſs, while others pay two Shillings. But that ſome ſhould pay but twenty Pence, or eighteen Pence, while others pay four, five, or ſix Shillings, or more; ſo that ſome are at Eaſe, whilſt others are deſtroyed; is too unreaſonable, and ought to be endured no longer.

You will aſk, What Injury is it to me, if my Neighbour be eaſed; I anſwer, the Injury is, that I am not eaſed too. And, if he pay below his Proportion, I muſt pay above mine. And, by the undue Eaſing of him and others, the Tax falls ſhort of what it would otherwiſe be; ſo that the publick Occaſions call for further Taxes, of which I ſhall bear Part, and ſtill above my Proportion. If ſome Part-owners ſhould pay leſs in Proportion than others toward the Ship's Charge, it would be a plain Wrong to thoſe Others. And ſo it would be, if ſome Lands in a Marſh ſhould, for maintaining the Sea Walls, pay but ſix Pence an Acre, when other Lands pay twelve Pence.

It hath been ſaid, that, though a Tax were laid, as hath been here propoſed, yet there would be ſtill ſome Inequality. But the next Tax after might bring Things more even. For it might be granted for the ſame groſs Sum, with this Proviſo that none pay above one Shilling in the Pound; with the ſame Methods for giving Eaſe. And this Tax would make good what the other falls ſhort, for both theſe Taxes will amount to three Shillings in the Pound; which is very near the true Proportion, that all Lands ſhould pay the Tax now on Foot.

Thus, by the Way that hath been here propoſed, there muſt be two Steps to arrive at the Reformation intended. But I conceive, upon further Conſideration, that the Thing may be done at once, and that the firſt new Tax may be at the former Rates, provided that none pay above one Shilling in the Pound. Which will be the ſame Thing in Effect, as a Tax of twelve Pence in the Pound, with a new and ſure Method to have it equally aſſeſſed. This Tax may, by the good old Word, be called *a Subſidy*; and the Parliament, now, and at other Times, may pleaſe to grant either one Subſidy, or Part of one, or a Subſidy and a Half, or two or three Subſidies or more, according as the publick Occaſions require.

But ſtill, after all hath been done, the Taxes will not yet be exactly equal. For there are divers, as I am well informed, that do *not* pay *ſix Pence* a Pound to the *great Tax* * now upon us. I leave theſe to be further conſidered, and, in the mean Time, though they do not pay to the full, yet they will pay three Times as much in Proportion, as they did formerly.

I have all this While been driving at Equality; but there is an Equality ſo unequal, that I cannot but declare my Senſe againſt it; and that is, that Houſes ſhould bear equal Proportion with Lands, for which there is no Reaſon, as every Man's Reaſon will tell him. They ought, therefore, to be abated a fourth or a fifth Part.

If the Parliament ſhall not think fit to enter upon this great Work at preſent (though it is every Man's Work, and would be ſoon done) they may however, by a ſhorter Way, give ſome Relief (if they pleaſe) to thoſe that are oppreſſed in the Land-Tax; that is, to thoſe that pay plainly above their Proportion. And this may be done, by making the Sum of the Tax, next granted, to be ſomething leſs than the laſt, and then diſtributing this Abatement among the Counties, that are now notoriouſly overcharged, the other Counties continuing as they are. Thus, whereas the laſt Tax was for about Seventeen hundred thouſand Pounds, the next may be for Fifteen or Fourteen hundred thouſand; which is Two or three hundred thouſand Pound leſs. And then the oppreſſed Counties, which Counties are well known, may have their monthly Payments abated, in ſuch Proportions as the Parliament ſhall find meet. The Raiſing either of Men, or Counties, is ſuch a *Noli me tangere*, that there is no Meddling with it; but there is great Reaſon to hope, that the Giving juſt Eaſe, to thoſe that want it, will meet with no Oppoſition. For my own Part, I have no particular Concern in this Matter. I am in a County that is not like to be eaſed; and I pay about three Shillings in the Pound; which is near the true Proportion: But I wonder the Counties, that are concerned, have not petitioned all this While. In ſuch a Caſe as this,

* Three Shillings in the Pound.

even

even clamorous Petitions would be excuſable.

There is another Conſideration about Taxes, which I recommend to thoſe worthy Perſons who have a Hand in granting them; and that is, that the Payments be not made too quick. We know that the preſent great Tax (to ſay nothing of thoſe precedents) is paid with exceeding Difficulty. And ſuch another Tax in the Neck of it, to be paid likewiſe forthwith, it is doubted would occaſion extreme Diſtreſſes. When a Man hath bled much, if you go to take a further great Quantity from him, at once, and preſently, it may prove fatal, his Body cannot bear it: But, after a While, his Blood being recruited, and ſupplied, you may take more without Hurt or Danger; eſpecially if you do it by Degrees. And it is juſt ſo with our Nation in Point of Taxes. We could pay a moderate Tax for many Years, and be little the worſe; and People would have Room, and Time, to ſupply all by Induſtry and Parſimony, the two great Promoters both of private and publick Riches. But our Money, of late, hath been ſwept away ſo faſt from us, little of it returning, that it hath not only ſheared from the Landlord a good Part of his Rent, but alſo diſabled the Tenant from paying the reſt, the Market being dead, and no Money ſtirring; and then the Cities, and Towns, muſt needs, as they do, find a grievous Deadneſs of Trade; ſo that a general Poverty hath ſuddenly overwhelmed us.

We could better pay two Millions in four Years, than a Million and a Half in one Year. In which firſt Way, the War might be maintained by Taxes, that probably would be paid in Time of Peace, when we ſhall be better able to do it: Alſo his Majeſty's preſent Occaſions will be as well provided for this Way, if there be a Credit given upon thoſe future Payments. You will ſay, this will draw on Intereſt. But I anſwer, that the Intereſt will not do us ſo much Harm, as the Reſpite will do us Good.

In this Affair we muſt conſider, not only what is beſt to be done, but alſo, and more eſpecially, what we are able to do. Perhaps, it were beſt to pay ready Money down; but, if we cannot do it, we muſt be glad to take Time, and allow Intereſt: And it is better to have upon us, for ſome Years, a Burden we can bear, than to be cruſhed at once by a Burden we cannot bear.

If it be an Advantage to lend Money to the Publick above the common Intereſt, it is among ourſelves, and any one that will may have it. There is alſo this Convenience, that all thoſe Lenders will be firmly engaged to wiſh well to the Government.

I would not have us follow the Example of *Holland*, where their whole ſtanding Revenue is anticipated for a great many Years, by vaſt Sums of Money taken up at Intereſt; and there are many Families, that live upon the conſtant Intereſt of Monies lent to the State. But I hope we ſhall never be brought to ſuch Neceſſities; and I would have our Dealings, in this Kind, to be for moderate Sums, and a moderate Number of Years.

We may remember, that, in King *Charles*'s firſt *Dutch* War, the Parliament gave at once two Millions and a Half; but to be paid in ſome Years: So that what is here offered, in this Matter, is, even in *England*, no new Thing.

But, what if this War continue next Year, and we muſt raiſe more Money? How, and upon what, ſhall the Tax be laid? My Anſwer is, That, if there be a Neceſſity for it, it may be a concurrent Land-Tax; or the Tax may be puſhed further on, upon ſome Years to come: That is, after the End of the four Years before-mentioned.

It cannot be denied, but that the Ways now mentioned, and eſpecially the laſt, will draw on more Intereſt. But, to make this Intereſt eaſy, it is further humbly propoſed:

1. *That a Land-Tax be granted, ſuppoſe for a Million of Pounds, payable at the End of five Years.*

2. *That, upon the Credit of it, the King be enabled to give Tallies, or Tickets, of One hundred Pounds each, amounting in the Whole to Ten-thouſand.*

3. *That theſe Tickets be made current, according to their Value, by Act of Parliament.*

4. *That theſe Tickets be Pieces, or Plates, or Medals of Silver, coined, or ſtamped, in the beſt Manner, to avoid Counterfeiting, and each having its Number fairly ſtamped upon it.*

5. *That each of them be affixed, or appended, under a Seal, to a Pocket-Book.*

6. *In this Book ſhall be written, to whom, and by whom, the Ticket was firſt delivered, with all the Aſſignments afterward.*

7. *That no Man ſhall be obliged to take them at firſt from the King, but with the Allowance of Five* per Cent. *nor ſhall the King's Receivers be obliged to take them back at their full Value, till after a Year from their firſt Delivery.*

8. *That, when theſe Tickets are brought in, at the End of the five Years, they, that bring them in, ſhall likewiſe have the Allowance of Five* per Cent. *So that they are firſt taken at Ninety-five Pounds, and paid back at laſt at a Hundred and five.*

9. *If any of thoſe Tickets be loſt, yet he that had it, to have the Benefit of it at the five Years End, he proving that it was delivered or aſſigned to him, and there being no Proof that it was farther aſſigned.*

10. *The Form of the Pocket-Book may be this.*

Number One.

March 1, 1691. *Delivered to* A. B. *of the City of* London, *Merchant By Me* C. D. *the Officer's Name.*

April 17, 1692. *Aſſigned to Sir* E. F. *of* S. *in the County of* Kent, *Knight By Me* A. B.

June 24, 1692. *Aſſigned to* G. H. *of the City of* London, *Goldſmith By Me* J. K. *Executor of Sir* E. F.

Here now is Money taken up for the publick Service, at Ten *per Cent.* for five Years, which is Two *per Cent.* yearly.

The firſt Five *per Cent.* will take the Tickets cleverly out of the King's Hands, without any Appearance of Hardſhip to the Subject, and it will ſet them fairly a-float. The Five *per Cent.* at laſt will ſecure thoſe that take them from being left in the Lurch; it will make them not afraid, but deſirous, to have them at the five Years End; and it will keep up their Value and Reputation during the whole Time.

Theſe Tickets will be a Treaſure that can be neither ſtolen, nor loſt; for they will be of no Value, more than the Medal, ſave only to thoſe who have the Right to them.

They will be a good Supply for the Money we have lately loſt, and Money will then be leſs needful. Great Sums will be paid with Tickets, and leſſer Sums with Money.

Perhaps, hereafter, when we have ſeen the Way of it, we may, in the ſame Manner, take up greater Sums, at eaſier Intereſt, and for more Years.

But, I doubt, it will not be convenient, that the Amount of theſe Tickets ſhould ever exceed the Half of our running Caſh, though we could have them without Intereſt. A moderate Quantity of them will impede our Money; but too great a Quantity would drive it quite away.

I muſt add one Thing more to the foregoing Part of this Diſcourſe; and that is, that, when a Land-Tax is granted, there ſhould a Poll-Tax go along with it: That ſo, the whole Kingdom being concerned, every Man in it may contribute ſomething. The Land-Tax draws hard from thoſe that have Eſtates, and the Poll-Tax will draw ſomething (though a general Exciſe would inſenſibly draw more) from thoſe that have them not. And ſurely when the Men of Eſtates bear the Main of the Burden, and put their Shoulders to it; it is but reaſonable, that the common People alſo ſhould each of them lend a Finger. They ought not therefore to complain, if, for every Shilling in the Pound which the Land-Tax riſes to, there be Twelve-pence a Head laid upon Men, and upon the Women Six-pence. Thus a great Difference is here made, as it ought, between Women and Men. For there is no Reaſon that Women ſhould pay equal, when they do not get half ſo much. And I have the rather deſigned them ſome little Eaſe in this Matter; becauſe I think our Nation hath been too valiant, in making hard Laws againſt Women.

When I ſpeak of ſo much a Head, my Meaning is, that it ſhould be upon all alike, both high and low. Or, if any Difference be made, it ſhould be only ſome ſuch Difference as this, that Gentlemen, and all ſo reputed, ſhould pay Double or Treble to common Men.

It ſeems a great Miſtake, that a Poll-Tax ſhould run high upon Degrees, and Titles, and Dignities, eſpecially if a Land-Tax likewiſe be then on Foot; for, generally, they, that have Titles, have alſo Eſtates, which pay to the Land-Tax. If a Land-Tax come to two Shillings in the Pound, and there be a Poll-Tax proportionable, a common Perſon pays two Shillings for his Head, and a Knight of a Thouſand a Year pays a Hundred Pounds for his Eſtate; and it ſeems very hard, that he ſhould

ſhould pay ten Pounds more for his Title. Why ſhould we lay more upon thoſe, that have their Load already?

And, though there were no Land-Tax on Foot, yet a Poll-Tax, that runs upon Titles and Dignities, is of all others the moſt unjuſt; becauſe it is the moſt unequal. It is very unequal and unjuſt, that an Eſquire, not worth a Hundred Pounds, ſhould pay as much as one worth Five-thouſand a Year.

The Deſigns of *France* againſt *England* and *Holland* diſcovered: Or the Intrigues of that Crown, for the utter Ruin of both thoſe Nations laid open. With Allowance *.

ADVERTISEMENT *to the* READER.

THeſe Papers (which were intended to be publiſhed before this Time, had the Preſs been open for ſuch Truths) plainly diſcover the cunning Intrigues, wicked Deſigns, and unchriſtian Practices of the French *King, for the Overthrow of* England *and* Holland, *and with them the* Proteſtant *Religion. If this Account be (as it is hoped) approved of, a further Information may be expected from the ſame Hand.*

HENRY *the Eighth*, King of *England*, did, in his Time, cauſe a Medal to be ſtamped with a Hand ſtretched out of a Cloud, holding a Balance in equal Poiſe, whereof both the Scales repreſented *Spain* and *France*, with this Motto: *Cui adhæreo præeſt*, i. e. *My Alliance weighs it down.* It ſeems, that Prince well knew his own Might; whereas now *England* may be compared to an Ox, who, being inſenſible of his own Strength, quietly ſubmits himſelf to the Yoke. Evident it is, that *England* has many Advantages beyond other Kingdoms, but eſpecially this, that, being an Iſland, it can eaſily ſecure itſelf againſt any Foreign Force; they, that intend an Invaſion againſt it, muſt be obliged to croſs the Seas, and ſtruggle with the Winds and Waves, and all the Hazards and Dangers of that unſtable Element, beſides a very potent Fleet, which alone is ſufficient to deter their hardieſt Enemy from any ſuch Deſign. Now, this being ſo, it is manifeſt that the King of *England* (having Peace, and a ſtrict Alliance, with *Holland*) can over-balance the Party he deſigns againſt.

This is a Truth, *France* is ſo fully convinced of, that, notwithſtanding the great Antipathy there is between both Nations, he has hitherto ſpared nothing, and is ſtill turning every Stone, to take off *England* from its true Intereſt, and to engage it on his Side, or, at leaſt, to oblige it to ſtand Neuter, and to be an idle, unconcerned Spectator of the horrid Tragedy the *French* King acts upon the Theatre of *Europe*, becauſe he well knows that *England* is better able to prevent it, and ſpoil his Sport, than any other State or Kingdom whatſoever, and reſcue *Europe* from the univerſal Slavery he prepares for it.

Would the King of *England* only be pleaſed to open his Eyes, faſt cloſed with the inchanted Slumbers of the *French Dalilah*, to take a View of his own Strength, and true Intereſt, he ſhould ſoon find himſelf making another Figure amongſt the Princes of *Europe*, than of late Years he hath done, and with Eaſe mount that high Degree of Power and Glory,

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of being the profeſſed Umpire of the Univerſe, the Sovereign Mediator and Decider of Controverſies, and the Giver of Peace to all *Europe*, which *France*, in a vain Bravado, pretends to, when indeed he is the ſole Troubler of it.

To arrive at this tranſcendent Pitch of Grandeur and Authority, two Things only (which the King of *England* may do when he pleaſes) are requiſite. The *Firſt* is, That his Majeſty do comport himſelf ſo, as to engage the Love of his People, and keep a right Underſtanding between him and his Parliament. And the *Second*, that he enter into a ſtrict Alliance with *Holland*, living in ſincere Amity, perfect Union, and good Correſpondence with them, in order to their common Defence and Security. The Former of theſe is very eaſy, and the King will do it, as ſoon as he ſhall reſolve to deſire nothing of his Parliament, but what is agreeable with the Laws of the Realm, which, by his Coronation-Oath, he is obliged to obſerve and maintain; and the Latter will be found to be of abſolute Neceſſity, as ſoon as the King of *England* ſhall pleaſe to ſtop his Ears to the falſe Suggeſtions of *France*, and ſtifle thoſe Jealouſies and Reſentments, which his Emiſſaries daily buz into his Head; there being nothing to fear for *England* from the *States*, whoſe Deſire is not to enlarge their Dominions (as *France* does) by invading thoſe of their Neighbours, but only to keep what God has given them, and to maintain their Subjects in the Liberty they now enjoy.

This *France* ſo well knows, that he leaves no Stone unturned to prevent it, and continually ſends forth ſome crafty turbulent Spirits to ſow the Seeds of Diviſion and Miſunderſtanding between the King and his Parliament. Thus the Spirit of *France* was at Work, to exaſperate the *Epiſcopal* Party againſt the *Presbyterians*, and again the *Presbyterians*, and other *Nonconformiſts*, againſt them, making them believe that the Biſhops favoured *Popery*, and would not fail to prove Turncoats, as ſoon as a favourable Opportunity ſhould be offered them, and that the King did incline the ſame Way, with a Thouſand like Suggeſtions; which ſo ſet the People againſt the King, and filled the Parliament with ſuch Jealouſies, that they often granted his then Majeſty but very little of what he demanded, and gave him ſo much Work at Home, that he had no Leiſure to conſider what was doing Abroad. It was *France* that firſt kindled the Civil Wars in the Time of *Charles the Firſt*, which coſt *England* ſo much Blood, the *French* Ambaſſador, that was then at that Court, boaſting at his Return from thence, *That he had kindled a Fire in* England, *which ſhould not be quenched of a long Time, and that the* Engliſh, *for twenty Years to come, would not be in a Condition to claim any Thing of* France.

To the Kindling of this unhappy Flame, one Father *Joſeph*, a *Capuchine* Friar, did much contribute under-hand, by Means of the *Papiſts*, eſpecially thoſe that were in the Parliament's Army. But, now ſince the King * of *England* has thought good to change his Religion, *France* alſo has altered his Battery, and turned all his great Guns againſt the *Church* of *England*; and ſo far are the Minds of Men irritated againſt one another, that his *Britiſh* Majeſty will not, this good While, be in a Condition to look any where elſe but at Home, where he is like to meet with ſo many Croſſings and Thwartings of the Deſigns he is carrying on, that he will find it a hard Matter to break through them, and accompliſh the Thing he aims at, and ſo zealouſly affects. And, whilſt theſe Heart-burnings continue between the King and his People, he will be forced to be continually upon his Guard, and to keep his Forces about him, and caſt about his Thoughts how to raiſe a Fund to maintain them, and thereby give an Opportunity to *France* to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Low-Countries*, and of *Spain* † too, in Caſe that King ſhould chance to die, which happy Hour, *France*, with a great deal of Impatience, looks for.

As for the *ſecond* Point, *viz.* a League with the *United Provinces*, and a right Underſtanding and good Correſpondence between thoſe two Governments, to oppoſe all Powers that would invade and trouble the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, it is certain that the *States*, for their Parts, would moſt gladly embrace the Propoſal, if they ſaw any Likelihood of engaging therein with Safety, and being ſeconded upon Occaſion; of which, indeed, there is but little Probability, as long as Af-

* King *James the Second.* † This came to paſs in Regard to *Spain*, as here propheſied.

fairs

fairs ſhall continue, in the Condition wherein they are at preſent. This indeed is the Thing, which, of all others, *France* would be very loth to ſee, becauſe the hearty Union of theſe two Governments would, in all Probability, put a Stop to the *French* King's Undertakings, overturn all his Deſigns, and put him into an utter Incapacity of attempting any Thing againſt the Peace of *Nimeguen*, or the Truce with the Emperor. But *France* carries a watchful Eye to prevent this capital Inconvenience, and that by an aſſiduous Fomenting and Cheriſhing Feuds, and Animoſities, between thoſe two Nations, and Improving every Occurrence to this Purpoſe; of which we have a freſh Inſtance in the Buſineſs of *Bantam*, which had been long ago made up, but that *France* (who finds it beſt Fiſhing in troubled Waters) thinks it more for his Intereſt, that it ſhould remain undetermined; which is the very Reaſon why it was never made an End of, but kept as a Reſerve for a Quarrel upon Occaſion. That there can be nothing ſo evidently deſtructive of the *French* Deſigns, as this Union between *England* and *Holland*, is very apparent; *England* can, when it pleaſes, overturn the Projects of *France* againſt the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; neither could that King ever have taken *Luxemburg*, if the late King of *England* had had the leaſt Inclination to oppoſe him in that Attempt; but the *French* King ſo well knew how to take him by the blind Side, that he did not perceive the Miſchief till the City was taken. It was a capital Error for *England* to part with *Dunkirk*, a Place that opened a Paſſage for them to *France* and the *Low-Countries*; but it would make the Matter much worſe, if all thoſe Countries ſhould be fain to ſubmit to the Tyranny of *Lewis the Great*, and he, by this Means, ſhould join *Newport* and *Oſtend* * to *Dunkirk*; for then would *Fluſhing* follow by Conſequence, and that King be put into a Condition to diſpute the Sovereignty of the Sea with his *Britiſh* Majeſty, and deſtroy the Navigation and Commerce of this flouriſhing Kingdom. Having got thus far, he would proceed to an intire Conqueſt of the *United Provinces*; which Point being once gained by him, *England* would have but little Reaſon to flatter itſelf with the Hopes of a better Lot. Renowned Queen *Eliſabeth*, of happy Memory, was ſo ſenſible of what is here alledged, that ſhe told Monſieur *de Sully*, the *French* King's Ambaſſador at her Majeſty's Court, That neither *France*, nor *England*, nor any other Prince, or State whatſoever, ought to lay any Claim to the *Low-Countries*, and that ſhe would never ſuffer the King, his Maſter, to make the leaſt Attempt that Way. Upon which Monſieur *de Sully* ſent Word to his Maſter, *Henry the Fourth, That, notwithſtanding the oppoſite Sentiments of the Queen, his Majeſty might, by Means of great Forces, keep his Friends within their own Bounds, and poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch Territories and Cities in the* Low-Countries, *as ſhould be neceſſary to join* France *and the* United Provinces *wholly and inſeparably together: Which was,* (ſaid he) *the only Way to reſtore* France *to its primitive Grandeur and Glory, and pitch it above the reſt of* Chriſtendom; *for if, by any Means, the Provinces of* Luxemburg, Juliers, Mark, Mons, Aix, *and* Cleves *were once united to* France, *there was no Doubt, but the reſt of the Country would be forced to follow their Example, being deprived of all Communication and Correſpondence with the reſt of the World.* Sure it is *France* has always inclined this Way, ſince they have obſerved, that they could not compaſs their Deſign by *Italy*, as the *Romans* of old; which Conqueſt, tho' it be the Intereſt of all Princes of *Europe* to prevent, as much as in them lies; yet it is evident that theſe two States, who are nearer at Hand, and can better do it, are the moſt of all concerned to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *French* in the *Low-Countries*, which would not fail to be attended with diſmal Conſequences to them, as before mentioned. As for *Spain*, it is a Body deprived of the Uſe of its Limbs, and to which nothing remains but that of its Tongue, *viz.* To pray and intreat its good Friends and Allies not to forſake it. But none can do more than *England*, towards the Preſervation of the *Low-Countries*; and, if his *Britiſh* Majeſty had not promiſed to ſtand ſtill, *Luxemburg* would ſtill be in the State wherein it was formerly, and a Bone for *France* to pick. The *French* King is ſo well aware of this, that he takes all the Care he can to keep the King of *England* on his Side, or, at leaſt, to remain Neuter, in Caſe he will not declare himſelf for him. To which Purpoſe he ſpares

* As the Scheme was laid by the *French* King this Summer, 1744.

nothing

nothing, neither Preſents, Penſions, nor Arts, to keep all ſafe on that Side. But, alas! this Money, and thoſe Preſents of *France*, are like a Snake hid under Roſe-leaves. This is a ſmiling Lip, which hereafter will prove a deadly Sting. They are iron Chains, gilded over to deceive the Eyes of thoſe who now admire what hereafter they will have Occaſion to lament, if they do not betimes diſcover the Cheat of him, who deſigns to inſlave them. *England* ſubſiſts by balancing the Crown of *France* and *Spain*, and keeping them in equal Poiſe; wherefore it muſt needs be the Intereſt of that Kingdom, by all Means poſſible to prevent the *Low-Countries* from becoming an Occaſion to the Over-weight of *France*, leſt, by this Means, it ſhould be incapacitated to maintain the Balance of *Europe* for Time to come. For if ever, by ill Fortune, the *French* King ſhould make himſelf Maſter of all the Seventeen Provinces, as it is his great Aim, and may eaſily be brought to paſs, if the *States* be not ſeconded, What Condition will *England* then be in? *France* will be ſtronger than they at Sea, and in the *Indies*, and conſequently interrupt their Commerce and Navigation, by keeping a great Fleet Abroad, eſpecially in the Channel, ſo that nothing ſhall be able to ſtir out of the *Engliſh* Havens, but by their Leave; and, upon the leaſt Occaſion, the total Conqueſt of *England* muſt needs enſue, and that without Remedy, there being No-body in a Condition to ſtave off their final Ruin.

Moreover, the true Intereſt of *England* is to keep *France* low, as well to preſerve the Dominion of the Sea, as to find a favourable Occaſion to recover thoſe ancient Dominions the *French* King keeps from them, as are the Dukedoms of *Bretagne*, *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Languedoc*, nay *France* itſelf; for of the Marriage of the King of *England* with *Margaret*, Daughter to *Philip the Fair*, was born *Henry the Fifth*, King of *England*, who had the ſame Right to *France* as the *Dauphin* has to *Spain*. The three Sons of King *Philip the Fair*, viz. *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip the Tall*, and *Charles the Fair*, died all without Iſſue Male; and it was not till after this, when the King of *England* proſecuted his Right to the Kingdom of *France*, that the *Salick Law* was made, upon a Speech of the Biſhop of *Beauvais*'s in the Aſſembly of the States, in which he endeavoured to make out from an Alluſion to that Place of the Goſpel, *The Lillies ſpin not:* That the Crown of *France* ought not to fall to the Diſtaff. But that Law could not preſcribe to Time paſt, but only to that which was to come, and conſequently could not invalidate the King of *England*'s Pretenſions. After this, *Henry the Fifth*, entering *France* with a powerful Army, and having defeated the *French* in ſeveral Battles, married *Catharine*, Daughter to *Charles the Sixth*, and, in the Year 1441, it was concluded, that *Henry* ſhould be King of *France*. *Iſabella* alſo, who was Queen of *France*, and Mother to *Catharine* Queen of *England*, made her laſt Will in Favour of her Son-in-Law, declaring him therein the ſole Heir of all her Eſtate and of the Crown, which increaſes the juſt Pretenſions, and ſtrengthens the Rights of *England* to the Kingdom of *France*.

Had the *French* King but half the Pretenſions to *England*, which the King of *England* has to *France*, the World would ſoon hear of nothing but Manifeſto's to prove them juſt, as he calls all he does.

So that the King of *England* ought upon all Occaſions, and in all Reſpects to ſuſpect *France*, and to beware of him as a moſt dangerous Enemy, who flattered and humoured his late Majeſty *, only to lull him aſleep, that he might play his Game without being diſturbed or interrupted by him, who, whenever it ſhall pleaſe him to mind and be true to his own Intereſt, will undoubtedly carry the greateſt Stroke in the Affairs of *Europe*.

It is therefore no Wonder, that King *Lewis the Fourteenth* ſpared nothing that might ſupply the Neceſſities or provide for the Pleaſures of the late King *Charles the Second*, as Monſieur *Barillon* and the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* can witneſs. But I muſt tell you, that the *French* King conſiders No-body, whether Prince or private Perſon, any further than as they may be ſerviceable to promote his own Ends; yea Virtue itſelf is not eſteemed by him, except it go Hand in Hand with his Intereſt. Do but conſider what Account he made of the Princes and Princeſſes of *England* in *Cromwell*'s Time: Were they not obliged to quit *France*, and to ſeek for Entertainment elſewhere? And it is notorious, that he never contributed any Thing towards the late King's Reſtoration, till it was paſt his Skill to hinder it.

* King *Charles the Second.*

So

So that, upon the Whole, neither the Reſentment of the Royal Family, nor the Intereſt of *England*, will allow of ſuch ſtrict Alliances with *France*, as might tie up the King of *England*'s Hands, and make him an idle Spectator, whilſt *Lewis the Great* makes himſelf Maſter of the *Low-Countries*; but on the Contrary he muſt always be ready to oppoſe any the leaſt Attempt he ſhall make toward it, making Uſe in the mean Time of the ſix Regiments he has in *Holland*, which the States will not deny him on that Account, till he can ſend ſome other Troops over to *Flanders*. I am perſuaded that thoſe ſix Regiments will be able to make Head againſt double the Number of *Frenchmen*; and, when *England* ſhall thus be pleaſed but to ſhew its Teeth, all *Europe* will thereby be ſafe. *Reſiſt the Devil, and he will fly from you*; *but, if you fear him, he will make you his Slaves.* *France* has cut out Work enough for King *James the Second*, and the Buſineſs that he hath taken in Hand is ſo great, that many People fear, and others hope, he will never compaſs it. It is not a Time to alter old Laws, when the Enemy is at the Gates; it is not always ſeaſonable for a King to act the *Miſſionary* *, but much more requiſite that he ſhew himſelf a brave Soldier and good Politician. All the World was in Expectation of great Things from his Majeſty; his Courage put all *Europe* in Hopes of an univerſal Relief, and ſome Reſpite for *Spain*; but how has he fruſtrated and befooled their Hopes, whilſt his ſole Study is to pleaſe the *Jeſuits*, and to kindle a Fire in his own Kingdom, which probably he will never be able to quench, when he would, as long as he dares not convene a free Parliament.

As *Spain* became depopulated by the Departure of the *Moors*, ſo is *France* greatly weakened and impoveriſhed by the *Dragoon Converſion*, and Flight of the *Proteſtants*; and the *French* King would fain ſee *England* brought to the ſame Paſs. It is a Preſumption to rob God of his Right, it is to him the Honour of Converting does belong, that Work ſurpaſſing the Power and Activity of a Creature. So, leaving that Care to God, the King of *England* ought to lay out his Endeavours about preſerving his Dominions from becoming a Prey to that ambitious Prince, by obliging him to keep within his own Bounds, and not to incroach upon his Neighbours Territories; and, in ſo doing, the King will make good the Hopes and Expectation *Europe* had conceived of him.

The Deſigns of France *againſt the* United Provinces.

AFTER the *States* of the *United Provinces* had, by their powerful Arms, conſtrained *Spain* to acknowledge them a free State, who owed Allegiance to none but God alone, they were, for a Time, the Object of their Neighbours Admiration and Envy, every one endeavouring to court and make Alliances with this growing State, which began to be looked upon as the Umpire of *Europe*; but this high Reputation of theirs has ſuffered a notable Eclipſe ſince the War of 1672, when *France*, having brought them to the very Brink of Deſtruction, pleaſed himſelf with the Thoughts of ſeeing them tumble headlong into the Pit he had digged for them; neither would he have been miſtaken in his Hopes, had not the People given a ſudden and unlooked for Turn to the Face of Affairs, by declaring the Prince of *Orange* Stadtholder; the Providence of Almighty God, at the ſame Time, concurring with their Endeavours, to preſerve that ſmall Spot of Ground, by confounding and daunting their Enemies, who, after the Taking of *Naerden*, were ſtruck with ſuch a Panick Fear, that they ran away, none purſuing them.

Now, what contributed moſt to the Miſchiefs, they were involved in at that Time, was, that, beſides the treaſonable Correſpondences which *France* held with ſome principal Members of that Government, they had neither any good Troops, nor a Commander in Chief, and, relying on the Peace and fair Promiſes of *France*, they were well nigh lulled aſleep by that fatal Melody, whilſt that King was hard at Work to undermine the Foundation of their dear-bought Liberties and Government. We find in Time of Peace the Soldiers grow idle, as well as their Arms ruſty. Eaſe pleaſeth and flatters us, and Men are ſoon perſuaded

* To preach Religion to his Subjects.

to

to lay aſide the Exerciſe of Arms, to betake themſelves to a more gainful Way of Living; ſo that, when the Enemy approached, they are readier to embrace Shame, when joined with Profit and Pleaſure, than to ſtrive for Glory, ſurrounded with Difficulties and Dangers.

France knew very well, that, ſo long as the *United Provinces* had no General, that Soldiery could not be but in a very bad Condition, and incapable of defending them from the Attempts of a powerful Enemy; wherefore he took ſpecial Care, by cunning Practices and falſe Suggeſtions (exaſperating the Minds of the oppoſite Party) to prevent the Prince of *Orange*'s being advanced to thoſe Places of Truſt and Dignity, his Royal Highneſs is now ſo deſervedly poſſeſſed of *. By this Means the States grew daily weaker and weaker, their Troops were diſſipated, their Fortifications neglected, their ſtrongeſt Holds went to Decay, their Magazines were unfurniſhed, whilſt *France* was raiſing Troops under-hand, and making ſecret Alliances with *England*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, in order to their final Ruin. *Du Pleſſis* is much in the Right, when he ſays, 'That a State is not to be judged 'ſtrong or weak, but with Relation to the 'Strength or Weakneſs of its Neighbours; 'and that it is upon that Score, that wiſe 'Princes endeavour to keep themſelves, as 'much as they can, in equal Poiſe with their 'Neighbours, to the End, they continue in 'Peace and Amity together; for, as ſoon as 'this fails, all Peace and good Correſpondence 'are diſſolved, as being only grounded upon a 'mutual Fear or Eſteem for one another.' Which is ſo true, that a prudent Prince is always jealous of the leaſt Advance or Motion of his Neighbour, though in a Time of Truce or Peace, and is continually upon his Watch, endeavouring to be informed of his Deſigns before they be brought forth; for, by this Means, he puts him by his Meaſures, and fruſtrates his Purpoſes. In which Point many Princes and States, who are too ſaving, fail very oft; and this Covetouſneſs of theirs coſts them and their People very dear, by occaſioning a moſt expenſive War, which, at the firſt, by Precaution, might have been prevented with a ſmall Matter. *France* is ſo well informed of this Truth, that they neglect nothing in ſuch Caſes, and their Ambaſſadors in all the Courts of *Europe* are ſupplied with Money for that very Purpoſe, who, knowing they cannot pleaſe their Maſter better, than by corrupting one or more of the Miniſters of the Prince or State at whoſe Court they reſide, are Day and Night contriving for it, and ſpare nothing to bring it about. Yea, when it happens that they cannot prevail with the Man himſelf they aim at, they endeavour to gain his Wife, or, in Caſe they chance to be ſo unhappy as to fail there alſo, they condeſcend to make their Application to ſome of their Children; nay, ſo humble are they, and ſuch Slaves to their Maſter's Ambition, that they will not ſtick to bribe their Servants, and furniſh them with Money proportionable to the Service they are able and willing to do them.

Theſe are the Maxims that ſpeed their Deſigns wonderfully well in ſuch States as are governed by many Heads, as the *United Provinces*; which are a great Bar to the *French* King in his Aim of conquering the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, who very well knows, that, being Maſter of the one, he cannot miſs of the other. His great Buſineſs therefore is, to lull the *States* of the *United Provinces* aſleep with a Truce, which he will break, when he pleaſes, being in Hopes that their Forces will, in the mean Time, be neglected, in laying out themſelves wholly to propagate and encourage Trade and Navigation. For that King is well aware, that the *States*, being awake and ſtanding on their Guard, will never conſent to his poſſeſſing himſelf of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, at leaſt they ought not to do it, ſince that is the only Bar and Rampart which hinders *France* from overwhelming them, which they ought, therefore, by all Means to endeavour to preſerve whole and intire, as one would his Neighbour's Houſe from being ſet on Fire.

What Pains did not Count *D'Avaux* take to ſet one Province againſt the other, and to ſow Diviſions among the Cities of *Holland*? how buſy was he at *Amſterdam*? What Proffers or Promiſes did he ſpare to bring it about? Which is a Thing ſo publickly known from that Ambaſſador's frequent Journies to that great City, that the very Children were not ignorant of it. We muſt not imagine that

* What clearer Memorial would the *Dutch* have to bring them out of their preſent Lethargy, when almoſt under the ſame Deluſion?

Mombas

Mombas was alone engaged in this * Treaſon againſt the State, but rather that he, eſcaping into *France*, has left ſeveral behind him, that walk in the Dark, and are not yet diſcovered. The beſt of it is, that Count *D'Avaux* begins to be known, and his Inſinuations not believed, he having but too long impoſed upon the Credulity and good Nature of many, who, now perceiving the Cheat, will ſcarcely ſuffer themſelves to be decoyed a ſecond Time. And, as *France* was diligent to ſow theſe Diviſions and Jealouſies amongſt them at Home, ſo was he no leſs induſtrious in fomenting Differences between *England* and them, as knowing very well, that theſe neighbouring Powers, when joined together, are able to give Check to his Pride, and ſet Bounds to his Ambition. How pleaſing a Sight is it to the *French* King to ſee them engaged one againſt each other, and purſuing his Intereſt at ſo vaſt an Expence of their own Blood and Treaſure? The laſt War between thoſe two States was ſome Difference about Matters of Commerce, and, whilſt the King of *England* was arming, the *French* King offered to engage in a Treaty with *Holland*, on Purpoſe to amuſe and divert them from putting themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, as they ſoon after perceived; when *France*, inſtead of concluding the Treaty, begun with them, and declared himſelf for *England*; and, whilſt the latter attacked them by Sea, he invaded their Country with a puiſſant Army; and, ſuppoſing the Conqueſt of thoſe Provinces indubitable, they had before-hand divided them amongſt themſelves, *England* being to have for his Share all the Maritime Places, and *France* all the reſt; *Amſterdam* only proved a Bone of Contention, and occaſioned ſome Difference between them, both the one and the other deſiring it for his Share; though indeed they had no Reaſon to be in a Heat about it, ſeeing all this was but Reckoning without their Hoſt, God preſerving it from falling into either of their Hands. Thus, a Peace being, at laſt, concluded with *England*, the Spirit of *France* was at Work again to withdraw the *States* from their Allies; and, finding that Things were about to change Face, and that the *Dutch*, being rouſed by a Diſcovery of the Artifices and Treachery of *France*, began to look about them, and their Troops, having a good General † at the Head of them, became conſiderable and formidable, he thought fit, for a While, to diſmiſs the *Lion* and act the *Fox*, reſtoring *Maeſtricht* unto them, in order to obtain the Peace of *Nimeguen*. Since which Time that King has contented himſelf to bark afar off, and was ſo apprehenſive of the *States* raiſing the laſt ſix-thouſand Men, that Count *D'Avaux* ſpared nothing to prevent it ‡, and will do ſo ſtill, as often as the *States* ſhall go about to arm themſelves, becauſe that would ſtop the great *Lewis* in the full Career of his Conqueſts, and make his Deſigns to prove abortive. I ſay again, that it is the great Concern of *Holland*, not to ſuffer the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to be loſt, except they deſire, at the ſame Time, to become a Prey to the Uſurper. For, how eaſily will he find an Occaſion of Quarrel with them? And, if all elſe fail, he will make out his Pretenſions and Right to thoſe Provinces, for that they formerly belonged to *Mary* of *Burgundy*, *Philip the Firſt*, *Charles the Fifth*, and afterwards to *Philip the Second*, who were, without Conteſt, the lawful Poſſeſſors thereof, and that, afterwards rebelling, they obtained, by Force, an Acknowledgment of their being a free State. He will proffer to maintain them in all their Liberties and Privileges, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion, in Caſe they willingly ſubmit to him; which, if they ſhould hearken to, he will by little and little clip their Franchiſes, and remove all *Proteſtants* from Places of Truſt, as he has done at Home; and, if they yield not willingly, he will attack them with an armed Hand, as he did in 1672, being ſure the *Roman Catholick* Princes will not oppoſe him, becauſe he has blinded their Eyes with the falſe Pretence of Religion. But, if the Houſe of *Auſtria* be not aware betimes of the Snares he lays for them under theſe ſpecious Pretexts, they will find themſelves deceived, when it is too late to recall their Inadvertency.

To return to the *United Provinces*, I ſay, they ought, next to God, not to rely upon any Thing ſo much as their own Forces; and having nothing ſo much to fear as *France*, they ought

* And whoever reads of the Negotiations of Mr. *Beliſle* in *Germany*, and the Intrigues of Mr. *Chetardie* of late in *Muſcovy*, cannot think that theſe two Miniſters fall any Wiſe ſhort in the Art of Lying, Treachery, Corruption, and Treaſon.

† *William*, Prince of *Orange*.

‡ Did not Mr. *Fenelon* do the ſame lately?

to provide and ſtrengthen themſelves againſt his Power chiefly, who has, for this great While, been plotting and contriving their final Overthrow, or, at leaſt, the Bringing of them ſo low, as to be forced to depend ſolely upon, and truckle under him. It has ſome Time ſince been obſerved, that *France* has had a ſtrong Deſire to make *Holland* liſten to the Propoſal and Treaty, which the *Wolf* in the *Fable* made with the *Sheep: Put away from you* (ſaid the Wolf to thoſe harmleſs Creatures) *your Shepherd and Dog, and we will make an Alliance, and live in Love and Amity together.* In like Manner ſays *Lewis the Great, Diſmiſs your General, and diſband your old Troops; for, to what Purpoſe thoſe unneceſſary Charges in a Time of Peace; eſpecially being ſo well aſſured of our Friendſhip, by the Truce I am engaged in, and the Word of a King, which you may ſafely rely on, that we will live in all Amity and good Correſpondence with you?* But what ſays the *Italian: Truſt not, if thou wouldſt not be cheated.* So that it is ſtill ſafeſt for *Holland* to rely wholly on its own Strength, and to have always a good Fleet at Sea, to ſerve for Convoy and Cruiſing, beſides a Reſerve in Readineſs to join with them, in Caſe of Need. A good Navy may well be called *the right Hand of that Government*, being of great Uſe in diſpelling many Clouds and ill Deſigns which *France* hatcheth againſt his Neighbours. And, if ever the *States* ſhould come to a Reſolution, continually to keep in Pay a certain Number of Seamen, to be ready to be put a-board their Men of War, at any Time, this would produce a double Effect.

The *Firſt* is, that the *States* would always have Men ready at Hand, upon Occaſion (without the Expence of Trouble and Time in raiſing of them) who, by their continual Employment, would be trained up, and well uſed to the Sea, and Naval Conflicts.

The *Second* is, that by this Means they would not fail to draw a great Number of Seamen from the neighbouring Coaſts, continual Pay being no ſmall Encouragement to Mariners, to betake themſelves to the Service of thoſe that offer it, but more eſpecially the *States* Subjects, in foreign Service, would not fail to return to their own Country, to enjoy the Benefit of being maintained all the Year round.

To effect which, the *States* need only to publiſh a Placart, ſtrictly enjoining all Seamen, their Subjects, in foreign Service, to return Home. True, indeed, it is, that the Navy of *France* will but be little the better for it; for I dare affirm, they can fit out very few Men of War, without putting ſome *Dutch* Mariners, eſpecially Pilots, a-board them, as truſting more to their Knowledge and Experience than their own, who are often at a Loſs in long Voyages. Which good and wholſome Reſolution, whenever the *States* ſhall be pleaſed to take, you will preſently ſee the Spirit of *France* ſtrangely exaſperated and diſturbed, and his Ambaſſador running from one City to another, to repreſent his Maſter's juſt Reaſons againſt it. But it is hoped, that, as Count *D'Avaux* has much laid open himſelf to an obvious Diſcovery, by the ſmall Effects his Promiſes have had hitherto, as not being ſeaſoned with the Salt of Truth and Honeſty (the main Thing that keeps up the Credit and Reputation of a Miniſter in foreign Countries) ſo he will do nothing but catch Cold. However, I cannot deny, but the *French* King is beholden to that great Miniſter, for his having inſpired a Fondneſs for *France* into the Minds of ſeveral of the *States* Subjects, which their Lordſhips have no Reaſon to thank him for. Beſides this, *France* receives no ſmall Service from the *Jeſuits*, and other foreign Prieſts, reſiding in the *United Provinces*, who have Penſions allowed them, to pry into, and engage the Inclinations of many there. Theſe Spies are in the Prince's Court, where they have Friends, by whoſe Means they make a Shift to pry into the very Secrets of the Cabinet. How many of this Sort of Cattle are there in the *States* Troops and Gariſons, who have their Correſpondents at the *Hague*, where the general Office of Intelligence is kept, as being the Center of that Government. This is a Thing that ought to be more narrowly looked to, theſe Spies being no other but the Emiſſaries of *France*, who is always reſtleſs, and ſpares nothing that may further his Deſigns. I remember, that not long ſince four Ducatoons a Week were proffered a Servant of a Deputy of the *States*, only to report what he heard from his Maſter, at Table, or in Converſation with others; but the Servant, with ſharp Words, rejected the Proffer, as became an honeſt Man.

This Inſtance ſhews, that *France* ſets upon People every Way, and that, therefore, one had need always to ſtand upon his Guard to avoid the Blow. I have alſo obſerved, that there are another

another Sort of petty Spies, that run up and down the chief Towns, eſpecially the *Hague*, daily ſhifting their Ordinaries, except they find Occaſion to ſtay longer, and are in Proſpect of ſome Advantage to be reaped there, of whom thoſe, who are obliged to frequent ſuch Houſes, ought to beware. Others intrude themſelves into Companies, or reſort to the Court, and go to ſee the Prince and Princeſs at Dinner and Supper, to hear and ſee what is ſaid or done there; and, as ſoon as they have heard or ſeen any Thing of Concern, you ſee them run like Foot-boys to the *French* Ambaſſador, who, for a Reward, invites them to ſtay and eat with him, he now entertaining ſcarce any but ſuch at his Table. I could name a Dozen of them who, to my Knowledge, are employed in this Way, beſides thoſe that do it more ſecretly, and go to the Offering only at Night, and through the Stable-door.

Count *de Caravas*, one of theſe Spies of great Note, though, in my Judgment, of as little Uſe, was not ſo cautious, who, coming from Court, would go into the Ambaſſador's at the Fore-door, in the Middle of the Day, to communicate to him his Collections. Two Perſons, whom I know to be *Jeſuits*, though in the Garb of Officers, reſort every Day to the Prince's Riſing, Dinner, and Supper, and continually attend the Court, where they have ſo many Friends, or at leaſt ſo much Cunning, as to be able to procure their *Catholick* Friends ſome Employment, who are all Emiſſaries of *France*, and wholly devoted to the Service of that King. Others have put themſelves to ſerve even in the Kitchin, where ſuch Sort of Cattle are very dangerous. Therefore, I conclude, that both the States and Prince of *Orange* ought even in all Reſpects, and at all Times, to be very cautious of the wicked and unchriſtian Maxims and Deſigns of *France*, the King himſelf being a falſe and perjured Perſon, who, under Pretence of eſtabliſhing the *Roman Catholick* Religion every where (though by his wicked Life and Breach of Faith he denies all Religion) has no other Aim, but to extend his Dominion to the uttermoſt Bounds of *Europe*, and to that End to deſtroy firſt all the *Proteſtant* Princes, and then the *Roman Catholick* too, that ſo he may cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed not the *Emperor of the* Romans *only*, but *of all* Europe; and certain it is, that nothing can ſerve him as a Bridge to the *Univerſal Monarchy*, but *Holland*, which, from his *Verſailles*, he looks upon with a moſt envious Eye. So that the *States* and People of thoſe Provinces have great Reaſon to mind the Advice of our Saviour to the *Jews: Watch, for you know not what Hour the Thief will come.* To which I add: *Be ready, therefore, to oppoſe him when he ſhall come to break into the Houſe, and uſurp his Neighbour's Territories; and be ſure to look upon* France *as a ſworn Enemy to* Republicks, *and the Plague and Scourge of all that will not yield their Liberties up to him.*

True it is, he fears the *States*, more than he loves them; Care, therefore, muſt be taken, to be always in ſuch a Condition as may ſtill keep him ſo, and to make him know himſelf, whenever he ſhall ſo far forget himſelf, as to meddle with what he has nothing to do. All the Remonſtrances made by Count *d'Avaux*, as ſoon as he ſees the *States* putting themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, muſt not be minded, as being merely upon Deſign; for we may be ſure that Miniſter would not make them, were it not for the promoting of his Maſter's Intereſts.

A ſhort Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Rebellion. Compiled in Verſe, by *Marchamont Nedham*, Author of *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. *London*, printed in 1661. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſeven Pages.

WHen as we liv'd in Peace (God wot)
A King would not content us;
But we, forſooth, muſt hire the *Scot*,
To *all-be-Parliament* us.

Then down went King and Biſhops too;
On goes the holy Wirk,
Betwixt them and the Brethren blue,
T' advance the Crown and Kirk.

But when that theſe had reigned a Time,
Robb'd Kirk, and ſold the Crown;
A more religious Sort up climb,
And cruſh the Jockies down.

But now we muſt have Peace again,
Let none with Fear be vext;
For, if without the King theſe reign,
Then high down they go next.

A Peace, a Peace, the Country cries,
Or elſe we ſhall be undone;
For this brave War we thank the wiſe
Confiding Men of *London*.

Sure now they may, as well as we,
Know how to value Quiet,
When th' Army comes their Gueſts to be,
For a Twelvemonth's Caſh and Diet.

Free Quarter is a tedious Thing,
And ſo is the Exciſe.
None can deliver us but the King,
From this damn'd *Dutch* Device.

The Parliament hath ſerv'd ſeven Years;
True Vengeance then we ſee,
Upon feign'd Jealouſies and Fears;
For yet they are not free.

Long Peace a Plenty did beget,
And Plenty brought forth Pride;
Through Pride to Faction Men were ſet
In Parties to divide.

The new-formed Prieſts firſt led the Way,
And ſaid it was no Sin,
By Force to drive the King away,
And draw the City in.

The Lords and Commons they conſent
To what each Rabbi ſaith;
And ſo the *Catholick* down went,
T' advance the publick Faith.

This brought a War and Taxes on,
T' inſlave a free-born People:
And now the Work is thus far gone,
Next have at Crown and Steeple.

Our wiſe Reformers, brave and gay,
Have ta'en a goodly Courſe,
To fight, to feaſt, to faſt and pray,
And milk each honeſt Purſe.

The Crown's Revenue goes to Wreck,
While they ſing Hymns and Pſalms;
And, rather than themſelves will lack,
The King muſt live on Alms.

We are, the learned *Synod* ſays,
The Church of *England*'s Nurſe,
Who make them bleſs the Sabbath-days,
And all the Week to curſe.

The Plough ſtands ſtill, and Trade is ſmall;
For Goods, Lands, Towns, and Cities,
Nay, I dare ſay, the Devil and all,
Pays Tribute to Committees.

A *Scot*

A *Scot* and *Jeſuit*, join'd in Hand,
First taught the World to ſay,
That Subjects ought to have Command,
And Princes to obey.

Theſe both agreed to have no King;
The *Scotchman* he cries further,
No Biſhop; 'tis a godly Thing
States to reform by Murther.

Then th' *Independent*, meek and ſly,
Moſt lowly lies at Lurch,
And ſo, to put poor Jocky by,
Reſolves to have no Church.

The King dethron'd, the Subjects bleed!
The Church hath no Abode;
Let us conclude they 're all agreed,
That ſure there is no God.

Our States-men (though no Lunaticks,
No Wizards, nor Buffoons)
Have ſhewn a hundred changeling Tricks,
In leſs than three New-moons.

The Devil's Foot is cleft (Men ſpeak):
And ſo (God knows) are they:
The Factions rule by Fits, then take
Their Turns, and run away.

They vote, unvote, and vote with Noiſe
What they cry'd down before,
As ready as if *London* Boys *
Were knocking at the Door.

To-day an *Independ* Outſide;
And then a *Scotch* To-morrow;
Thus ſhuffle and cut, they do divide
Our Wealth, whilſt we know Sorrow.

O happy Treaſon! See how Wealth
Is made their Heaven! They ſwell
With Pride; and live by Blood and Stealth,
As if there were no Hell!

No *Sadducees* but muſt confeſs,
Thoſe Monſters, which are told,
In Story, are riſen now no leſs
Prodigious than of old.

Both *Cain* and *Judas* back are come,
In Wizards moſt divine;
God bleſs us from a *Pulpit*-Drum,
And a preaching *Catiline*.

They feed upon a Kingdom's Curſe,
And prey upon a King!
The Dev'l provide a ſecond Courſe,
And then a Voider bring.

Now, *Charles*, thy Conqueſt is compleat,
And all the World ſhall ſee,
That God, which guides the Royal *Scot*,
Will thy Avenger be.

O Houſe of Commons, Houſe of Lords,
Amend before *September*:
For 'tis decreed, your Soldiers Swords
Shall then you all diſmember.

But like fair Chapmen 'twas well done,
To give you Time and Day
To caſt Accompts; for, one by one,
They will you ſoundly pay.

The Kingdom all in Pieces torn!
Your Time is fairly ſpent;
To make yourſelves a very Scorn,
Your King but *Jack-a-Lent*.

Now, now, we ſee 'twas for the Crown
The Houſes both did fight:
For, ſince the Cavaliers are down,
They put the King to Flight.

The Adjutators, ſtern and proud,
Said, he ſhould have no Quarter,
Becauſe he is a King; and vow'd
To make the Saint a Martyr †.

Their Officers cry'd, Hail, O King;
The reſt made Mocks and Scorns;
The Houſes Vinegar did bring,
And all did plat the Thorns.

Thus crucify'd, Great *Charles* did live
As dead, is gone away:
For Reſurrection, God will give
A new Cor'nation-Day.

* This refers to the Petition of the tumultuous Rabble of the *London* Apprentices againſt the King and Biſhops.

† See the Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication of themſelves from the horrid and deteſtable Murder of King *Charles the Firſt*, as it immediately follows this Hiſtory.

Rouſe

Rouſe up! King *Charles* hath miſs'd the Snare
Laid on his Royal Feet;
Let th' Adjutators now take Care
Each for his Winding-ſheet.

The Army rendezvouſed are,
And do they know not what;
The *Scots* and they are like to jar,
Let us thank God for that.

The Houſes know not what to think;
The Cits horn-madded be:
They muſt be whipt, until they ſtink,
A joyful Sight to ſee!

Thus, Cavaliers, caſt up your Caps,
And tell the Rebels plain,
That *Charles*, in ſpight of all their Traps,
Shall ſhortly rule again.

For Liberty, and Privilege,
Religion, and the King,
We fought; but O! the golden Wedge!
That is the only Thing.

There lies the Cream of all the Cauſe;
Religion is but Whig;
Pure Privilege eats up the Laws,
And cries, For Kings a Fig.

The Houſes may a *Chriſtmas* keep,
The Countrymen a *Lent*;
The Citizens (like ſilly Sheep)
Muſt faſt, and be content.

Then where is Liberty (I pray)
With Juſtice, Truth, and Right?
Sure they and Conſcience fled away
With *Charles*, to th' *Iſle of Wight.*

Gape, gape for Peace, poor Countrymen;
The Members mean to treat:
And we ſhall ſee fair Play agen,
When they no more can cheat.

The King ſhall come to *Weſtminſter*,
It may be to his Grave;
Or, of a glorious Prince, muſt there
Be made a Royal Slave.

But 'twere more wiſe to let him reign
Out of his People's Sight,
For Fear he ſhould bring Peace again,
And put them in a Fright.

Sure *Martin* lay in of a Clap,
And *Say* himſelf did dote;
The *Devil* too wore a ſick Cap,
When th' Houſes paſt this Vote.

Come, let us live, and laugh away
The Follies of this Age;
Treaſon breeds Care; we'll ſing and play
Like Birds within a Cage.

Fetters are th' only Favours now
The Houſes give (we ſee:)
And, ſince the King them wears, I vow,
'Twere Baſeneſs to be free.

Then let us all our Sorrows drown
In Sack and merry Glee:
Ye Citizens of *London* Town,
What jolly Slaves are we!

For Common-prayer, ye have Exciſe,
Free-quarter too is coming
To pay you for your Mutinies,
Feaſts, Covenants, and Drumming.

No *Puritan*, no *Popiſh* Prieſt,
Nor *Proteſtant* now ſhall be;
Nor Law, but to live as we liſt,
'Tis Heaven thus to be free.

Could *Babylon*'s great King now ſit
In Council with our Nation,
He were the only Man to fit
Us with a Reformation.

The glorious golden Idol then
Might ſhine in each Dominion;
Both Factions and their Brethren
Would ſoon be one Opinion.

Away, thou *Pagan* Cavalier,
This God muſt not be thine;
But, for the Saints at *Weſtminſter*,
Whoſe Souls are more divine.

Live, drink, and laugh, our Worthies may,
And kindly take their Fills;
The Subjects muſt their Reckonings pay,
The King muſt paſs their Bills.

No Princes now, but they; the Crown
Is vaniſh'd with our Quiet;
Nor will they let us uſe our own
Devotions and Diet.

All Plums the Prophets Sons defy,
And Spice-broths are too hot;
Treaſon's in a *December*-Pye,
And Death within the Pot.

Chriſtmas, farewel; thy Day (I fear)
And merry Days are done:
So they may keep Feaſts all the Year,
Our Saviour ſhall have none.

O happy Nation heretofore,
When Seas our Walls have been;
Unhappy now we ſee no Shore,
But are all Sea within.

Factions, like Billows, rage and toſs,
And Death mounts ev'ry Wave;
Yet in this Storm we are ſo croſs,
We will no Pilot have.

Juſt ſuch a Tempeſt ſeiz'd upon
Bleſs'd *Paul*, the Scripture ſays,
When he had ſeen no Sun nor Moon,
Nor Stars, for many Days.

Our Sun and Moon no Beams create,
Our Stars diſpers'd we ſee:
Such as was his, will be our Fate,
We muſt all ſhipwreck'd be.

A glorious Prince this Parliament,
The King ſhould be, did ſwear;
But now we underſtand they meant
In Heaven, and not here.

Let them invade the Throne, and part
His Crown, and vote his Fate;
Yet know, in each true noble Heart,
He keeps his Chair of State.

Princes may be, like other Men,
Impriſon'd, and kept under
A While, as Fire in Clouds, but then
At length appear in Thunder.

And, as in hidden Caves the Wind
Sad Tremblings doth create,
So Monarchs, by their own confin'd,
Cauſe Earthquakes in the State.

Farewel the Glory of our Land;
For, now, the Free-born Blades
Our Lives and our Eſtates command,
And ride us all like Jades.

Faith and Religion bleeding lie,
And Liberty grows faint:
No Goſpel, but pure Treachery
And Treaſon make the Saint.

Oh! 'tis a heavenly Cauſe (I trow)
Which firſt baptiz'd the *Round-head*
In noble *Strafford*'s Blood! but now
Muſt on the King's be founded.

Yet know, that Kings are Gods on Earth;
And thoſe, that pull them down,
Shall find it is no leſs than Death
To tamper with a Crown.

'Tis true, as *Harry Martin* ſaid,
The *Scots* away muſt pack;
The Cov'nant ſhall aſide be laid,
Like an old Almanack.

Come then, and buy my new, true, new,
New Almanack moſt true,
Such Accidents of State to ſhew,
The like no Age e'er knew.

Since that we loſt our King and Laws,
Since Jealouſies and Fears,
Since Peace, pure Truth, and this foul Cauſe,
It is full ſeven Years.

Poor *Charles* purſu'd in Forty-one,
Unking'd in Forty-ſeven;
The Eighth will place him on his Throne,
In Earth, or elſe in Heaven.

Three Kingdoms brought to a fine Paſs,
Whilſt that our Saviours rule,
The Country is become an Aſs,
The City but a Mule.

Each Univerſity now pines,
The Church may hang and rot;
They baniſh all our true Divines,
The Lawyers too muſt trot.

Come, Sirs, more Sacks unto the Mill,
More Taxes, more Free-quarter;
'Tis fit our Laws be your bare Will,
And the Exciſe our Charter.

God ſpeed the Plough; plague Rooks and Crows,
And ſend us Years more cheap:
For, I am ſure, whoever ſows,
The Houſes * mean to reap.

* Of Parliament.

Money,

Money, the Soul of Man and Wit,
But yet no Saint of mine!
While th' Houſes vote, and Synod ſit,
Thou ne'er ſhalt want a Shrine.

Reforming is a dull Device,
Dreads nought but Strife and Rage;
Thou putt'ſt us into Paradiſe,
And bring'ſt the golden Age.

Thou art Religion, God, and all
That we may call divine;
Thy Temple is *Weſtminſter-hall*,
And all our Prieſts are thine.

Tuſh, tell not us the Way to Heav'n,
Thou juggling Clergy-Elf,
That ſett'ſt the World at Six and Sevens;
Money is Heav'n itſelf.

Betwixt thoſe Atheiſts feign'd of old,
And ours, there is no Odds;
For both this one Opinion hold,
That Fear did firſt make Gods.

Hell now is thought an idle Dream,
To fright Men from their Crimes;
Religion but a crafty Theme,
Made to bug-bear the Times.

The Bible and great *Babel*'s Whore
May both together burn;
For the religious Fit is o'er,
Now they have ſerv'd their Turn.

Only one Text may 'ſcape their Hands,
Since they have ta'en ſuch Pains
To lay their *Lords in iron Bands*,
And bind their *Kings in Chains*.

Copernicus, thy learned Skill
We praiſe, ſince we have found
The Truth; for now doth Heav'n ſtand ſtill,
Whilſt that the Earth runs round.

See how the Wheel of Providence
Back old Confuſion brings!
Caſhiers us at once of a Prince,
To plague's with petty Kings.

They ſay, the Scints all Rule muſt take,
And others muſt have none;
Their Privilege it is to make
A Footſtool of the Throne.

The Laws o' th' Land ſay, *Charles* muſt reign;
And Conſcience pleads his Cauſe;
But Conſcience is a Thing moſt vain,
Their Goſpel eats up Laws.

Never ſuch Rebels have been ſeen,
As ſince we led this Dance;
So we may feaſt, let Prince and Queen
Beg, *a-la-mode de France*.

Let Conſcience pine, and cry, 'Tis ſtrange,
We'll ſay, 'Tis bravely done;
To make the King take, in Exchange,
A Dungeon for a Throne.

Away with Juſtice, Laws, and Fear;
When Men reſolve to riſe,
Brave Souls muſt ſcorn all Scruples, where
A Kingdom is the Prize.

Then let us what our Labours gain
Enjoy, and bleſs our Chance;
Like Kings, let's domineer and reign,
Thus, *a-la-mode de France*.

King and no King was once a Play,
Or Fable on the Stage;
But ſee! it is become this Day
The Moral of our Age.

Newcaſtle was the firſt beſt Scene;
Then *Holmby*, *Hampton-Court*;
Next, from a Palace to a Den
Tranſlated, to make Sport.

Each State-Buffoon a Part did take;
Some plaid the Fool, ſome Knave;
But ſtill the Plot was laid to make
Their King a Royal Slave.

Brave Actors! we admire your Skill;
Your Play none underſtands;
Yet, make an Exit when you will,
We all ſhall clap our Hands.

At *Weſtminſter* two wond'rous Beaſts,
This Day *, are to be ſeen,
Call'd *Liberty* and *Privilege*;
(God ſave the King and Queen.)

Say, Monſters ſtrange, what Kin are ye
To Tygers, or the Lion?
For Shame, boaſt not your Pedigree
From the ſweet Sons of *Zion*.

* *March* 14, 1648.

This

This Liberty firſt whelp'd the Cauſe;
The Cauſe then lay at Lurch,
To gull the City, damn the Laws,
And quite caſhier the Church.

But Privilege (O monſtrous Thing!)
Eats up poor *Cavaliers*;
Feeds on the Gentry and the King;
But next have at the Peers.

Once more the Kingdom lies at Stake;
No Matter, then, who wins:
Two Schiſmaticks the Wagers make,
And now the Game begins.

The *Scots* and Sects, two godly Cheats,
Debar both Ace and Sice;
To rook each other with fine Feats,
They both bring in falſe Dice.

The Firſt throws for the Covenant;
Next, who ſhall rule and ſway;
For *Jocky* now doth ſwear and rant,
He'll have no more foul Play.

The Sectaries cry'd, 'Have at all,'
When firſt the Dice were thrown;
But, rather than the *Scots* ſhall brawl,
They'll part Stakes in the Crown.

The Devil's Reign is ſhort, though fierce;
Then let our Muſick ſound;
The Drawers all the Hogſheads pierce,
And make the Healths go round.

Here's a Health to the King in Sack,
To the Houſes in ſmall Beer;
In Vinegar to th' crabbed Pack*
Of Prieſts at *Weſtminſter*.

Next, to revive our fainting States,
Fill out ſome *Aqua-vitæ*;
'Twere Pity on the Bridge ſuch Pates
Should meet in a Committee.

Let's water th' Royal Plants with Tears
Of rich, divine Canary;
Drink on, *Cav'liers*, t' all loyal Peers;
Then end with *Charles* and *Mary*.

Full forty Thouſand *Scots*, by Vote,
Muſt viſit us e're long;
Brave Army, ſure! when ev'ry *Scot*
Is forty Thouſand ſtrong!

Though th' Houſes have deſerv'd theſe Plagues,
God keep our Nation free;
Like *Egypt*, let not us by Rags
And Vermin conquer'd be.

For Shame, for Shame, call Home your King,
With Honour let him treat;
His Nature is without a Sting;
His Motto, *To forget*.

Return, return, diſloyal Crew
Of Men forſworn; if not,
Rather than thus we'll ſtoop to you,
We'll idoliſe the *Scot*.

Come, *Mahomet*, thy Turn is next;
Now Goſpel's out of Date,
The *Alcoran* may prove good Text
In our new *Turkiſh* State.

Thou doſt unto thy Prieſts allow
The Sin of full four Wives;
Ours ſcarce will be content with, now,
Five Livings and nine Lives.

Thy Saints and ours are all alike,
Their Virtues flow from Vice;
No Bliſs they do believe, and ſeek,
But an earthly Paradiſe.

A Heav'n on Earth they hope to gain
But, we do know full well,
Could they their glorious Ends attain,
This Kingdom muſt be Hell.

From Priſon now return the King,
The Queen and Prince from *France*;
For choſen *Charles* the *Welchmen* ſing,
And ſtoutly lead the Dance.

The *Scotch* Bag-pipes, the Pulpit-drums,
And Prieſts ſound high and big;
Once more the Cauſe and Cov'nant comes,
To ſhew's a *Scotiſh* Jig.

The *Iriſh* will a Voyage take,
To join their Force in one;
And, whilſt they friſk a Galliard, make
The Houſes ſing, *O Hone*.

Three Kingdoms thus muſt dance the Hay;
But, e're the Members run,
We'll ſee they ſhall the Muſick pay;
And then the Dance is done.

* Synod of Divines.

Sev'n Years, by phrentick Votes and Fits,
Our Worthies bore Command;
Then did they run out of their Wits,
But now out of the Land.

No more ſhall they the City ride,
Like a fine golden Aſs:
The Navy's rigg'd with Wind and Tide,
They ſtay but for a Paſs.

But, if they linger long behind,
And keep their King in Bands,
I'll undertake, it ſhall be ſign'd
By a Hundred-thouſand Hands.

For proſp'rous Gales then, on the Deep,
Let their Prieſts prate and pray,
By Order, and at *Margaret's* keep
An Humiliation-day.

The Factious now each other rout,
With Jealouſies and Fear;
The *Independents* face-about;
The reſt cry, *As you were.*

The *Presbyters* put forth their Horns,
To guard their Goods and Homes;
The She-Militia likewiſe ſcorns
Their Cocks ſhould loſe their Combs.

Then toll (I pray) the Paſſing-bell
For our new State-committee;
Theſe monſtrous Votes, which made them
ſwell,
Are cow'd down by the City.

Sweet *John-a-Nokes*, and *John-a-Styles*,
And worſhipful *Jack-Straws*,
Of both the Junto's, leave your Wiles,
And give's our King and Laws.

Betwixt two Thieves our Saviour once
Suffer'd for us, and dy'd;
So 'twixt two thieviſh Factions
Our King is crucify'd.

Cæſar, not *Chriſt*, the ancient *Jews*
Paid Tribute of their Treaſure;
Our *Jews* no King but *Chriſt* will chuſe,
And rob, and cry down *Cæſar*.

Now for the King the zealous Kirk
'Gainſt th' *Independent* bleats;
Whenas (alas!) their only Wirk
Is to renew old Cheats.

If they can ſit, vote what they liſt,
And cruſh the new States down;
Then up go they; but neither *Chriſt*,
Nor King, ſhall have his own.

The Pox, the Plague, and each Diſeaſe,
Are cur'd, though they invade us;
But never look for Health and Peace,
If once *Presbyt'ry* jade us.

When ev'ry Prieſt becomes a Pope,
Then Tinkers and Sow-gelders
May, if they can but 'ſcape the Rope,
Be Princes and Lay-Elders.

If once the Kirk-men pitch their Tents
Without our Aſſembly-Aſſes,
Synods will eat up Parliaments,
Courts be devour'd by Claſſes.

Look to't, ye Gentry, elſe be Slaves
To Slaves that can't abide you:
Though ye have been cow'd down by Knaves,
Oh! let not Fools now ride you.

But Sev'n Years (of a Thouſand 'tis)
Our Saints muſt Rulers be:
So they ſhall loſe, in Years of Bliſs,
Nine hundred ninety three.

No more then let theſe Rabbies truſt
Unto the Revelation;
For their Interpreter is Luſt,
And Pride makes Application.

Religion but a Pack-horſe is,
To carry on Deſigns;
The Bible like a Juggler's Box,
Us'd by our State-Divines.

Texts are tormented one by one,
Like Votes, now here, now there:
Thus *Hocus-Pocus* is out-done
By them at *Weſtminſter*.

The Banes are aſk'd, the Marriage next
Goes forward in the City:
For now the Match is made betwixt
Them and the State-Committee.

Thou, Strumpet *(London)*, tell not us
Of *Babel* any more,
If from thy King thou parteſt thus,
Thou art the greater Whore.

Thy Bags their Portion now are meant,
As well as Crown and Church;
But, when that all is gone and ſpent,
They'll leave thee in the Lurch.

Thou Bawd of Treaſon, then, for all
Thy curſed Fornication,
Thou and thy Prieſtly Panders ſhall
Be carted through the Nation.

The Market's made; the King ſhall treat,
(They ſay) and buy his own:
But is not this a very Cheat
To ſet the Price, a Crown?

Alas! the Members run by Rote,
And ſhew us many a Feat:
Thus all the Year they'll vote, unvote,
For Money, Cloaths, and Meat.

'Tis fit that they uphold their Trades,
Whate'er Malignants ſpeak:
So they can thrive, the City-Jades
Their Backs and Necks may break.

Poor *What d' lack* ſmall Gains can ſhow,
With many an empty Shelf;
The Houſe ſpoils Shops, 'tis Aye and No,
That brings in all the Pelf.

Rebellion makes our Nation bleed
With freſh Alarms, we ſee;
But yet it is not well agreed
Who muſt the Rebel be.

The *Round-head* firſt the Rebel was,
(If Truth be in the Laws)
'Till Treaſon did for Goſpel paſs,
To bolſter up the Cauſe.

The thriving Cauſe with high Diſdain,
In Fortune's full Career,
Throws Rebel in the Face again
Of King and Cavaleer.

Thus proſp'rous Miſchief makes it good
Againſt all Law and Reaſon;
Not to ſpill Royal, Loyal Blood,
But, to be conquer'd's Treaſon.

Five Month's ago *, our mighty States
Were pleas'd to vote, *No King*;
But two Months ſince, to act new Cheats,
Their Votes the Changes ring.

'Tis Time the Bells of *Weſtminſter*
Chime backwards and retire,
To quench the Flame, when, as we hear,
The Kingdom's all on Fire.

But yet, it ſeems, they make a Stand,
And cry it is no Matter:
What need they care for Fire on Land,
Whoſe Journey lies by Water?

GOD ſend them Ships, fair Winds and Tide,
With Paſſage quick and good;
Or elſe I fear (to ſcourge our Pride)
They'll ſwim through Seas of Blood.

The Holy War goes on a-pace,
Yet brings the Saints no Pay;
In Triumph now they ne'er ſay Grace,
But only faſt and pray.

They many an hungry Conqueſt get,
But not Thankſgiving-Dinners;
The City knows they ſcorn to eat
With Publicans and Sinners.

The Members cannot ſpare one Meal;
Their Bags lie ſeal'd in Town;
What, tho' they broke the King's great Seal
They'll not undo their own?

The Country bids them ſtarve, or hang,
They'll be no more kept under;
The *Cavaliers* will ſoundly bang
Them all, and ſpoil their Plunder.

Reformation, thou Stalking-Horſe
Of our Hip-ſhotten State;
Th' Appendix of the Publick Purſe,
And Midwife of our Fate!

'Twas thou and *Beldam* Conſcience firſt,
That ſet the World a madding;
And you yourſelves, like *Cain* accurs'd,
Have ever ſince been gadding.

Pox take th'unlucky Cauſe, for me,
It is a wild Vagary;
The Bane or Boon Society;
For that firſt rais'd Canary.

Poor Sinners now muſt ſnap a Cruſt;
Ye deadly Sev'n, farewel;
For, ſince you're all excis'd, we muſt
Pay dear to purchaſe Hell.

What, though the Factions are agreed
The Kingdom ſtill to cheat?
Do what they can, it is decreed
The King ſhall come and treat.

* *June* 20, 1648.

Come from the Dungeon to the Throne,
(Great *Charles*) and quell the Rage
Of th' Iron World; with Thee alone
Revives the Golden Age.

Thoſe very Saints, which joy'd thy Fall,
And ſaid thy Day was done,
Will now, like *Perſian Pagans*, all
Adore the riſing Sun.

No more wrapp'd up in Clouds remain,
Secluded from the Nation;
May thou and thine ſhine bright, and reign
A glorious Conſtellation.

It is decreed, great Prince, thy Fate
Should check their damned Plots;
Though *London* jade it for the State,
And bandies at the *Scots*.

The *Preſbyters* now fain would ride,
And ſhew us t'other Feat;
Therefore, to quell the Saint's high Pride,
They ſay the King ſhall treat.

Were he in their Hands, the Town's their own,
The Houſes too muſt work,
To vote the *Independents* down,
And mount the Raſcal Kirk.

Away, ye juggling paltry Crew
Of well affected Knaves;
Rather than free your Sovereign, you
Yourſelves will live like Slaves.

Stand to't, ye Lords, we'll ſtand to you,
And clip the Commons Wings;
Let not the Lev'ling Raſcal Crew
Thus domineer like Kings.

The Lower is the Upper Houſe,
And hath been ſo ſeven Years;
Your Votes they value not a Louſe,
Ye Antichriſtian Peers.

They give you many a rattling Peal,
And bait you one by one;
For, ſhould a Treaty take, their Zeal
And Saintſhips are undone.

My Lords, of *Gotam*, not of *Greece*,
Your Wiſdoms I ſhall ſing;
And ſell you all for Pence a-piece,
If you reject your King.

No Camel, like the *London* Breed,
To drudge, pray, pay, and feaſt;
In Body, and in Purſe, to bleed;
O 'tis a patient Beaſt!

If you'll needs pray, pray ſtay at Home;
Tell God your ſad Condition;
'Tis *Popiſh* to the Saints to come
And put up your Petition.

This wond'rous Idol of the State
The Stomach hath of *Bell*;
Like *Moloch* it Mankind doth eat,
And quick devours like Hell.

As th' Horſe-Leech (Give) it ever cries
And rages like the Dragon;
As the old Serpent it is wiſe;
But it muſt fall like *Dagon*.

Would you know why the Plague has ceas'd,
Theſe laſt ſev'n Years now ſpent?
Becauſe GOD knows no greater Peſt
Than this ſame Parliament.

How many Thouſands hath it ſwept
Of Bodies, Souls, and Gold!
King, Church, and People, none except,
Have all been bought and ſold.

Our merry Pipes, for Trumpets ſhrill,
Our Tabers chang'd to Drums;
Princes are brav'd by *Jack* and *Jill*,
Wat Tilers and *Tom-Thumbs*.

'Tis Time thoſe Bags, which caus'd the War,
Should make the War to ceaſe;
For the States Muſick is to jar,
But our beſt Muſick's Peace.

Now ſhall the King enjoy his own;
And that new Virtue, Treaſon,
Whereby the Saints do claim the Crown,
Be baffled with high-Reaſon.

Great *Charles*, thy Virtues I deſire,
Not *Solomon*'s, nor his Stores;
For who can tell moſt to admire
His Wiſdom or his Whores?

His Vices ſo eclips'd his Grace,
That Wranglers cannot tell,
Whether as yet they may him place
In Heaven, or in Hell.

But all that was in him Divine,
And more, to thee is giv'n;
That, where ſo many Graces ſhine,
A Priſon muſt be Heav'n.

Another Blow! will not the *Scot*,
And loyal *Engliſh* do?
Sure, *Jove* himſelf is of the Plot,
An *Independent* too.

Is he a King, and will he ſee
Rebels aſſault the Crown?
Had they but Hands to reach, 'tis he
Should next reſign his own.

Is he a God? And ſhall this Tribe
Go on, as they begin?
Atheiſts will ſay, they do him bribe
For Privilege to ſin.

If theſe be Saints, 'tis vain indeed
To think there's Good or Evil;
The World will ſoon be of this Creed,
No God, no King, no Devil.

Of all thoſe Monſters which we read
In *Africk*, *Inde*, or *Nile*,
None like to thoſe now lately bred
Within this wretched Iſle.

The *Canibal*, the *Tyger* fell,
Crocodile and *Sycophant*;
The *Turk*, the *Jew*, and *Infidel*,
Make up an *Engliſh* Saint.

By theſe were *Liſle* and *Lucas* crown'd;
Two Worlds, both great and good;
For Men, Arts, Arms, were all here drown'd
I'th' Deluge of their Blood.

The Trump of Fame's too low and weak,
That of the general Doom
Is only fit their Praiſe to ſpeak,
The World to be their Tomb.

The Treaty holds; and ſome Men are
Convinc'd the Wars will ceaſe;
Fond Folk! To think the Men of War
Will e'er endure a Peace.

Go bid the *Scot* quit *Engliſh* Ground,
The *Swede* the *German* Air;
Holland obey the *Spaniſh* Crown,
The *Pope* leave *Peter's* Chair.

Woo the great Stateſman to his Grave,
Preach Goſpel to the *Jews*;
To *Turks*, that *Mahomet's* a Knave,
Platonick Love to Stews.

Let Citizens loath ſacred Things,
Preſbyters Pride and Eaſe;
When theſe are done, make Saints love Kings,
And then we may have Peace.

See in what Glory *Charles* now ſits,
With Truth to conquer Treaſon;
And prove he is the King of Wits,
The World, himſelf, and Reaſon.

Angels bear Witneſs, G O D looks down,
The Graces to attend;
Sure none but Devils then will frown
Upon a bleſſed End.

Ten-hundred Thouſand loyal Hearts,
All bleeding at his Fate;
As many Wiſhes from all Parts
Fly round his Chair of State.

Come then, ye dirty ſainted Elves,
Worſe than Church-window Paint;
By this fair Glaſs abhor yourſelves,
Learn here to be a Saint.

The King the four great Bills muſt paſs,
And none but Saints are free;
Th' *Iriſh* and *Cavaliers*, alas!
Muſt th' only Rebels be.

New Lords, new Laws, new Saints are we,
Religion's in a fine Pickle;
When 'tis reſolv'd the Church ſhall be
A Three-years Conventicle.

Militia too, they needs muſt gain,
Thoſe pretty carnal Tools:
For *Paul's* old Weapons they diſdain,
As fit for none but Fools.

Thus Royal *Charles* lets to Leaſe,
Lays Sword and Scepter down;
To ſhew he values us and Peace
Above a glorious Crown.

Give me the Dragon's Gall for Ink,
His Sting to be my Pen;
To blaſt the *Scot*, and make him ſtink,
Worſe than the Dregs of Men.

See

See now the Reformation-Wirk,
For which they made us bleed;
Is to caſhier King, Church, and Kirk,
On this and that Side *Tweed.*

Let them with *Egypt*'s Plagues be croſt,
Yet ſtill find new and worſe;
And, ſince I have *Job*'s Patience loſt,
Give me his Skill to curſe.

At Home and Hell may they e'er dwell;
And for quick Paſſage thither,
As they have juggled all full well,
So may they hang together.

Let me be *Turk*, or any Thing,
But a *Scotch Calviniſt*;
Firſt he damn'd Biſhops; next his King;
Now he caſhiers his Chriſt.

Gode Faith, Sir, they the Pulpit bang,
But let their Goſpel down;
For the old Saviour needs muſt gang,
Now a new one's come to Town.

The Saints, whom once their Mouths did curſe,
Dear Brethren are and Friends;
Which proves their Zeal a Stalking-horſe
For knaviſh-godly Ends.

Then rail no more at Antichriſt,
But learn ye to be civil;
And, ſince ye have King *Cromwell* kiſs'd,
Shake Hands too with the Devil.

Since they have damn'd all Saints of old,
No new ſhall be for me;
Like *Jews*, they worſhip Gods of Gold,
Their King they crucify.

Were he the King of Kings, his Crown
Could not be ſafe from Foes;
Like *Jeſuits*, they no Goſpel own,
But Murther and Depoſe.

Like *Turks*, their Heav'n lies all in Senſe,
In Wenches, Tarts, and Jelly;
No Hell they fear, when parted hence;
They ſerve no God but Belly.

All this, and more, by *Jove*, is true,
If they the Treaty ceaſe,
To juggle with the Lev'lling Crew
That cry, *No King, no Peace.*

No Lord, no Knight, no Gentleman,
For Honours now are Crimes;
The Saints will form us, if they can,
All to the Prim'tive Times.

Brave Days, when *Adam* was a King
Without Crown, Lands, or Riches!
So, ſtripp'd of Royal Robes, they'll bring
Great *Charles* to Fig-leave Breeches.

Princes with Ploughmen Rank ſhall paſs;
Ladies, like the firſt Woman,
Muſt ſpin, or elſe be turn'd to Graſs,
Now all Things are in common.

Thus Cov'nanting and Levelling
Three Kingdoms have o'erthrown,
And made all Fellows, with their King,
A Foot-ball of the Crown.

Tell me, thou *Preſbyterian* Aſs,
Why thou at firſt didſt jar?
Thy peeviſh Plea, No Biſhops, was
The firſt Ground of the War.

Next, to thy Shame thou did didſt combine
With the Sectarian Routs;
Our *Charles* ſhould be no King of thine,
Or but a King of Clouts.

Both King and Biſhops thus exil'd,
The Saints, not yet content,
Now with freſh Flames of Zeal grow wild,
And cry, *No Parliament.*

Well may we then this Maxim prove,
Treaſon no End can know,
But levels at the Gods above,
As well as thoſe below.

Hark, how for Peace the Kingdom groans,
That warr'd they knew not why!
Yield then, or elſe the very Stones
Will out againſt you cry.

For Shame, ye Baſtard-Saints, give o'er,
Or elſe the World will think,
Your Mother is great *Babel*'s Whore,
If Blood you love to drink.

The State's grown fat with Orphans Tears,
Whilſt Widows pine and moan;
And tender Conſcience, in ſev'n Years,
Is turn'd t' a Heart of Stone.

Return,

Return, hard Hearts, the Treaty ends,
Our Breaſts with Hope do ſwell;
Your Bags are full, then let's be Friends,
Or bid the World Farewel.

Nor Gods above, nor Gods below,
Our Saints (I ſee) will own;
Allegiance is Rebellion now,
Treaſon to wear a Crown.

Nor King, nor Parliament, will pleaſe,
'Tis Goſpel to rebel:
Nay, they'll remonſtrate againſt Peace,
Be it in Heav'n or Hell.

Pluto, beware, (to thee they come,
When here their Work is done:)
For they'll break looſe, and beat up Drum,
And ſtorm thee in thy Throne.

Then *John-a-Leyden*, *Nell*, and all
Their goblin ghoſtly Train,
(Brave Rebel Saints triumphant) ſhall
Begin their ſecond Reign.

Brave Reformation! now I ſee,
London's a bleſſed Place,
To find the Saints chearful and free,
And nurſe the Babe of Grace.

Let yellow Boys ne'er tempt their Sight
Of Valour with the Sources,
For the tame Slaves will never fight,
Till they have empty Purſes.

Come then, ye louſy, wanton Wags
Of ſainted Chivalry,
And free their poor condemned Bags
That groan for Liberty.

March on, boon Blades, here's Store of Caſh,
Their King they will not pity:
Then ſpur them on, and ſoundly laſh
Theſe Dull-men of the City.

Dull Cuckolds! we are dainty Slaves,
And well may be content,
When thirty Fools, and twenty Knaves,
Make up a Parliament.

They baniſh all Men in their Wits,
Vote King, Lords, all Offenders;
And authoriſe the phrentick Fits
Of our Long-ſword State-menders.

'Tis *Noll*'s own Brew-houſe now, I ſwear;
The Speaker's but his Skinker:
Their Members are, like th' Council of War,
Car-men, Pedlars, and Tinkers.

Fine *Journey Junto!* pretty *Knack!*
None ſuch in all paſt Ages!
Shut Shop; for, now the godly Pack
Will next pay you your Wages.

Gone are thoſe golden Days of Yore,
When *Chriſtmas* was an High-day,
Whoſe Sports we now ſhall ſee no more;
'Tis turn'd into *Good-Friday*.

Now, when the King of Kings was born,
And did Salvation bring,
They ſtrive to crucify in Scorn
His Viceroy, and their King.

Since th' ancient Feaſt they have put down,
No new one will ſuffice;
But the choice Dainties of a Crown,
Princes in Sacrifice.

No Powers are ſafe, Treaſon's a Tilt,
And the mad Sainted-Elves
Boaſt, when the Royal Blood is ſpilt,
They'll all be Kings themſelves.

Like jolly Slaves, ye goodly Knaves,
We'll bid th'old Year Adieu:
Old Sack and Things muſt paſs away,
And ſo ſhall all your new.

Now for a No-King, or a New;
For th'Old, they ſay, ſhall pack;
The New may ſerve a Year to view
Like an old Almanack.

New Houſes, new; for th' old ones dote,
And have been thrice made Plunder;
The Saints do vote, and act by Rote,
And are a Nine-days Wonder.

Then let us chear, this merry New-year;
For *CHARLES* ſhall wear the Crown:
'Tis a damn'd Cauſe, that damns the Laws,
And turns all upſide down.

The Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication of themſelves, from the horrid and deteſtable Murder of King *Charles the Firſt*, of glorious Memory. With their Names ſubſcribed, about the Twentieth of *January*, 1648.

ISAIAH lxii. 1.

For Zion's Sake I will not hold my Peace, and for Jeruſalem's Sake I will not reſt, until the Righteouſneſs thereof go forth as Brightneſs, and the Salvation thereof as a Lamp that burneth.

PROVERBS xxiv. 21, 22.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to Change.

For their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them both?

London, printed in the Year MDCXLVIII. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

IT cannot be unknown how much we, and other Miniſters of this City and Kingdom that faithfully adhered to the Parliament, have injuriouſly ſmarted under the Scourge of evil Tongues and Pens, ever ſince the firſt Eruption of the unhappy Differences and unnatural War between the King and Parliament, for our Obedience to the Commands and Orders of the honourable Houſes, in their Conteſts with his Majeſty, and Conflicts with his Armies.

We are not ignorant of the over-buſy Intermeddlings of Prelates and their Party heretofore, in over-ruling Civil Affairs to the great Endangering of the Kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private Intereſts, ambitious Deſigns, Revenge, or other ſiniſter Ends, engaged them beyond their Sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reaſonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Miniſters, as *Subjects*, being bound to obey the Laws, and to preſerve the Liberties of the Kingdom, and having an Intereſt in them, and the Happineſs of them, as well as others, may, and ought (without incurring [illegible] Cenſure due to Buſy-bodies and Incendiaries) to appear, for Preſerving the Laws and Liberties of that Commonwealth, whereof they are Members, eſpecially in our Caſe, when it was declared by the Parliament, that all was at Stake, and in Danger to be loſt. No, nor, as *Miniſters*, ought they to hold their Peace, in a Time wherein the Sins of Rulers and Magiſtrates, as well as others, have ſo far provoked God, as to kindle the Fire of his Wrath againſt

againſt his People. And yet, for this alone, the faithful Servants of God have, in all Ages, through the Malice of *Satan* and his Inſtruments been traduced as Arch-incendiaries, when only their Accuſers are indeed guilty of both laying the Train, and of putting Fire to it, to blow up a Kingdom.

And *Ahab* and his Sycophants think none ſo fit to bear the Odium of being the grand *Troubler of Iſrael*, as *Elijah*. Thus, the *Popiſh* Device was, to charge the *Gun-powder Treaſon* (had it taken Effect) upon the *Puritans*; and, if you believe *Tertullus*, even a *Paul* is a *peſtilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition throughout the World, a Ring-leader of a Sect*, and what not, but what he is; yea, *Chriſt* himſelf (tho' a Friend to Monarchy, even of Heatheniſh *Rome)* is proclaimed *an Enemy to Cæſar*, to open a Way to his Deſtruction, by their Malice, who never cared for the Intereſt of *Cæſar*.

Wherefore, although *with us*, who have had Experience of like Uſage, *it be a ſmall Thing to be* thus *judged of Men*, when we regard only our own particular Perſons; for, *if they call the Maſter of the Houſe Beelzebub, how much more thoſe of his Houſhold?* Yet when we conſider, how much it concerns the Honour of our Maſter, and the Good of all, to preſerve our Miniſterial Function immaculate (our good Names being in that Relation as needful to others, as a good Conſcience to ourſelves) we dare not but ſtand by and aſſert the Integrity of our Hearts, and the Innocency of all our Actions (in Reference to the King and Kingdom) for which we are ſo much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compelled to at this Time, becauſe there are many who very confidently (yet moſt unjuſtly) charge us to have been formerly inſtrumental, towards the Taking away the Life of the King. And becauſe alſo there are others, who in their ſcurrilous Paſquils and Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues) preſent us to the World as a *bloody ſeditious Sect, and traitorous Obſtructors, of what all the godly People of the Kingdom do earneſtly deſire for Eſtabliſhing of Religion and Peace*, in that we ſtick at the *Execution* of the King, while yet we are (as they falſly affirm) content to have him *convicted* and *condemned*; all which we muſt and do from our Hearts diſclaim, before the whole World.

For, when we did firſt engage with the Parliament (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyal Hearts and Affection towards the King, and his Poſterity. Not intending the leaſt Hurt to his Perſon, but to ſtop his Party from doing further Hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his Majeſty to Juſtice (as ſome now ſpeak) but to put him into a better Capacity to do Juſtice: *To remove the Wicked from before him, that his Throne might be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs*; not to dethrone, and deſtroy him, which (we much fear) is the ready Way to the Deſtruction of all his Kingdoms.

That which put on any of us at firſt to appear for the Parliament was, *The Propoſitions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (June 10, 1642) for Bringing in of Money and Plate, *&c.* wherein they aſſured us, that whatſoever ſhould be brought in thereupon, ſhould not be at all employed upon any other Occaſion, than to maintain 'The *Proteſtant* 'Religion, the King's Authority, his Perſon 'in his Royal Dignity, the free Courſe of Juſ-'tice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the 'Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, 'againſt any Force which ſhall oppoſe them.'

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more, by their many ſubſequent Declarations and Proteſtations, which we held ourſelves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and conſcientious Men, of publick Spirits, zealouſly promoting the common Good, and labouring to free this Kingdom from Tyranny and Slavery, which ſome evil Inſtruments about the King endeavoured to bring upon the Nation.

As for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*, ſince the Time that ſo many of the Members were by Force ſecluded, divers impriſoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons (and there not being that Conjunction of the two Houſes as heretofore) we are wholly unſatisfied therein, becauſe we conceive them to be ſo far from being warranted by ſufficient Authority, as that in our Apprehenſions they tend to an actual Alteration, if not Subverſion, of that which the honourable Houſe of Commons, in their Declaration of *April* 17, 1646, have taught us to call, *The fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which they therein aſſure us, if we underſtand them, they would never alter.

Yea, we hold ourſelves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profeſs before God, Angels, and Men, that we verily believe that which is ſo much feared to be now in Agitation *The Taking away the Life of the King*, in the preſent Way of Tryal, is, not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the *Proteſtant* Religion (never yet ſtained with the leaſt Drop of the Blood of a King) or the fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom; but contrary to them, as alſo to the Oath of Allegiance, the Proteſtation of *May* 5, 1641, and the 'ſolemn 'League and *Covenant*; from all or any of 'which Engagements, we know not any Power 'on Earth able to abſolve us or others.'

In which laſt, we have ſworn *with Hands lifted up to the moſt high God*, 'That we ſhall 'with Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy, in 'our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour, with our 'Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve and 'defend the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms; 'and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the Defence 'of the true Religion, and Liberties of the 'Kingdoms; that the World may bear Witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty; 'and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions 'to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and 'Greatneſs.'

And we are yet farther tied by another Article of the ſame *Covenant*: 'Not to ſuffer 'ourſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion, or Terror, 'to be divided or withdrawn from this bleſſed 'Union and Conjunction, whether to make 'Defection to the contrary Party, or to give 'ourſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency, or 'Neutrality, in this Cauſe which ſo much concerns the Glory of God, the Good of the 'Kingdoms, and Honour of the King; but 'ſhall, all the Days of our Lives, zealouſly and 'conſtantly continue therein againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to 'our Power againſt all Lets and Impediments 'whatſoever.' And this we have not only taken ourſelves, but moſt of us have by Command of the Parliament adminiſtered it to others, whom we have thereby drawn in to be as deep as ourſelves in this publick Engagement.

Therefore, according to that our *Covenant*, we do in the Name of the great God (to whom all muſt give a ſtrict Account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our reſpective Charges, or any Way depend on our Miniſtry, or to whom we have adminiſtered the ſaid *Covenant* (that we may not by our Silence ſuffer them to run upon that highly provoking Sin of Perjury) to keep cloſe to the Ways of God, and the Rules of Religion, the Laws and their Vows, in their conſtant Maintaining the true Reformed Religion, the fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom (not ſuffering themſelves to be ſeduced from it, by being drawn in to ſubſcribe the late Models, or *Agreement of the People*, which directly tends to the utter Subverſion of the whole Frame of the fundamental Government of the Land, and makes Way for an univerſal Toleration of all Hereſies and Blaſphemies, directly contrary to our *Covenant*, if they can but get their Abettors to cover them under a falſe Guiſe of the Chriſtian Religion) as alſo in Preſerving the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Union between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*; to mourn bitterly for their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army, Parliament, and Kingdom, and the woful Miſcarriages of the King himſelf (which we cannot but acknowledge to be many and very great) in his Government, that have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his Excellency into an horrid Pit of Miſery, almoſt beyond Example. And to pray that God would both give him effectual Repentance, and ſanctify that bitter Cup of Divine Diſpleaſure, that the Divine Providence hath put into his Hand; as alſo that God would reſtrain the Violence of Men, *that they may not dare to draw upon themſelves, and the Kingdom, the Blood of their Sovereign.*

And now, we have good Reaſon to expect that they who brought us under ſuch a Bond, and thereby led us into the Neceſſity of this preſent *Vindication* and Manifeſtation of our Judgments, and Diſcharge of our Conſciences, ſhould defend us in it. However, we reſolve rather to be of their Number that tremble at his *Terrors* who is a *conſuming Fire*, and will not fail to *avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant*, upon all that contemn it, than to be found among thoſe who *deſpiſe the Oath by breaking his Covenant (after Lifting up the Hand)* although it

h[illegible]

had been made but in Civil Things only, and that with the worſt of Men.

G. Burges, D. D. Preacher of the Word, in *Paul's*, *London*.
Will. Gouge, D. D. Paſtor of *Black-friers*.
Edmund Stanton, D. D. Paſtor of *Kingſton*.
Thomas Temple, D. D. Paſtor of *Batterſey*.
George Walker, Paſtor of *John Evangeliſt*.
Edmund Calamy, Paſtor of *Aldermanbury*.
Jeremiah Whitaker, Paſtor of *Magdalen's*, *Bermondſey*.
Daniel Cawdrey, Miniſter of *Martin's* in the Fields.
William Spurſtow, Miniſter of *Hackney*.
La. Seaman, Paſtor of *Allhallow's*, *Breadſtreet*.
Simeon Aſhe, Miniſter of *Michael's*, *Baſingſhaw*.
Thomas Caſe, Miniſter of *Magdalen's*, *Milkſtreet*.
Nicholas Proffet, Miniſter at *Foſters*.
Thomas Thorowgood, Miniſter at *Crayford*.
Edward Corbet, Miniſter of *Croyden*.
Henry Robourough, Paſtor of *Leonard's*, *Eaſtcheap*.
Arthur Jackſon, Paſtor of *Michael's*, *Woodſtreet*.
James Nalton, Paſtor of *Leonard's*, *Foſter-lane*.
Thomas Cawton, Paſtor of *Bartholomew's*, *Exchange*.
Charles Offspring, Paſtor of *Antholin's*.
Samuel Clark, Miniſter of *Bennet's*, *Fink*.
Jo. Wall, Miniſter of *Michael's*, *Cornhill*.
Fran. Roberts, Paſtor of the Church at *Auſtin's*.
Matthew Haviland, Paſtor of *Trinity*.
John Sheffield, Miniſter of *Swithin's*.
William Harriſon, Miniſter of *Grace-church*.
William Jenkyn, Miniſter of *Chriſt-church*.
John Viner, Paſtor of *Botolph's*, *Aldgate*.
Elidad Blackwell, Paſtor of *Andrew's*, *Undershaft*.
John Croſſe, Miniſter at *Matthew's*, *Friday-ſtreet*.
John Fuller, Miniſter at *Botolph's*, *Biſhopſgate*.
William Taylor, Paſtor of *Stephen's*, *Coleman-ſtreet*.
Peter Witham, Paſtor of *Alban's*, *Wood-ſtreet*.
Fran. Peck, Paſtor of *Nicholas's*, *Acons*.
Chriſtopher Love, Paſtor of *Anne's*, *Alderſgate*.
John Wallis, Miniſter of *Martin's*, *Ironmonger-lane*.
Thomas Watſon, Paſtor of *Stephen's*, *Walbrook*.
William Wickins, Paſtor of *Andrew's*, *Hubbard*.
Thomas Manton, Miniſter of *Stoke Newington*.
Thomas Gouge, Paſtor of *Sepulchres*.
William Blackmore, Paſtor of *Peter's*, *Cornhill*.
Robert Mercer, Miniſter of *Bride's*.
Ralph Robinſon, Paſtor of *Mary's*, *Woolnorth*.
John Glaſcock, Miniſter at *Undershaft*.
Thomas Wheatley, Miniſter at *Mary's*, *Woolchurch*.
Jonathan Lloyd, Paſtor of *James's*, *Garlickhithe*.
John Wells, Paſtor of *Olave's*, *Jewry*.
Benjamin Needler, Paſtor of *Margaret's*, *Moſes*.
Nathaniel Staniforth, Miniſter of *Mary's*, *Bothaw*.
Stephen Watkins, Miniſter of *Mary's*, *Overies*.
Jacob Tice, Paſtor of *Botolph's*, *Billingſgate*.
John Stileman, Miniſter at *Rotherhithe*.
Joſiah Bull, Paſtor of *North Cray*.
Jonathan Devereux, late Miniſter at *Andrew's*, *Holbourn*.
Paul Ruſſell, Preacher at *Hackney*.
Joſhua Kirby, Miniſter of the Word.
Arthur Barham, Paſtor at *Hellen's*.

The very Beggars Petition againſt *Popery*; wherein they lamentably complain to King *Henry the Eighth* of the Clergy: 1. Of their abominable Covetouſneſs and Oppreſſion, in ſeveral Particulars, from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their inſatiable Lechery, *being Devils at Women*; and how they apply themſelves, by all Sleights they may, to have to do with every Man's Wife, Daughter, and Maid *(as well Ladies, as meaner Perſons, when they come in their Way)* from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in Theft with them, and nouriſhed it under them, § 17. 4. That they baffled all Laws, that none could take Hold of them, tho' they raviſhed Men's Wives and Daughters *(which that curſed Crew would be at again, tho' not in that ſeeming holy Method, but now in an open, odious, debauched Way, like infernal Incubuſſes, who now have naturaliſed Succubuſſes for their Turn,* &c.) for the Law was too weak to hold them; they making ſuch as begin with them quickly to ceaſe proſecuting them, § 18. 5. An Example hereof, ſee in the Biſhop of *London*, § 19. 6. Tho' the Statute of *Mortmain* was made to prevent giving them any more, yet ſtill they got more than any Duke, § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly Exactions came by curſed Pretenſions of praying People's Souls out of Purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This Doctrine of Purgatory was always oppoſed by godly, learned Men, § 23 and 24. 9. Their helliſh Policy, in not ſuffering the *New Teſtament* to be tranſlated in the Mother-Tongue, leſt their Hypocriſy and Cheating ſhould be diſcovered, § 25, 26. 10. The Impudence of Dr. *Allen*, and Dr. *Horſey*, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the Clergy, § 27. 11. The Reaſon of this was, becauſe the Chancellor was one of them, *viz.* a Clergyman, § 28. 12. The Cheat of giving Lands,

Lands, or Money, to the Church for the Poor, or Maſſes, § 30. 13. They petition to turn theſe Blood-ſuppers out to labour and get them Wives of their own, § 31. 14. The Benefits and Advantages of ſo doing, &c. § 31, 32. *Theſe Arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to caſt off the Pope's Authority, and why any ſhould be ſo fooliſhly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; moſt certainly they will find themſelves deceived, with a Vengeance,* &c.

Preſented to King *Henry the Eighth*, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1538, eight Years before his Death, and now printed, *verbatim*, from a very old Copy, only mending the Authography, for the Eaſe of the Reader, making the ſeveral Sections, and collecting the foregoing Contents. *Worth peruſing by both* Papiſt *and* Proteſtant, *for the one to ſee how his Forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to ſee how he is like to be eternally abuſed, if he either through Fear of Death, or otherwiſe, embrace* Popery. *Folio*, containing ſix Pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title, repreſenting King *Henry the Eighth* on his Throne, and a Committee of Beggars preſenting their Petition.

To the KING, *our Sovereign Lord.*

MOST lamentably complaineth, their woful Miſery unto your Highneſs, your poor daily *Bedemen* *, the wretched, hideous Monſters (on whom ſcarcely for Horror any Eye dare look) the foul, unhappy Sort of Lepers, and other ſore People, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and ſick, that live only by Alms; how that their Number is daily ſo ſore increaſed, that all the Alms of the well diſpoſed People of this your Realm is not half enough to ſuſtain them; but that, for very Conſtraint, they die for Hunger.

2. And this moſt peſtilent Miſchief is come upon your ſaid poor Bede-men, by the Reaſon that there is (in the Times of your noble Predeceſſors paſſed) craftily crept into this your Realm another Sort † (not of impotent but) of ſtrong, puiſſant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle Beggars, and Vagabonds, which, ſince the

* This is an ancient Word, ſignifying a poor Alms-man, who pray daily for their Benefactors, derived from the *Saxon* Word *Biddan*, to pray.

† See them deſcribed in the ſecond §.

Time

Time of their firſt Entry, by all the Craft and Wilineſs of Satan, are now increaſed under your Sight, not only into a great Number, but alſo into a Kingdom?

3. Theſe are not the Herds (*or Sheep*) but the ravenous Wolves, going in Herds-Clothing, devouring the Flock; the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Prieſts, Monks, Canons, Friars, Pardoners and Somners: And who is able to number this idle, ravenous Sort, which (ſetting all Labour aſide) have begged ſo importunately that they have gotten into their Hands more than the third Part of all your Realm: The goodlieſt Lordſhips, Manors, Lands, and Territories are theirs. Beſides this, they have the tenth Part of all the Corn, Meadow, Paſture, Graſs, Wool, Colts, Calves, Lambs, Pigs, Geeſe, and Chickens. Over and beſides the tenth Part of every Servant's Wages, the tenth Part of the Wool, Milk, Honey, Wax, Cheeſe, and Butter. Yea, and they look ſo narrowly upon their Profits, that the poor Wives muſt be accountable to them for every tenth Egg, or elſe ſhe getteth not her Rights at *Eaſter*, ſhall be taken as an Heretick; hereto have they their four Offering-days.

4. What Money pull they in by Probates of Teſtaments, privy Tithes, and by Men's Offerings to their Pilgrimages, and at their firſt Maſſes. Every Man and Child that is buried muſt pay ſomewhat for Maſſes and Dirges * to be ſung for him, or elſe they will accuſe the Dead's Friends and Executors of Hereſy. What Money get they by Mortuaries †, by hearing of Confeſſions (and yet they will keep thereof no Counſel) by hallowing of Churches, Altars, Super-altars ‡, Chapels, and Bells, by curſing of Men, and abſolving them again for Money.

5. What Multitude of Money gather the Pardoners ‖ in a Year? How much Money get the Somners (i. e. *Parators*) by Extortion in a Year? By citing the People to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterwards releaſing the Appearance for Money. *Finally*, the infinite Number of Beggars Friars, what get they in a Year?

6. Here, if it pleaſe your Grace to mark, ye ſhall ſee a Thing far out of Joint; there are within your Realm of *England* Fifty-two thouſand Pariſh-Churches; and this ſtanding, that there be but ten Houſholds in every Pariſh, yet are there Five-hundred thouſand, and Twenty-thouſand Houſholds; and of every of theſe Houſholds hath every of the Five Orders of Friars a Penny a Quarter for every Order, that is, for all the Five Orders Five Pence a Quarter for every Houſe; that is, for all the Five Orders Twenty Pence a Year for every Houſe: *Summa*, Five-hundred thouſand, and Twenty-thouſand Quarters of Angels; that is, Two-hundred and ſixty thouſand Half Angels; *Summa*, One hundred and thirty thouſand Angels; *Summa totalis*, Forty-four thouſand Pounds, and Three-hundred and thirty-three Pounds, Six Shillings, and Eight Pence *Sterling*: Whereof, not Four-hundred Years paſſed, they had not one Penny. Oh grievous and painful Exactions, thus yearly to be paid, from the which the People of your noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of the ancient *Britons* §, ever ſtood free.

7. And this will they have, or elſe they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an Heretick. What Tyrant ever oppreſſed the People like this cruel and vengeable Generation? What Subjects ſhall be able to help their Prince, that be after this Faſhion yearly polled? What good Chriſtian People can be able to ſuccour us poor Lepers, blind, ſore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppreſſed? Is it any Marvel that your People ſo complain of Poverty? Is it any Marvel that the Taxes, Fifteenths, and Subſidies, that your Grace, moſt tenderly of great Compaſſion, hath taken among your People, to defend them from the threatened Ruin of their Common-wealth,

* The Dead Office in the Church of *Rome*, which begins with *Dirige me, Domine*, &c.

† A Mortuary was a Gift left by a Man, at his Death, to his Pariſh-Church, for the Recompence of his perſonal Tythes, and Offerings, not duly paid in his Life-time.

‡ Theſe are ſquare Stones, to be removed at the Prieſt's Pleaſure, to ſay Maſs upon; by ſome called *portable Altars*.

‖ Thoſe employed by the Pope to grant Indulgences.

§ Before the *Conqueſt*: For *William the Conqueror*, having engaged the Pope to countenance his unjuſt Invaſion upon this Iſle, in Return, oppreſſed the Subjects in this Manner, to gratify the Pope.

might

have been ſo ſlothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almoſt the uttermoſt Penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and inſatiable Generation.

8. The *Danes*, neither the *Saxons*, in the Time of the ancient *Britons*, ſhould never have been able to have brought their Armies, from ſo far, hither unto your Land to have conquered it, if they had at that Time ſuch a Sort of idle Gluttons to find at Home. The noble King *Arthur* had never been able to have carried his Army to the Foot of the Mountains, to reſiſt the Coming down of *Lucius* the Emperor, if ſuch yearly Exactions had been taken of his People. The *Greeks* had never been able to have ſo long continued at the Siege of *Troy*, if they had had at Home ſuch an idle Sort of Cormorants to fine. The ancient *Romans* had never been able to put all the whole World under their Obeiſance, if their People had been thus oppreſſed.

9. The *Turk*, now in your Time, ſhould never be able to get ſo much Ground of *Chriſtendom*, if he had in his Empire ſuch a Sort of Locuſts to devour his Subſtance. Lay then theſe Sums to the aforeſaid third Part of the Poſſeſſions of the Realm, that you may ſee whether it draw nigh unto the Half of the whole Subſtance of the Realm, or not; ſo ſhall you find that it draweth far above.

10. Now let us then compare the Number of this unkind, idle Sort unto the Number of the Lay-People, and we ſhall ſee whether it be indifferently ſhifted or not, that they ſhould have Half? Compare them to the Number of Men, ſo are they not the hundreth Perſon. Compare them to Men, Women, and Children, then are they not the four-hundreth Perſon in Number. One Part therefore, in Four-hundred Parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal Burden is it, that they have Half with the Multitudes, and are not the four-hundredth Perſon of their Number? What Tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any Commonwealth ſo ſore oppreſſed, ſince the World began?

11. And what do all theſe greedy Sort of ſturdy, idle, holy Thieves with theſe yearly Exactions that they take of the People? Truly nothing, but exempt themſelves from the Obedience and Dignity from your Grace unto them; nothing, but that your Subjects ſhould fall into Diſobedience and Rebellion againſt your Grace, and be under them? As they did unto your noble Predeceſſor King *John*, which, becauſe that he would have puniſhed certain Traitors that had conſpired with the *French* King to have depoſed him from his Crown and Dignity (among the which a Clerk called *Stephen*, whom, afterwards againſt the King's Will, the Pope made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was one) interdicted * his Land. For the which Matter your moſt noble Realm wrongfully (alas, for Shame!) hath ſtood tributary, not to any kind, temporal Prince, but unto a cruel, deviliſh Blood-ſupper, drunken in the Blood of the Saints and Martyrs of *Chriſt* ever ſince. Here were a holy Sort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a righteous King, all his Realm, and Succeſſion, for doing Right.

12. Here were a charitable Sort of holy Men, that could thus interdict an holy Realm, and pluck away the Obedience of the People from their natural Liege Lord and King, for his Righteouſneſs. Here were a bleſſed Sort, not of meek Herds, but of Blood-ſuppers, that could ſet the *French* King upon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe him to loſe his Crown and Dignity, to make Effuſion of the Blood of his People, unleſs this good and bleſſed King, of great Compaſſion, more fearing and lamenting the Shedding of the Blood of his People, than the Loſs of his Crown and Dignity, againſt all Right and Conſcience, had ſubmitted himſelf unto them. O Caſe moſt horrible, that ever ſo noble a King's Realm and Succeſſion ſhould thus be made to ſtoop to ſuch a Sort of Blood-ſuppers! Where was his Sword, Power, Crown, and Dignity become, whereby he might have done Juſtice in this Manner? Where was their Obedience become, that ſhould have been ſubject under his high Power, in this Matter? Yea, where was the Obedience of all his Subjects become, that, for Maintenance of the Common-wealth, ſhould have holpen him manfully to have reſiſted theſe Blood-ſuppers to the Shedding of their Blood? Was it not altogether, by their Policy, tranſlated from this good King to them?

* Excommunicated.

13. Yea,

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themſelves, by all the Sleights they may, to have to do with every Man's Wife, every Man's Daughter, and every Man's Maid; that Cuckoldry ſhould reign over all among your Subjects; that no Man ſhould know his own Child, that their Baſtards might inherit the Poſſeſſions of every Man, to put the right begotten Children clear beſide their Inheritance, in Subverſion of all Eſtates and godly Order. Theſe be they, that by their Abſtaining from Marriage do let the Generation of the People, whereby all the Realm, at length, if it ſhould be continued, ſhall be made deſert and uninhabitable. *They mean, that for this Sin of Whoredom God's Vengeance would fall on the Land.*

14. Theſe be they that have made an hundred Thouſand idle Whores in your Realm, which would have gotten their Living honeſtly in the Sweat of their Faces, had not their ſuperfluous Riches elected them to unclean Luſt and Idleneſs. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole Generation of Mankind in your Realm; that catch the Pox of one Woman, and bear it to another: Yea, ſome one of them will boaſt among his Fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred Women. Theſe be they that, when they have once drawn Men's Wives to ſuch Incontinency, ſpend away their Huſbands Goods, make the Women run away from their Huſbands, yea, run away themſelves both with Wife and Goods, bring both Man, Wife, and Children to Idleneſs, Theft, and Beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomleſs Ocean Sea-full of Evils, that this miſchievous and ſinful Generation may lawfully bring upon us unpuniſhed? Where is your Sword, Power, Crown, and Dignity become, that ſhould puniſh (by Puniſhment of Death, even as other Men be puniſhed) the Felonies, Rapes, Murders, and Treaſons committed by this ſinful Generation? Where is their Obedience become, that ſhould be under your high Power in this Matter? Is it not altogether tranſlated and exempted from your Grace unto them? Yes truly. What an infinite Number of People might have been increaſed, to have peopled the Realm, if theſe Sort of Folk had been married like other Men? What Breach of Matrimony is there brought in by them? Such truly, as was never ſince the World began among the whole Multitude of the Heathen.

16. Who is ſhe that will ſet her Hands to Work to get three Pence a Day, and may have at leaſt twenty Pence a Day, to ſleep an Hour with a Friar, a Monk, or a Prieſt? What is he that would labour for a Groat a Day, and may have at leaſt twelve Pence a Day to be a Bawd to a Prieſt, a Monk, or a Friar? What a Sort are there of them that marry Prieſts, ſovereign Ladies, but to cloak the Prieſts Incontinency, and that they may have a Living of the Prieſts themſelves, for their Labour? How many Thouſands doth ſuch Lubricity bring to Beggary, Theft, and Idleneſs, which ſhould have kept their good Name, and have ſet themſelves to Work, had not been this exceſſive Treaſure of the Spiritualty? What honeſt Man dare take any Man or Woman in his Service, that hath been at ſuch a School with a ſpiritual Man?

17. Oh the grievous Shipwreck of the Commonwealth! which in ancient Time, before the Coming in of theſe ravenous Wolves, was ſo proſperous that then there were but few Thieves; yea, Theft was at that Time ſo rare, that *Cæſar* was not compelled to make Penalty of Death upon Felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his *Inſtitutes*. There were alſo at that Time but few poor People, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that Time none of theſe ravenous Wolves to aſk it from them, as it appeareth in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Is it any Marvel, though there be now ſo many Beggars, Thieves, and idle People? No truly.

18. What Remedy? Make Laws againſt them? I am in Doubt whether ye be able: Are they not ſtronger in your own Parliament-Houſe than yourſelf? What a Number of Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors are Lords of your Parliament? Are not all the learned Men in your Realm in Fee with them, to ſpeak in your Parliament-houſe againſt your Crown, Dignity, and Commonwealth of your Realm, a few of your own learned Council only excepted? What Law can be made againſt them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never ſo ſore) for the Murder of his Anceſtor, Raviſhment of his Wife, of his Daughter; Robbery, Treſpaſs, Maim, Debt, or any other Offence, dare lay it to their Charge.

Charge, by any Way of Action; and, if he do, then is he, by and by, by their Wilineſs, accuſed of Hereſy. Yea, they will ſo handle him, before he paſs, that, except he will bear a Faggot for their Pleaſure, he ſhall be excommunicated, and then be all his Actions daſhed! So captive are your Laws unto them, that no Man, that they liſt to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any Action in any of your Courts. If any Man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to indict a Prieſt of any ſuch Crime, he hath, before the Year goeth out, ſuch a Yoke of Hereſy laid in his Neck, that it makes him wiſh, that he had not done it.

19. Your Grace may ſee what a Work there is in *London*, how the Biſhop rageth for Indicting of certain Curates, of Extortion and Incontinency, the laſt Year, in the Warmol Queſt *. Had not *Richard Hunne* commenced an Action of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt, he had been yet alive, and no Heretick at all, but an honeſt Man.

20. Did not divers of your noble Progenitors, ſeeing their Crown and Dignity run into Ruin, and to be thus craftily tranſlated into the Hands of this miſchievous Generation, make divers Statutes for the Reformation thereof? Among which the Statute of *Mortmain* was one; to the intent, that, after that Time, they ſhould have no more given unto them. But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their Hands more Lands ſince than any Duke in *England*, the Statute notwithſtanding? Yea, have they not, for all that, tranſlated into their Hands from your Grace half your Kingdom thoroughly? The whole Name, as Reaſon is for the Ancienty of your Kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your Grace, and of one Kingdom made twain; the *ſpiritual* Kingdom (as they call it) for they will be named firſt, and your temporal Kingdom: And which of theſe two Kingdoms, ſuppoſe ye, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other out of Memory? Truly, the Kingdom of the Blood-ſuppers, for to them is given daily out of your Kingdom. And that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again: Such Laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor ſell nothing.

21. What Law can be made ſo ſtrong againſt them, that they, either with Money or elſe with other Policy, will not break and ſet at nought? What Kingdom can endure that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the Subſtance of your Realm, forthwith your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People, runneth headlong into the inſatiable Whirlpool of theſe greedy Goulafres to be ſwallowed and devoured.

22. Neither have they any other Colour to gather theſe yearly Exactions into their Hands, but that they ſay, they pray for us to God to deliver our Souls out of the Pains of Purgatory, without whoſe Prayer, they ſay, or at leaſt, without the Pope's Pardon, we could never be delivered thence; which, if it be true, then is it good Reaſon, we give them all theſe Things, *all*, were it a hundred Times as much.

23. But there be many Men of great Literature and Judgment, for the Love they have unto the Truth, and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themſelves into the greateſt Infamy that may be, in Abjection of all the World, yea, in Peril of Death to declare their Opinion in this Matter: Which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a Thing invented by the Covetouſneſs of the Spiritualty, only to tranſlate all Kingdoms from all other Princes unto them, and there is not one Word ſpoken of it in holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that, if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope, with his Pardons for Money, deliver one Soul thus, he may deliver him as well without Money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a Thouſand; if he may deliver a Thouſand, he may deliver them all, and alſo deſtroy Purgatory. And then is he a cruel Tyrant without all Charity, if he keep them there in Priſon and in Pain till Men will give him Money.

24. Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole Sort of the Spiritualty, that, if they will not pray for no Man, but for them that give them Money, they are Tyrants, and lack Charity, and ſuffer thoſe Souls to be puniſhed and pained uncharitably, for Lack of their Prayers. Theſe Sort of Folk, they call *Hereticks*, theſe they burn, theſe they rage againſt, put to open

* Or Wardmote Inqueſt, erected 12 *Henry* VIII. 17.

Shame, and make them bear Faggots. But, whether they be Hereticks or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory, and the Pope's Pardons, is all the Cauſe of Tranſlation of your Kingdom ſo faſt into their Hands; wherefore, it is manifeſt, it cannot be of Chriſt; for he gave more to the temporal Kingdom; he himſelf paid Tribute to *Cæſar*, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high Powers ſhould be always obeyed; yea, himſelf (although he were moſt free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high Powers, unto Death.

25. This is the great Scab, why they will not let the New Teſtament go Abroad in your Mother-tongue, leſt Men ſhould eſpy, that their cloaked Hypocriſy, do tranſlate thus faſt your Kingdom into their Hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and Hypocrites; that they ſeek not the Honour of Chriſt, but their own; that Remiſſion of Sins is not given by the Pope's Pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure Faith and Truſt we have in him. Here may your Grace well perceive, that, except ye ſuffer their Hypocriſy to be diſcloſed, all is like to run into their Hands, and, as long as it is covered, ſo long ſhall it ſeem to every Man to be a great Impiety not to give them. For this I am ſure, your Grace thinketh (as the Truth is) I am as good a Man as my Father, why may I not give them as much as my Father did? And of this Mind I am ſure are all the Lords, Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen in *England:* Yea, and until it be diſcloſed, all your People will think that your Statute of *Mortmain* was never made with a good Conſcience, ſeeing that it taketh away the Liberty of your People, in that they may not as lawfully buy their Souls out of Purgatory, by giving to the Spirituality, as their Predeceſſors did in Times paſt.

26. Wherefore, if you will eſchew the Ruin of your Crown and Dignity, let their Hypocriſy be uttered, and that ſhall be more ſpeedful in this Matter, than all the Laws that may be made, be they never ſo ſtrong. For, to make a Law, for to puniſh any Offender, except it were more for to give other Men an Enſample to beware to commit ſuch like Offence, what ſhould it avail? Did not Dr. *Allen*, moſt preſumptuouſly, now in your Time, againſt all his Allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the Knowledge of ſuch Pleas, as belong unto your High Courts, unto another Court, in Derogation of your Crown and Dignity.

27. Did not alſo Dr. *Horſey* and his Complices moſt heinouſly, as all the World knoweth, murder, in Priſon, that honeſt Merchant, *Richard Hunne?* For that he ſued your Writ of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt, that wrongfully held him in Plea, in a ſpiritual Court, for a Matter whereof the Knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts: And what Puniſhment was there done, that any Man might take Example of, to beware of like Offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five-hundred Pounds (as it is ſaid, to the Building of your Star-Chamber) and, when that Payment was once paſſed, the Captains of his Kingdom (becauſe he fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity) have heaped to him Benefice upon Benefice, ſo that he is rewarded ten Times as much. The other, as it is ſaid, paid ſix-hundred Pounds, for him and his Complices, which, becauſe that he had likewiſe fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your moſt gracious Pardon, promoted by the Captains of his Kingdom, with Benefice upon Benefice, to the Value of four Times as much. Who can take Example of this Puniſhment to beware of ſuch-like Offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take Courage to commit like Offence, ſeeing the Promotions that fell to theſe Men, for their ſo Offending? So weak and blunt is your Sword, to ſtrike at one of the Offenders of this crooked and perverſe Generation.

28. And this is, by Reaſon that the chief Inſtrument of your Law, yea, the Chief of your Council, and he which hath your Sword in his Hand, to whom alſo all other Inſtruments are obedient, is always a ſpiritual Man, which, hath ever ſuch an inordinate Love unto his own Kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal Kingdoms and Commonwealths of the World ſhould utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greateſt Matter of all, leſt we, declaring ſuch an horrible Carrion of Evil, againſt the Miniſters of Iniquity, ſhould ſeem to declare the one only Fault, or rather the Ignorance of our beſt beloved Miniſter of Tightwiſeneſs, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by theſe ſmall Enormities that we have ſpoken of, to know

it plainly himſelf. But what Remedy to relieve us, your poor, ſick, lame, and ſore Bedemen? To make many Hoſpitals for the Relief of the poor People; nay truly, the more the worſe; for ever the Fat of the whole Foundation hangeth on the Prieſts Beards.

30. Divers of your noble Predeceſſors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monaſteries, to give a certain Sum of Money yearly to the People, whereof, for the ancient of the Time, they give never one Penny. They have likewiſe given to them to have certain Maſſes ſaid daily for them *(the Dead)* whereof they never ſaid one: If the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſhould ſing every Day as many Maſſes for his Founders, as he is bound to do by his Foundation, a thouſand Monks were too few.

31. Wherefore, if your Grace will build a ſure Hoſpital, that never ſhall fail to relieve us, your Bedemen, ſo take from them all thoſe Things: Set their ſturdy Loobies Abroad in the World to get them Wives of their own, to get their Living with their Labour, in the Sweat of their Faces, according to the Commandment of God, *Gen.* iii. to give other idle People, by their Example, Occaſion to go to Labour: Tye theſe holy, idle Thieves to the Carts to be whipped naked about every Market-Town till they will fall to Labour, that they may, by their importunate Begging, not, take away the Alms that the good Chriſtian People would give unto us, ſore, impotent, miſerable People, your Bede-men. Then ſhall as well the Number of our foreſaid monſtrous Sort, as Bauds, Whores, Thieves, and idle People decreaſe: Then ſhall theſe great yearly Exactions ceaſe: Then ſhall not your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People be tranſlated from you: Then ſhall you have full Obedience of your People: Then ſhall the idle People be ſet to Work.

32. *Laſtly*, Then ſhall Matrimony be much better kept: Then ſhall the Generation of your People be increaſed: Then ſhall your Commons increaſe in Riches: *N. B.* Then ſhall the Goſpel be preached: Then ſhall none beg our Alms from us: Then ſhall we have enough, and more than ſhall ſuffice us, which ſhall be the beſt Hoſpital that ever was founded for us. Then ſhall we daily pray to God for your moſt noble Eſtate long to endure.

Domine, ſalvum fac Regem.

Or,

God ſave the King.

A Caſe of Conſcience reſolved: Concerning Miniſters Meddling with State Matters in their Sermons: And how far they are obliged by the Covenant to interpoſe in the Affairs of Civil Government. By *J. D.* Miniſter of the Goſpel. *March* 15, Imprimatur, *Joſeph Caryl. London*, printed by *R. L.* for *R. W.* 1649. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

The good Intention of this Pamphlet, and the maſterly Way of Reaſoning with which it is compoſed, and, in Particular, the too often Neceſſity to declaim againſt that Cacochemy of the popular Preachers, or Court-Flatterers, recommend it to the Curious; and, as it is moſt ſcarce, a few of them only having eſcaped the Injuries of Time, after moſt of the Impreſſion had been ſeized and deſtroyed by the Faction which ſo lately had been guilty of Preaching the King to Death, I have recommitted it to the Preſs,

as a good Monitor, both in Correction and Instruction, to the Preachers of God's Word, that they may not prostitute their Function or Office, either for or against a Court; and to the Hearers, that they may not applaud, nor be deceived by those, whose Sermons, instead of teaching them the Way of Godliness, are calculated to find out the high Way to Preferment for their Teachers, who have changed their Characters, by leaving the Service of God, and becoming the Servants of the State.

SIR,

YOU have desired to know of me the Reasons why I make it a Scruple of Conscience, to do as others on all Sides have done hitherto, *viz.* to intermeddle *with Matters of State in my Sermons?* I shall briefly let you know the Grounds of my Scruple concerning this Matter, and, leaving them to your conscionable Consideration, suggest some impartial Thoughts, which, perhaps, may ease you of the Scruples, which you have on the other Hand; for which, you think it either unlawful for you, or unexpedient for your Flock, to leave Intermeddling in those Matters.

Let us first agree what we mean by Matters of State.

As for myself, I conceive, State-matters to be all Manner of Counsels, Designs, Endeavours, and Actings, which are undertaken or prosecuted, by those that manage with Power, or Authority, publick Affairs; relating to the outward Possessions, Rights, Freedoms, Privileges, Prerogatives, and Persons of Men, as they are Members of an outward Commonwealth, or worldly Kingdom. Concerning which Matters, I think it not at all lawful for me to interpose my Judgment in the Pulpit, or to intermeddle towards the People, farther than the Apostle hath commanded, *Rom.* xiii. 1,—8. and 1 *Tim.* ii. 2. and *Tit.* iii. 1. And the Reasons, why I conceive it not lawful so to do, are these:

First, I know no Law, either of God or Man, obliging me to meddle with *such* Matters, by interposing my Judgment concerning them in the *Pulpit*: And if no Law either expressly commanding, or by a good Inference warranting this Intermeddling, can be shewed, I understand not how it can be counted lawful for any so to do.

Secondly, I find a Law both of God and Man, forbidding me to judge of Matters, which belong *not* unto me, or which *particularly* concern other Men.

The Law of God is this: *Be not busy in other Men's Affairs*, 1 Pet. iv. 15. *And what have I to do to judge them that are without?* 1 Cor. v. 12. *And who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant? to his own Master he standeth or falleth*, Rom. xiv. 4. *And judge not, that ye be not judged*, Matt. vii. 1. Now, when I reflect upon myself, in Reference unto these Laws, my Conscience doth tell me, that I am not called to manage the Affairs of State, but that they belong to other Men; and, therefore, that I ought not to be busy in them, and trouble my Head about them. And, if I judge the Magistrate's Employment (as a Civil Magistrate) to be without the Church, I have scarce so much: Sure I am, no more Right than the Apostle *Paul* had to judge of them: Now he tells us, that he had nothing to do to judge them, but that the Judgment of those, that are without the Church, *God hath reserved unto himself*, 1 Cor. v. 13. therefore it doth not appertain to me to meddle with them. But if, as a Christian Magistrate, I take him to be within the Church; yet his Employment, *quatenus* * a Magistrate, is not mine, nor is he therein my Servant, but *Christ*'s; and then the other Rule doth take Place, *Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant?* Now the Magistrate is undoubtedly *God's Servant*, Rom. xiii. 4. therefore I must let him stand or fall to his own Master, in Matters of *outward* Government, which God hath intrusted him, and not me withal. And, in Case I do look upon him a Brother, and his Actions or Designs as the Affairs of a private Man, then still the former

* As, *or*, so far as.

Rule

Rules do hold; and *Christ* doth forbid me to judge him *in publick*, or to lay his Faults *open* to any, till I have dealt with in private, and, by Degrees, brought him to the Judicature of those, who are his *competent* Judges, *Matt.* xviii. 15. *&c.* It is not lawful, therefore, for me, in my private Way, to condemn him, whether I look upon him as a Brother, or not; and far less is it lawful to judge him in publick, and make myself *an Informer* against him towards the *Multitude*, who are *not* his *competent* Judges.

Moreover, The Law of God in the fifth Commandment is, *Honour thy Father and Mother, that thy Days may be long in the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:* All Divines have understood this, as well of the Respect due unto the *Civil* Magistrate, as to *natural Parents:* Now, to take upon us to judge and censure their Actions, or to blast and blame their * Proceedings in publick, before the Multitude, directly or indirectly, is manifestly to dishonour them; and, if this is unlawful in a *Son* to deal so with Parents, it is also unlawful in a *Subject* to deal so with his Magistrates.

As for the Laws of Men in this Matter, I shall not need to mention any; for, it is evident in all Nations, that to *controul* the Actions of the Civil Magistrate, and to *traduce* him in his Proceedings, is a Crime punishable in Subjects, by those that have Power, and are in Authority over them, with Death, Imprisonment, Fines, or Banishment, according to the Nature of the Fact, and as the supreme Authority doth judge fit.

Thirdly, The *Nature* of the *Gospel*, whereunto I am appointed a Minister of *Christ*, is *inconsistent* with the Care of those Things wherewith I must intermeddle, if I should take upon me to judge of them. For the Gospel is the Testimony of *Jesus*, to reveal him to the World, and to invite all Men from the Cares and Lusts of the World, to enter into his Kingdom, and Rest; which is a Kingdom of Truth; and not of this World, *John* xviii. 36, 37. whereof the Kingdoms are but Lyes and restless Vanities: If then I account myself appointed to this Employment by *Christ*, to mind the Mysteries of his Truth, *and that Wisdom which is of God*, 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8. *which none of the Princes of this World know, or, as Princes of this World, care for:* I ought not to apply myself to intermeddle in their Affairs; and, if I ought not to do this, I conceive, it is not lawful for me to judge of their Affairs in publick, either to commend or condemn them in the Pulpit. For *Christ* being intreated, *Luke* xii. 13, to employ his Authority, *to cause one Brother to divide the Inheritance with the other*, did refuse to do it, upon this Ground, because God had not appointed him a Judge, or a Divider over Men in *temporal* Matters: The Disciple is not above the Master; and, if the Master had no Right to meddle in small Matters, between Man and Man, what Right have I to meddle in the greatest, between State and State, or Rulers and Subjects? When *Christ* called one of his Disciples to him, and he desired Leave, *first, to go and bury his Father*, Christ bid him, *Let the Dead bury their Dead; but go thou* (saith he) *and preach the Kingdom of God*, Matt. viii. 21, 22. and *Luke* ix. 60. If then those, that are called to preach the Kingdom of God, ought to free their Minds from the Cares, which, through natural Affection, and a Kind of Civil Duty, so nearly concern themselves and their Kindred, how much more ought they to be disinterested in Matters of State, which at all do not concern them?

The Cares of a quite contrary Nature cannot be at once rightly entertained in the same Mind; they are like two opposite Masters, whom none can serve at the same Time acceptably, nor at different Times faithfully; therefore, he that will be *Christ*'s Servant, and a faithful Soldier in his Warfare, must not be intangled in the Affairs of this Life, otherwise he will not be able to please him, who hath chosen him to be a Soldier, 2 *Tim.* ii. 4. Now all the Affairs of State concern *only* this Life, and nothing else directly and principally.

Fourthly, The Intermeddling with State-matters in *Sermons* is *contrary to the Rule of Preaching*, and to the *true Aim*, which ought to be maintained in the Performance of that Duty.

The Rule of Preaching is, *if any Man speak, let him speak as the Oracles of God*, 1 Pet. iv.

* Our natural Parents.

11. We are warranted to ſpeak nothing (if we ſpeak in God's Name) but that which is *undeniably* his Word: Nothing can beget Faith, and build up the Soul unto Godlineſs, but the Truth of God; if we ſpeak other Matters, which the Wiſdom of earthly Men, or our own Imaginations, or Paſſions, dictate, we profane the Ordinance of God, and deſtroy the Faith of the Hearers. *What is the Chaff to the Wheat? ſaith the Lord*, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, Jer. xxiii. 28. Our own Words and Dreams, about temporal Concernments, are leſs worth than Chaff, and the Faith of Profeſſors cannot ſtand in the Wiſdom of Men, but in the Power of God. And becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Wiſdom of God, and the Power of God, therefore, in our Preaching, we ſhould *determine to know nothing amongſt our Hearers, but Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified*, 1 Cor. ii. 5.

The *Aim*, to be maintained in Preaching, is to perſuade God only, and not Men; and not to pleaſe Men, or become their Servants, but God's alone, *Gal.* i. 10. for *he, that intendeth to pleaſe Men, is no more the Servant of Chriſt*, 1 Cor. ii. 2. Now, when Men ſet themſelves to ſpeak of *State-matters* in the *Pulpit*, their Aim is, either to pleaſe the Magiſtrates, by commending them to the People, or to ſhew their Diſlike againſt their Proceedings, by reproving the ſame, which doth tend to make the People diſpleaſed with their Magiſtrates: Now, whether the Deſign be the one, or the other, it is altogether unworthy of the Miniſter of the Goſpel; and a Man cannot poſſibly mention the Affairs of State in publick, but it muſt be either Way, and, therefore, he ought neither Way to do it.

And, whatſoever a Man's Aim may be in meddling thus with *State-matters*, as he doth no Service to God in it, ſo he perverts the Minds of the Hearers, from the Integrity and Simplicity of the Goſpel, to reflect upon, and affect, with Reference to worldly Wiſdom, the Ways of a *Party*: For all State-matters are continually carried by ſome Plots in the Hands of one Party or other; and whoſoever doth meddle with them, either to commend or diſcommend the Proceedings, muſt be the Servant of a Party, and ſo forſakes the ſpiritual Liberty, and Impartiality, wherein they ought to ſtand, and whereunto he ought to bring the Minds of his Hearers, that they may be willing to ſerve all Men in Love, for their ſpiritual Edification, without Prejudice, for *Chriſt*'s Sake. The Intereſts of States-men, and Matters, change according to Circumſtances, by which thoſe, that manage publick Affairs, find their Advantages; if the Miniſter of the Goſpel will oblige himſelf to meddle with theſe Matters, he will be conſtrained either to ſay and unſay the ſame Things, if he follow State-principles (which is to diſcredit the Truth of the Goſpel) for, when Men are ſwayed with carnal Conſiderations, they muſt needs make the ſame Thing in their Preaching, yea, yea, and nay, nay (as we have found many do of late) or, if he will be inflexible, and not change his Note with the Times, he will be engaged into Occaſions of Strife and Controverſies with others, for worldly Matters, as often as they change, which, how inconvenient it is for a Miniſter of the Goſpel to do, and how prejudicial it is unto his Profeſſion, I leave you to judge.

The Scandals, which are given againſt the Goſpel to thoſe that are diſcerning, and perceive Men's Drifts in Preaching for Intereſts, are very heinous and hurtful to the Truth, and to the Miniſtry thereof, to diſcredit it: For, by this Means, *natural* Men * become *Atheiſts*, for thereupon they count all Religion nothing elſe but a Cloke of Hypocriſy: Theſe Practices ſtagger the Weak alſo, who are led with blind Zeal to be engaged into Factions againſt their Brethren, and to maintain Diviſions, which overthrow the Church's Peace and Unity; and thereby ſubtle Statemen take Advantages to lay Snares before unwary Miniſters, who have more Zeal than Prudence, to entrap them, and make Uſe of them for their own Ends; and then, when they have made them their Hacknies, and ſerved their Turns out of them, they turn them away with Neglect and Contempt at the Journey's End, becauſe they deſerve no better.

Now, I, knowing theſe Things to be the natural Conſequents of Miniſters intermeddling with State-matters, cannot think it lawful for me to come within the Reach of theſe Snares, and therefore muſt avoid the Occaſions thereof, and am willing to warn you of the ſame, whereof we ſee many Examples before our Eyes.

* *Viz.* Such as ſeek not God through *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Theſe are the chief Heads of Reaſons, which have made me abſtain from that Way of Preaching, which ſome have followed; and, as I conceive, theſe Grounds, which juſtify my Way, to be *unanſwerable*, ſo I never could find any Solidity in thoſe Pretences, which are alledged for the contrary Practice.

For that which is pretended from *Ezech.* iii. 17,-22. and xxxiii. 7. that Miniſters are made *Watchmen*, to give Warning to the Wicked, to warn them from their wicked Way, and to the Righteous alſo, that they turn not from their Righteouſneſs, is not otherwiſe to be underſtood, but in clear Caſes, wherein God's Commandment is manifeſtly tranſgreſſed, and to be directed immediately towards the Perſons themſelves, who are Tranſgreſſors, to make them ſenſible of the Guilt and Danger under which they ſtand. But, in doubtful Caſes, wherein there is no clear Word from God's Mouth, wherein the Magiſtrate's Actions may be miſinterpreted; wherein he pretends to walk by a juſt Rule; wherein his ſecret Aim and Intention, by a Jealouſy of State, is rather condemned than his Fact; and wherein he is not expreſly dealt withal himſelf to convict his Conſcience concerning the Iniquity of his Proceedings to rectify it, but is cried out upon before others, and cenſured before the Multitude, who are not his competent Judges (which is the Practice of thoſe that in the Pulpits have meddled, and do meddle with State-matters) I ſay, in ſuch Caſes, and in ſuch a Way of Proceeding, no Colour can be taken from the Watch-office of *Ezekiel* to warrant it: For, look upon the Charge which he doth receive, and the Way how he is to diſcharge it, and you will ſee that your Practice is nothing like it. The Charge is, That the *Watchman ſhould hear the Word at God's Mouth, and give the Houſe of Iſrael Warning from God*, ver. 17. This imports an expreſs Commandment, and a clear Tranſgreſſion of the Commandment in thoſe that are to be warned, and a peculiar Miſſion from God to give the Warning. The Way, how this Warning is to be given to the Wicked and the Righteous, is by a particular Addreſs which the Watchman was to make, as from God, unto themſelves immediately. If the Miniſters, that meddle with State-matters, will obſerve *theſe Rules*, far be it from me to condemn them; but, if their Arguing againſt the Proceedings of thoſe that are in Places of Authority hath nothing in it approaching unto this Way, then I muſt be diſpenſed with from following it, and I think it my Duty to diſcover the Irregularity of it, by teſtifying againſt it. If Men will make themſelves, through State Jealouſies, and evil Surmiſes, againſt thoſe that manage publick Affairs, Watchmen over their Rulers, when they are divided among themſelves for State Intereſts, for the Advantage of one Party to blaſt and diſcredit another, and then pretend that they diſcharge the *Watch-office*, which is committed unto them, I ſhall leave them to anſwer it to the chief Shepherd of the Flock; for it becometh not me to judge another Man's Servants, farther than by putting them in Mind of the Commands of their Maſter, which are undeniably his known Will.

But, from the Contemplation of the Watchman's Office over the Souls of the Flock, and their Obligation to give Account thereof unto God, there is an Objection and Doubt, which may be raiſed, thus: "But what if I ſee "my Flock like to be led away (by the Ex-"ample of thoſe that are in Authority, or "the Inſtigation of thoſe that have Power) "unto wicked and unjuſt Courſes, which are "deſtructive to the true Religion and the "Safety of the State; ſhall I not warn them "of the Danger in this Caſe?" I anſwer, *Yes*; you are bound to forewarn them of the Danger, which you think they are like to fall into, if the Thing be evident, and clearly a Tranſgreſſion of God's Will; I ſay, you are bound to forewarn, as well thoſe that, by their Authority and Power, lead others out of the Way, as thoſe that are led by them. Thus, in Caſes of *Idolatry* and *Oppreſſion*, the Prophets did addreſs themſelves directly to the Rulers of the People; they ſhewed them the undoubted Commandment of God, and their undeniable Practice oppoſite unto it; and, in a Caſe, which evidently doth pervert the Truth of Religion, and endanger the Safety of the State, the Fact itſelf, and the Unrighteouſneſs thereof, is to be laid open before all, from the Word of God, and all are to be warned of the dangerous Conſequences thereof; which may be done *in Theſi*, leaving the *Hypotheſis* and particular Application to every Man's Judgment, to diſcharge his Conſcience towards God therein: But now we have ſeen Men, that accuſe thoſe, whom they would diſcredit before the Multitude, not to meddle with the Matter

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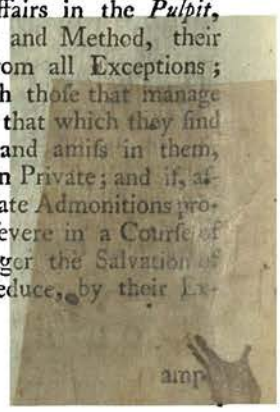
in Theſi, but with the *Hypotheſis* of their own Coining, upon conjectural Appearances, charging Faults ſuſpiciouſly, and by Way of Inſinuation, where, upon a ſtrict Examination, none were to be found. He, that inſiſts upon the *Hypotheſis* of a Matter, to charge ſomebody with the Guilt thereof, doth evidently ſhew, that his Aim is not ſo much to rectify the Fault, as to make him odious, whom he chargeth with it; but he, that handleth the *Theſis* of a Matter, doth not aim to inſtruct and warn all Men of their Duty, that they may look to their Ways, The *Court* Chaplains did flatter and court the King and the Biſhops, in their Sermons heretofore, with Reproaches and Aſperſions, which they did caſt upon the *Puritans*, to make them odious, rather that they might be perſecuted, than reformed; and, ſince theſe Troubles, it cannot be denied, but the *popular* Preachers have paid them home in their own Way, by courting the Humours of the Multitude, to incenſe them againſt the King and his Prelates, that they alſo might be rather perſecuted, than reformed: All which, on both Sides, hath wrought nothing elſe but Animoſities and Confuſions, which have brought theſe Diſtreſſes upon the Nation, and mainly obſtructed the Ways of true Reformation. But, if the *Watchmen* on both Sides * had handled Matters *in Theſi*, and dealt with thoſe who were to be warned, to draw them from the Error of their Ways, by the Means of God's Counſel rather than for human Deſigns, we might have been preſerved from the Dangers, into which they have helped to bring us.

There is another Pretence taken, to colour this Practice, from the Commandments which the Apoſtle doth give to *Timothy* and *Titus*: *Them, that ſin, rebuke before all*, 1 Tim. v. 20. *Be inſtant in Seaſon, out of Seaſon, reprove, rebuke, exhort*, &c. 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. and, *Rebuke them ſharply*, &c. *Titus* i. 13. and ſuch like.

But I conceive, that all theſe Directions are given to Paſtors, only in Reference to thoſe that are immediately under their *paſtoral Charge, in clear Caſes*, wherein they are to deal with the Parties themſelves *immediately*; it is, therefore, a great Miſtake to apply them unto other Perſons, who are *not* under their paſtoral Charge, and in Caſes which are *Myſteries of State*, and not obvious to the Cogniſance of every one, and which are handled, not before the Parties themſelves, but before others, who are not capable to judge thereof, as the common Multitude is. If we look to that which *Chriſt* did, in this Way of Reproof, towards the Scribes and Phariſees, *Mat.* xxiii. we ſhall ſee, how theſe Reproofs ought to be managed. *Firſt*, It may be obſerved, that *Chriſt* came not to this Sharpneſs with them till towards the latter End of his Miniſtry, after that he had, in all Probability, dealt oft-times with them in a milder Way, to make them ſenſible of their Duty; for it is ſaid of him, that he did not break the bruiſed Reed, nor quench the ſmoking Flax; that he did not ſtrive, nor cauſe his Voice to be heard in the Streets, *Mat.* xii. 19, 20. Whence we muſt conclude, that he never, *at firſt*, dealt with any Man ſharply, but gently always; but, when he found theſe Scribes and Phariſees incorrigible, then, leſt the People might be ſeduced by their Practices, he doth give them a neceſſary Warning, to preſerve them from being perverted by the Example of their Leaders, and reproves the open Faults of their Leaders, in clear Caſes, convincingly before them. *Secondly*, He doth it in ſuch a Way which is without all Exception; for he doth not intend to diſcredit them in their *Places*, or blaſt their *Authority* towards the People, but eſtabliſheth it, commanding the People to hearken to them, as they ſit in *Moſes*'s Seat, *Verſ.* 2, 3. Then he reproves them, not *behind their Backs*, to the People, but *to their Faces*, in the Preſence of the People. And, *Laſtly*, He inſiſts upon particular Matters of Fact, which were undeniable; wherein he not only diſcovers their Hypocriſy, to convince them of it, but ſhews them the Duty which ought to be done, and warns them of the Judgment, which is to come upon them, if they neglect it. Now, if the *Miniſters*, that meddle with State-affairs in the *Pulpit*, would obſerve *this* Way and Method, their Practice would be free from all Exceptions; for, if they can deal with thoſe that manage publick Affairs, to rectify that which they find oppoſite to Chriſtianity, and amiſs in them, firſt, by Way of Counſel in Private; and if, afterward, finding that private Admonitions profit not, but that they perſevere in a Courſe of State-hypocriſy, to endanger the Salvation of others, whom they may ſeduce, by their Ex-



* The Preachers for and againſt the Court.

ample, from the Sincerity of the holy Profeſſion: If (I ſay) in ſuch a Caſe, without Prejudice to their juſt Authority, they can deal roundly and openly with them, to convince them of the Perverſeneſs of their Way, and to reclaim them from the Errors thereof, this would not only be warrantable, but commendable: But, how far this is intended by any, I leave to you to judge, and to the Conſcience of thoſe, that handle *State-matters* in their Sermons, to determine between God and themſelves.

As for that which ſome ſay, That Men muſt not be *lukewarm* Neutraliſts, but zealous in the *Cauſe of God*, and for the publick Good, I anſwer, It is ſo: But we muſt alſo take Heed, that we miſtake not the *Cauſe of God*, and that we make not *our own* partial Aims, and private Intereſts, that which we call God's Cauſe. Let God's Cauſe be ſtated, as it relates to the Goſpel of *Chriſt*; let it be handled *in Theſi & Antitheſi*, as it reflects upon the Conſcience of all Men, by the Manifeſtation of the Truth; and let no perſonal Reproaches, Inſinuations, Reflexions, and particular worldly Matters, to aſperſe any Body, be mixed with it; and let it be held forth with all ſpiritual Fervency from the Word, and ſo let it be recommended to God's Bleſſing upon the Hearts of the Hearers; but let us not call our own Contrivements God's Cauſe, nor human Paſſions, raiſed upon Jealouſies or Diſcontents, Zeal. Do we not ſee evidently, that no Party doth count any Thing a publick Good, but that which is for its own Way? And that all its Zeal and Strength is ſpent, not ſo much to build up, to ſettle, or advance any righteous Conſtitution in Common, as to ſet up itſelf over the adverſe Party, and to caſt down every Thing which is not for its own Intereſt? This is evidently all the Zeal of theſe Times, *viz.* To ſtrive for Power over others, and then to act by meer Will, according to Power, againſt all that are found, or ſuſpected, to be Oppoſites. And, if not to be active in this Way of Partiality, or puffed up for the Intereſt of one againſt another, to have the Rule, be counted to be a *lukewarm* Neutraliſt, I ſhall confeſs myſelf to be one of theſe; and yet, I hope, I ſhall never be found a Neutraliſt *before God* in his Cauſe, nor lukewarm towards the Way of Truth and Peace, which is without Partiality and without Hypocriſy.

But above all this there is yet one Scruple more, which doth ſtick with you, which is, the Tenor of the National Covenant; whereby you conceive you are ſolemnly obliged before God to advance the publick Ways of Reformation, mentioned therein, as well towards the Church, as towards the State. Now you ſay (and ſay well) that, in Caſe the Tenor of it be made void, to bring a Guilt upon the Nation, that you are bound in Conſcience to free yourſelf from that Guilt, and, as a Miniſter of God, to warn others of that Danger; and, conſequently, to meddle with *State-matters*, ſo far as this comes to.

To this I ſay, that, if you do this, as a Miniſter of the Goſpel ought to do, and not as a Miniſter of State-affairs, you do that which is your Duty. It is far from me to deſire you, or any Man, to be ſlack in obſerving your Vows, and performing your Oath unto God; I ſhall rather, as bound in the ſame Promiſe, ſtrengthen your Heart and Hands in it; and, to that Effect, I ſhall tell you, how I find myſelf engaged in the Covenant. I took the Covenant, as obliging myſelf unto God to perform the Tenor thereof, and not unto Men. I took it to proſecute the lawful Ways of advancing Religion and Righteouſneſs, and Reformation and Peace, in Church and Commonwealth; and not to become ſerviceable to any one Party againſt another. And, *laſtly*, I took it to advance theſe Aims in this Place, with a ſpecial Reference and Subordination to the main Rules and fundamental Aims of my Profeſſion in *Chriſtianity*, and not otherways; and, leſt thoſe, who deſired me to join with them in proſecuting the Tenor of the Covenant, might ſeem to impoſe their Senſe upon me in taking it, or might, in Time to come, pretend to have me obliged, as it were by implicit Faith, to follow their Courſes in obſerving it; I ſent unto them, before I took it, my Senſe of the Articles thereof in Writing, containing a Declaration of the Way, which I thought myſelf bound to follow, in keeping the ſame; which you ſhall ſee, whenever you pleaſe *; and according to this Engagement, although all Men ſhould neglect and diſannul the Covenant, yet by me it never ſhall be for-

* This immediately follows, by the Title of, *The Vow, which* J. D. *hath made*, &c.

ſaken, by God's Grace, but maintained and followed, ſo long as I ſhall have Abilities ſo to do.

If, then, I ſhould anſwer your Scruple concerning your Engagement, upon this Account of meddling with *State-matters*, in Caſe the Covenant ſhould be made void, I muſt refer you to the Words of the Covenant itſelf, to let you ſee, how far it doth oblige you to follow this Way. The firſt, third, fifth, and ſixth Articles do limit your Endeavours to your *Power*, *Place*, *Calling*, *Vocation*, and *Intereſt*: If I conceive, then, my proper Place, Calling, Vocation, and Intereſt to be, in the Pulpit, none other but to ſpeak the Oracles of God, and to meddle with nothing elſe directly, but with the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt* and him crucified, as in the Covenant of Grace he is offered unto us, by Repentance and Faith in his Name; and to mention nothing indirectly, but what is evidently oppoſite unto the Tenor of ſome profitable Truth belonging unto that Matter. If (I ſay) this is ſo, then I may ſoon determine the Bounds of my Intermeddling, how far they ſhould reach, and where to ſtop; for I am bound by my own Promiſe not to meddle, further than a Servant of *Chriſt* in the Goſpel ought to do; ſo that I ſhould make myſelf a Tranſgreſſor of the Covenant, if I ſhould interpoſe my Judgment, in the Pulpit, further than either makes to lead my Hearers unto *Chriſt*, and to the Obſervation of the Covenant of Grace, which the Father hath made with us in him; or otherwiſe than is ſuitable to the Rules of Edification towards all, without Offence and Partiality towards any. If then I ſhould ſtep beyond this Line, and take upon me, through ſome Inſight into State-deſigns, to play the Statiſt towards the People, to ſway their Inclinations to ſome earthly Byaſs, for certain Ends, which *Chriſt* hath not bid me proſecute in his Huſbandry, I know not how I ſhould be able to anſwer it unto my own Conſcience in his Preſence: For my Spirit would tell me, that to play the Huckſter with the Truth, to corrupt the Word of God, and not to handle it in Sincerity and as of God, is not the Part of a faithful Servant of *Chriſt*; therefore, as I would not have any to judge of me, I ſhall never take upon me to judge of any Man's ſecret Intentions in handling the Word, and mixing heterogeneal Matters of publick Concernment with his Sermon: Every one ſhall anſwer to his own Maſter that which he hath done; and the Day, which burneth as Fire, and is near at Hand, ſhall try his Work, whether it be of combuſtible Matter, or not; I have enough to do to look to my own Feet, to walk in an even Path; and I deſire that all my Brethren, who are engaged in the Covenant, may be careful to examine their own Hearts and Ways, according to the Rules heretofore mentioned: And, if they conſider conſcionably the Property of their Calling and Place, and find that, to diſcharge their Duty in it, they muſt tell Stateſmen their Duty, in Private or in Publick, as well as others, and that with ſome Reference to publick Matters of State, let them do it in God's Name freely, but let the Manner of doing it be ſuch as becometh the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, and the Stewards of the Myſteries of God; that is, let all be done in Love, let nothing be offered without a clear Diſcovery of God's Will from the Word. And, when worldly Circumſtances and Matters of Fact are mentioned, let no Paſſion, no Envy, no Vain-glory appear, nor any Thing be done with a murmuring and diſputing Affection; but let the Spirit of Meekneſs and Compaſſion govern the whole Carriage of the Buſineſs, towards the Reſtoring of thoſe that are overtaken in a Fault, rather than to ſhame them, or give others any Occaſion to inſult over them. With theſe Cautions, if the Covenant doth bring any ſpecial Engagement upon any Man's Conſcience to take Notice of State-matters, further than otherwiſe is incident to the Miniſterial Function in an ordinary Way, I ſuppoſe he may walk ſafely towards God, and without Offence towards Men, in Matters of greateſt Scrupuloſity.

But for a further clearing of Scruples, which may be incident in this Kind, I ſhall put a Caſe, which, in evil Times before the Witneſſes be killed, faithful Miniſters, in their Warfare againſt the Beaſt, may, and will be put unto. Let us then ſuppoſe, that it ſhall be made a Crime worthy of Death, to ſpeak againſt any human Conſtitutions, which Authority ſhall ſet up in God's Worſhip, altho' never ſo contrary to the expreſs Word of God, as in the Biſhops Times ſome were made Offenders for a Word, and a Pretence, taken from any ſmall Thing which ſeemed to contradict Authority, was enough to put a Man from his Place whom they called a popu-

lar Preacher; not ſo much becauſe the Thing deſerved Outing, but becauſe any Occaſion would ſerve to ſilence a powerful and faithful Miniſter. In ſuch a Caſe, the Queſtion is, How far a conſcionable Miniſter is bound to appear in Oppoſition to the Sanctions of Authority?

To this I ſhall anſwer, *Firſt*, That, in ſuch a Caſe, where God's Word is clearly oppoſite to the Sanction of Man in Matters of his own Worſhip, no Man may with a good Conſcience be indifferent, connive, or ſeem to give Way unto the Eſtabliſhment thereof willingly, for this would be a Lukewarmneſs in God's Service.

Secondly, No Man can give an exact Rule to another, what, on ſuch Occaſions, as may fall out in Reference to his Flock, or againſt his Adverſaries, he ſhould do, to quit himſelf, and not betray the Truth, or the Souls of his Flock, unto the Power of Seduction, becauſe Circumſtances are infinite; therefore Men are to ſtudy general Rules, and muſt in Particulars be left unto the Directions of God's Spirit, who doth oftentimes call forth his Servants to the Battle upon ſmaller Occaſions, to fight as effectually as upon greater ones; and, in ſome Men, the human Imprudencies of their ſpiritual Zeal may be as uſeful, in God's Way of ordering the ſame, as the greateſt Prudence of others.

Thirdly, Altho' a faithful Miniſter may neither connive nor ſhew any Compliance with that which he knows to be clearly oppoſite to the Will of God, but muſt be zealouſly affected and bent to ſtand out againſt it, in the Sphere of his Calling; yet he is not obliged, either at all Times to ſet himſelf openly againſt it; or to appear in ſuch a Way of Contradiction unto it, which may give the Adverſaries of the Goſpel ſome Advantages, which they lie in wait to take againſt him, from the Manner of his Oppoſition or Contradiction: Therefore it is lawful at all Times, and in ſuch Caſes very expedient, to uſe Prudence, and by ſome ſpiritual Stratagems to defeat the Enemies of their Advantages; which may be done ſometimes by declining a direct and open Contradiction of that which is the act of Authority; and by uſing another Way of oppoſing the ſame, which may be as effectual, and yet not liable to any Exception. For there are two Ways of handling all Matters of Doctrine and Practice, the one is Poſitive, the other Negative; the Negative is to refute and contradict that which another doth aſſert or practiſe, condemning it as an Error or a Fault. The Poſitive is to confirm and declare our own Opinion as a Truth; and if this be done effectually, in a Matter wherein our Aſſertion doth by a clear Conſequence make void the Error, or overthrow the Practice of our Adverſary, it is no leſs profitable to bear Witneſs to the Truth, than a direct Reproving of Vice by an expreſs Condemnation thereof; by this Method then, a faithful Miniſter may prudently decline a Snare laid to entrap him, if he ſhould preſume to be ſo ſtout, as to contradict that which is expreſly eſtabliſhed; and yet may zealouſly and effectually diſcharge his Conſcience, and preſerve his Flock from Error, by a poſitive Delivery of the Truth, which, being entertained from God's Word, will be liable to no Exception, and yet deſtroy the Error, and diſcover the Fault of thoſe that abuſe their Authority in all Men's Minds, and altho' the Conſequence be not expreſly made, or the Thing to be condemned once named.

Thus then, in Matters of State, which Authority may perhaps ſet on Foot directly, in Oppoſition to the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, to make Men guilty, that ſhall openly contradict it, zealous Men may decline an open Contradiction; and, by aſſerting ſtrongly that Matter of Religion or Worſhip, which is oppoſite in its Nature to that Matter of State, which Authority would ſettle, quit their Conſcience fully; and, without naming the Thing, which may not not be profeſſedly condemned, yet overthrow it in all Men's Minds. He that did aſſert ſtrongly from the Word of God, that the Lord's Day is to be kept holy to God in ſpiritual Duties, to enter into his Reſt, and mind him alone without any other Thoughts; and that all Profeſſors are bound in Conſcience to intend this, as they deſire to partake of his Holineſs, and that the Neglect of this Duty is a Forfeiture of that Holineſs, which God in his Covenant, by the Ordinance of that Day doth offer to us: He, I ſay, that did ſtrongly make out this, to be a Truth which cannot be controuled, did fully condemn and refute the *Book of Sports* on the Lord's Day, which was ſet up by Authority *, although he never did once name it; and ſo, in

* Of King *James* I. and afterwards by King *Charles* I.

all other Caſes, Something may be done of like Nature, when Adverſaries lie in wait to find Occaſions of making Men Offenders, if they dare ſeem to be directly Oppoſites to that which bears the Name of Authority. Alſo the *Theſis* of a Matter may be ſo fully handled, that the *Hypotheſis* need not to be once named, but all Men will be able to make the Application thereof by themſelves. The defenſive Poſtures in Fencing are eaſier and ſafer than the Offenſive; and he that is ſo well ſkilled therein, that his Adverſary, by aſſaulting him, gain nothing elſe but Wearineſs to himſelf, and the Spending his Strength in vain, will, in the End, have an eaſy Conqueſt of him. And, to cure Diſeaſes there are two Ways, either by the Strengthening of the vital Spirits in the natural Conſtitution of every one, or by the Purging out of evil Humours; if Nature can be ſo well fortified by Cordials or Fomentations, as to caſt out that which is noxious by itſelf, it is far better and ſafer than to uſe Purgations, which always bring ſome Trouble, and weaken the Spirits for a Time. Thus it is alſo with the beſt of Reproofs and Cenſures upon the Minds of natural Men. *Verbum ſapienti ſatis eſt.* The Lord direct us wiſely to walk in the Light, and, by the Power of it, to diſpel the Power of Darkneſs, that we may ſhine without Blame in the Midſt of a crooked and perverſe Generation: Let us pray for the Spirit of Promiſe, which will direct us in all Truth, and the God of Truth and Peace be with you: In him I ſhall reſt.

Your aſſured Friend in Chriſt,

J. D.

The Vow which J. D. *hath made, and the Covenant which he doth enter into with God, in Reference to the National Covenant of the Kingdoms. Sent to* London *from the* Hague, *the 21ſt of* December, 1643.

THE Tie of my Conſcience to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, whereby I am made a Subject of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the King of Kings, Partaker of the Privileges of the Kingdom of Heaven, and a free Citizen of the ſpiritual *Jeruſalem*, doth bind me to bear Witneſs unto the Truth, to join myſelf unto the Profeſſors thereof, and to ſubſcribe my Name unto the Lord, to ſerve under his Banner, for the Preſervation and Enlargement of his Church, till he receive all the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion. Therefore, according to the Nature of the Miniſterial Function, wherein God hath ſet me, and the Vows which I have formerly made, to expreſs my Faithfulneſs towards him, and my blameleſs Dealing free from Partiality towards all Men, and chiefly towards thoſe of the Houſhold of Faith: I conceive myſelf obliged to anſwer the Call which is given me, whereby I am required to contribute Help towards the publick Edification of the Church, whereof I am a Member.

I declare then in the Preſence of Almighty God, who ſhall judge the Quick and the Dead, at the Day of his glorious Appearing, that I have no Ends in this Undertaking, but theſe:

Firſt, To ſatisfy my Conſcience in the Duties which I owe to *Chriſt* in his Kingdom among all, and chiefly Evangelical *Chriſtians*, and more particularly amongſt thoſe of my National Church.

Secondly, To ſhew my Fidelity unto my lawful Sovereign, to the Kingdoms, and to the Peace of both in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel. And,

Thirdly, To endeavour the Edification of all my Evangelical Brethren at Home and Abroad, who are diſtreſſed for Want of mutual Love, and peaceable Affections, and diſtracted by Reaſon of uncharitable Jealouſies, paſſionate Injuries, and injurious Miſtakes. Therefore my Aim, in this Enterpriſe, is, and ſhall be, without all Mixture of human Reſpects, to procure, ſo far as God ſhall enable me in the Way of my ſpiritual Calling, a Remedy to theſe Evils; and, to this Effect, having renewed my Covenant with Almighty God, and the Vows by which I am ſolemnly obliged to the Rules of my Profeſſion; I have anſwerably to the ſame lifted up my Hand to Heaven, and ſworn to the moſt high God, as followeth:

Firſt, That in the Miniſtry of the new Covenant of everlaſting Life and Peace, which God hath graciouſly erected with Mankind in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and, according to the Analogy of

Chriſtia.

Christian Faith, clearly taught, and the Rules of *Christian* Duties, expresly commanded in Holy Scripture; and, by the undoubted Principles of sincere Dealing, manifestly revealed in the Conscience of every one, and useful for Edification, and Avoiding of Offence in the Communion of Saints: I shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour to preserve every where, but more especially in the Church of *Scotland*, and to advance towards Perfection, in the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, the Reformed Religion, in the free and publick Profession and Practice of the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches; and shall, by the Means aforesaid, furthermore endeavour, as I shall find Opportunity, to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity that may be evangelically obtained in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship and Catechisings, that they, and their Posterity, may as Brethren, live in Unity of the Spirit, through the Bond of Peace, in Faith, and Love amongst themselves, and correspond amiably with Foreign *Protestants*, that the God of Peace, Love, and Unity may delight to dwell in the Midst of them.

That, by the Means aforesaid, I shall in like Manner, without worldly Respects, and Respecting of Persons, endeavour the Rooting out of all Plants, which the Heavenly Father hath not planted, and more particularly that I shall labour to extirpate all human usurped Power over the Church of God, and the Consciences of Men, tending to lead them in a lordly, tyrannical Way to depend upon the Will of Man, by a blind Credulity, and forced Obedience in Matters of Faith, and religious Practice, whether it be called now *Popery* or *Prelacy*, by the Titles of Archbishops, Bishops, their Courts, Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and such like Ecclesiastical Officers depending upon that Hierarchy, or by what Name soever it may or shall be called hereafter. And that, in like Manner, I shall labour to extirpate all Superstition, and all Heresies condemned by the Primitive General Councils of the true ancient Church; all Schism, chiefly amongst evangelical *Protestants*, who have cast off the Papal Yoke; all Prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, lest I partake of other Men's Sins, and be in Danger to receive of their Plagues, that the Lord may be one, and his Name one, not only in the three Kingdoms, but in all the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Thirdly, That I shall by the Means aforesaid, in the same Sincerity, Reality, and Constancy, according to my Calling, endeavour, with my Estate and Life, to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, which are fundamental and necessary for the Conservation of the Publick State; and that I shall also preserve and defend, with my Estate and Life, the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, to which I am bound by the Oath of Allegiance, as to the Head of the Publick State, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witness with my Conscience of my Loyalty, and that I have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.

Fourthly, That I shall, with all Faithfulness, endeavour the Discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to the Tenor of the National League or Covenant, that they may be drawn from the Error of their Ways, and brought to Repentance, or otherwise to publick Tryal, and receive condign Punishment, as the Degree of their Offence shall require or deserve, or supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having Power from them to that Effect, shall judge convenient.

Fifthly, And whereas the Happiness of a blessed Peace and Union between the Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is, by the good Providence of God, granted to us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, I shall, according to my Place and Interest, endeavour that the Kingdoms may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that Justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in Manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, I ſhall, alſo, according to my Place and Calling, in the common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into the National League and Covenant, in the Maintaining and Purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer myſelf directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion, or Terror, to be withdrawn and divided from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give myſelf to a deteſtable Indifferency, or Neutrality, in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerns the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, the Honour of the King, and the Welfare of all Evangelical Churches, which I ſhall labour to bring to a good Correſpondency, and brotherly Affection with the Churches of the Kingdoms, and one with another; and ſo, all the Days of my Life, ſhall zealouſly and conſtantly continue, againſt all Oppoſition, in this Endeavour of publick Edification, Peace, and Reconcilement of Proteſtants, not leaving off to promote more particularly the National Cauſe according to my Power, againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever; and what I am not able to ſuppreſs or overcome by myſelf, I ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which I ſhall do as in the Sight of God.

Seventhly, And, leſt, in the Uſe of the foreſaid Means for the Proſecuting of theſe Endeavours, as well towards thoſe of my Nation, as towards other Evangelical Churches, I might either unadviſedly give, or others might colourably take Offence and Scandals at me, from whence Inconveniencies in this Work, as Tares in a good Field, may grow up, and choak the Fruits thereof, for Want of Circumſpection and Care, to determine the Way and Manner of Proceeding, by neceſſary Rules tending to Edification; therefore, I ſhall faithfully endeavour to ſhape my Courſe in all Things conformable to the Life of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Captain of this Warfare, whoſe Footſteps I am bound to follow, and whoſe Life is the Rule of Righteouſneſs; and, to ſpeak more particularly of this, I ſhall order the Ways of my Proceedings by theſe Rules:

I. I ſhall walk in the Light, doing all Things openly; and being deſirous to come to the Light, and approve my Ways to the Conſcience of every one, I ſhall reject all hidden Things of Darkneſs, and the Tricks of worldly Wiſdom.

II. I ſhall not meddle out of my ſpiritual Calling, with Matters of State, nor ſuffer my Miniſterial Gifts to ſerve Politicians for worldly Ends.

III. My Way ſhall be wholly Evangelical, that is to ſay, fitted to prepare the Minds of Men to entertain the glad Tidings of the Goſpel. And, to this Effect,

I ſhall ſeek out and propoſe the Counſels and Means of Peace by the Truth, bearing Witneſs thereunto, as it ſhall be revealed to me, and exhorting and perſuading indifferently all to receive it.

I ſhall not ſtrive, nor cry, nor lift up my Voice in the Streets; that is to ſay, I ſhall not entertain the contentious Cuſtom of bitter Railings, and confuſed Diſputings, by odious Cenſuring and Condemning of others, to lay open their Faults; but rather ſtudy by loving Admonitions to redreſs them.

I ſhall not break the bruiſed Reed, nor quench the ſmoaking Flax; that is to ſay, I ſhall bear with the Weak and ſupport the Feeble, not pleaſing myſelf, but, condeſcending to Things of low Degree, befitting the Capacity of the Simple and Ignorant, I will labour to heal the Breaches of their Spirit, and carry their Burthens, till God ſend forth Judgment unto Victory.

If I be wronged, I ſhall not intend Revenge, or requite Evil for Evil, or give Way to evil Surmiſes, or make ſiniſter Reports of my evil Will known, but rather ſhall cover their Faults, ſo far as may be without Detriment to the publick Cauſe, and the neceſſary Clearing of my own Innocency.

In a Word, I ſhall do nothing to another, which I would not have done, in the like Caſe, unto myſelf; and what I would have done by others to myſelf, I ſhall firſt do it unto them.

Laſtly, I ſhall always be ready to go without the Camp, to bear the Reproach, and partake of the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

And, becauſe, not only the Kingdoms, but all Proteſtant Churches and Evangelical States, and every one that liveth therein, are guilty of many Sins and Provocations againſt God and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, as is too manifeſt by the preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof befalling to all, as well at Home as Abroad;

broad; therefore, I propose and declare before God my unfeigned Desire to be humbled for my Sins, and for the Sins of my Brethren in these Kingdoms, and in the Churches at Home and Abroad; especially that we have not all valued, as we ought, the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the Purity and Power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Cause of other Sins and Transgressions so much abounding among all. And my true and unfeigned Purpose, Desire, and Endeavour is for myself, and for all others under my Power and Charge both in Publick and in Private, in all Duties I owe to God and Man, to amend my Life and theirs, and to go before others in the Example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation from all his People, and establish the Churches and the Kingdoms in Truth and Peace.

And this Covenant and Vow I make in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same unblameably, as I shall answer at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed. Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen me and all those that enter into the like Resolution by his holy Spirit for this End, and to bless all our Desires and Proceedings of this Kind, with such Success as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to join in the same or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, and the Peace and Tranquillity of all Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths. *Amen.*

I have said and subscribe myself,

J. D.

Loyalty, attended with great News from *Drake*'s and *Raleigh*'s Ghosts. Presenting the true Means whereby *Britain* may be recovered from her Maladies, and obtain a lasting Happiness, Honour, and Renown. In an Heroick Poem.

Vicimus, o magnis tandem exauditu Piorum
Vota Deus, nunc alma Salus, nunc Secula curat
Omnipotens.——————

Barcl. Arg.

London, printed for the Author, in 1705. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages.

To

To the QUEEN.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Senſe of my Unworthineſs would have diſcouraged me from this bold Addreſs, had not your Majeſty aſſured the World of your moſt gracious Condeſcenſion to forgive greater Treſpaſſes.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

My plain Muſe *has herein been favoured to repreſent the mature Conceptions of ſome of your Majeſty's loyal Subjects, who are deſervedly eſteemed amongſt the moſt wiſe and underſtanding Perſons, and ſuch who have merited from the Crown equal with moſt; which, if his late Majeſty had lived a few Days longer, would have been apparent to all.*

I humbly crave Pardon for this Preſumption, and beg the Honour of your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance hereof, praying (with all loyal and dutiful Subjects) for your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign, to the Glory of God, and the Proteſtant *Religion, which is, and ſhall be the conſtant and moſt hearty Petition of,*

Your Majeſty's

Moſt loyal

And moſt obedient Servant,

JOHN SADLER.

HAD not the Sov'reign of the Globe took Care,
Ev'n on the Precipice of black Deſpair,
To ſend us a Deliverer of our Iſle,
Who chang'd the gloomy Scene and made us ſmile:
[Illuſtr'ous *Naſſau* *, that bright riſing Sun]
Britannia had been ruined and undone †.

A new Meridian Light he did erect;
And by diffuſive Rays of Heat protect;
Chacing away the frightful Shades of Night,
When arm'd Deſtruction ſtood in all our Sight.

Look! look! — what ſplendid Form does now ſurpriſe,
Moving with com'ly Gate before our Eyes?
Each Step it ſoftly does to us advance;
Looks not with pale, but ſhining Countenance;
So graceful, that the near approaching Sight,
Inſtead of Terror, does command Delight,
And to a ſweet Compoſure does invite.

* *William* Prince of *Orange*. † By a *Popiſh* King and Council.

Drak.

Drake's Ghoſt.

Forth from that ſweet Place where bleſs'd Shades do dwell,
To my dear *Albion** I am ſent to tell : ——
Kind Heav'n for her has Bleſſings treaſur'd up,
The Hieroglyphick is ——— this *golden Cup* ;
This Cup of Conſolation in my Hand,
Britannia ! Now be wiſe and underſtand.

When the proud daring Pow'rs of *Spain* combin'd †,
And in a frightful grand *Armado* join'd ;
Which they *Invincible* did proudly call ;
Old *Belzebub* could not forbear, and all
Th'infernal Fiends, who then began to grin,
To ſee his Subjects toiling in their Gin,
And compaſs'd in ——

When *Plutus* muſter'd up his furious Legions
Through all his ſulph'rous, dark, and ſmoky Regions,
Drawn forth in Line of Battle, to invade
Thy Land : And when his Grenadiers, with Spade,
Thought with one mighty Thruſt to ſhovel down
This Iſle into the Sea, with Nod and Frown ;
Propitious Heaven all their Meaſures brake,
And by a Word of full Command beſpake,
Beſpake me ‡ for the Inſtrument, and gave
A Mandate that I ſhould *Britannia* ſave.

The famous Queen *Eliſabeth* then reign'd,
Whoſe Admiral I was ; and (when obtain'd
This joint Commiſſion) Heav'n did then inſpire,
And taught me to prepare new Works of Fire ‖ ;
Wing'd with a thund'ring Vengeance, and ſuch Roar,
Such Deſolation as ne'er known before.

Moſt of their floating *Cyclope* Iſles then flew
Up, through the wounded Air, in open View ;
While ſome ſunk down in *Neptune*'s wat'ry Grave,
With Shrieks to th'Virgin *Mary* §, them to ſave.

The Eccho weary'd was with frightful Sound,
More dreadful than rous'd *Cerb'rus* Barkings, round
The Gulph of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* (where
Tremendous Horror and Amazement ſtare
On one another with erected Hair.)
The *Spaniſh* Monarchy was then o'erthrown ;
And looking round for Help, but finding none,
Sunk down and gave an univerſal Groan.

* *England.* † In 1588. ‡ Admiral *Drake.*
‖ This alludes to the firſt Invention of Fire-ſhips, as you will read on Page 125, Vol. I.
§ The uſual Exclamation of *Papiſts* in Time of Trouble or Danger.

Her Iſles in *Weſtern Indies* then did ſhake,
And all her Territories at the Name of *Drake* *.

Go, tell, —— *Drake*'s Ghoſt a Prophecy has brought,
Worthy of glorious *Anne*'s moſt pond'rous Thought:
The *Britiſh* Veſſel ſhall through Billows flee,
Far from the Proſpect of the Vulture's Eye;
And, from the new World which I firſt ſurvey'd,
In Gold and Silver Mines they ſoon ſhall trade.

In this grand Juncture of your State Affairs
Britain, with open Eyes, and Heart, and Ears,
That Happineſs ſhall ſeek, and ſeeking find,
Which heals her Maladies of ev'ry Kind.
The reſt —— my Brother's following Ghoſt reveals,
Hark *England!* for it now moſt plainly deals.
Dear *Albion!* once again —— Adieu;
Think on thy *Drake* and *Raleigh* too;
Thy Friends, thy faithful Friends moſt true,
It deſcends, &c.

Behold! —— dear *Raleigh*'s Ghoſt approaching ſtands
Before us now, and awful Love commands:
See! —— with what graceful Motion it draws near!
Allures our Sight, inſtead of raiſing Fear.

Raleigh's Ghoſt.

Forth from th'*Elyſian* Shade's ſweet Reſt, I riſe,
Aſſuring *England* we do ſympathiſe
In her Afflictions; and will now detect
Who are her greateſt Foes, ſhe does the leaſt ſuſpect.

Vipers who in her Bowels lately bred;
And, eating through, thruſt forth each pois'nous Head;
From whence *Great-Britain* ſuch Convulſions felt,
In whoſe ſwoln Womb this ven'mous Brood has dwelt.

Theſe are new Monſters, who old *Rome* out-do;
And all the late *Ignatian* † Order too.
Such, who compact with all the Pow'rs of Hell,
Therein eternally, eternally to dwell;
May they but bring a total Deſolation
On their own hated Mother (*Engliſh*) Nation.

From hence, ſuch Paroxyſms; ſuch torturing Pain,
Such Jealouſies and Diſcontents do reign,
By whoſe Inchantments *England*'s ſmote ſo blind,
Her bliſsful Paradiſe ſhe cannot find,
The Place which Heav'n to her has late aſſign'd.

* See *Drake*'s Voyages round the World. † *Jeſuits*; *Ignatius Loyala* being their Founder.

Single

Shake off thoſe Charms; from Lethargy ariſe,
And take the Counſel of the truly Wiſe;
I'll be thy Conduct, who am *Raleigh*'s Ghoſt,
And bring thy Navy ſafe to *Darien*'s Coaſt * :
Bleſs'd *Havilah* †, whoſe Duſt is Ore, and ſhines
Rich, and reſplendent from her golden Mines;
The grand *Emporium* of the World for Trade,
Which for Heav'n's deareſt Favourites was made.

I (*Gundamore*'s ‡ Terror now) am ſent to you,
From the conſulting Shades, forthwith to ſhew
The bright tranſparent Mirror of their Heart,
And from them now I faithfully impart
This News to my dear native Land; the Iſle
On which Heav'n's Countenance begins to ſmile.

By their Commands I now am ſent to tell——
England all other Nations ſhall excell
In ev'ry Bleſſing, will ſhe timely take
Our Counſels, and herſelf moſt happy make.

Darien 's thy Right by Gift; ariſe, poſſeſs
The ſame; and to thy laſting Happineſs
Fix now the famous *Æra*; then diſband
Thy Armies; for Heav'n's ſtrong protecting Hand
Will be thy Bulwark, and thy ſtrong Defence
From *Frenchified-Spaniſh Inſolence.*

By this Means will the *Evangelick* Light ‖
Chace from thoſe Monuments of Love their Night
Of *Pagan* Darkneſs, who now draw their Breath
In diſmal Vale, among the Shades of Death.
Where *Jim* and *Ojim* § conſtantly do haunt,
Who, by this Goſpel-beam, will ſtrait——avaunt.
O what a Bleſſing, then, would *England* be,
To cauſe the Deaf to hear, the Blind to ſee!

O let this Counſel with Impreſſion ſink
In thy moſt ſerious Thoughts; in Time bethink;
If for Converſion-work thou haſt Reſpect,
Heav'n all thy Steps will order and direct;
Then, for Religion's Sake, thy golden Trade
Shall thrive, and truly proſperous be made.
Th' Angelick Guard a Trophy then will raiſe
To dear *Britannia*'s loud immortal Praiſe.

* *Darien* is that Iſthmus, or Neck of Land, on which *Carthagena*, *Portobello*, &c. are ſituate in the *Weſt-Indies.*

† A common Name for any Country rich in Gold and Silver Mines; an Epithet taken from *Geneſis* ii. ver. 11.

‡ *Gundamore* was the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *England*, who procured *Raleigh*'s Death.

‖ The Goſpel preached by *Proteſtants.* § Two *Pagan* Deities.

And *Lewis* *, to thy rich imperial Crown,
Shall bow; court all thy Favours, fear thy Frown:
While *Europe* ſtands amaz'd at thy Renown,
And all Earth's Monarchs, who ſhall know thy Fame,
Will then riſe up their Bleſſings to proclaim,
When they ſhall hear *Britannia*'s awful Name.

Now let the dreadful Doom of *James the Firſt* †,
(Who all his Popiſh Succeſſors ſore curſt)
Light on thoſe black infernal Minds, who join
This Enterpriſe to break; or ſhall repine
Againſt this Deed, which Heav'n's broad Seal does ſign.

Brand with perpetual Stigma all, all thoſe
Who thy Felicity in this oppoſe,
And treat 'em as thou would'ſt thy greateſt Foes;
And they no leſs deſerve all good Men's Hate,
Who of ſtrange Mountain *Bug-bears* do relate,
Nigh *Darien*; (like thoſe wicked Spies of old,
Who of tall *Anakims* round *Canaan* told)
Confronting Providence with Brow moſt bold.

Shake off thy Charms, and from deep Sleep ariſe;
And take the timely Counſel of the Wiſe:
Thick Scales from thy blind Eyes will then drop off,
And thy deaf Ears unſtopp'd; whilſt all who ſcoff,
Inſulting o'er thy Maladies, will find
That Heav'n's ſlow Mills will them to Powder grind.

Shake off thy ſtrong intoxicating Charm,
And thyſelf with fix'd Reſolution arm;
I'll be thy Conduct (*Britain*'s Martyr's Ghoſt)
And bring thy Navy ſafe to *Darien*'s Coaſt.

I'll haſte; and, at your Sovereign's Call, prepare
A Figure, which all *England*'s Foes will fear.
Nor can the Shades (tho' happy) take full Reſt,
'Till *Britain*'s of her *Paradiſe* poſſeſs'd,
Where ſhe, with Peace, Trade, Honour will be bleſs'd.
[Raleigh's *Ghoſt vaniſhes*, &c.

Kind Heav'n aſſiſt us, rightly to improve
This noble Magazine of treaſur'd Love.
O cleanſe our drowſy Souls from filthy Dregs,
Screw up our craz'd *Theorbo*'s duſty Pegs,
And let each ſounding Heart-ſtring tuned be
To a moſt ſweet melodious Harmony.
And to a fervent Soul-transforming Praiſe,
Since Heav'n, reſolves by ſuch endearing Ways
Britannia's Griefs to heal, and her to Glory raiſe.

Moſt welcome News theſe happy Shades do bring,
Who, by Divine Inſtruction, know the Thing,

*The King of *France*. † Who was poiſoned by the Duke of *Buckingham*. See p. 6. Vol. II.

That

That timely will prevent the Nation's Woe;
Who is *Britannia*'s Friend, and who her Foe.
Not like the doubtful Oracles of old,
But, with Love's Freedom, modeſt, plain, yet bold,
They tell, wherein our Happineſs conſiſts;
Removing from our Eyes the ſtrange inchanting Miſts.

O, honour'd *England!* ſure thy Fame will ſpread,
And, in thy Adverſaries *, ſtrike a Dread,
Since two ſuch Men † riſe from the Dead to heal
With Sympathy, as if both did feel
Our Griefs; and all the happy Shades likewiſe
Conſulted, how to make us great and wiſe.

May all thoſe Paraſites an Entrance find
In *Strombolo*'s and *Ætna*'s Mouths ‡, who blind
Our Nation's Eyes, by their Satanick Arts,
To hide true Underſtanding from our Hearts.

Now let's no longer rub our feſt'ring Sore,
Lanc'd by great *Raleigh* to the very Core;
But wait in Patience 'till we underſtand
What glorious *Anne* will ſay, and what command.

The Vapours, which did late infect our Air,
Depart; and our late Clouds do diſappear;
We'll haſte to Court, in Hopes to gain the Royal Ear.
And may we, when we next together meet,
With News celeſtial, one another greet.

Mean While, to ſtrengthen our Aſſurance, we
Illuſtrious *Anne* will view; whom all do ſee
Encompaſs'd round in Heaven's dear Embrace,
Shining with Glory from its ſmiling Face,
Which crowns her both with Majeſty and Grace.
And, tho' great *Naſſau*'s Abſence made it Night,
Soon after roſe this more reſplendent Light.

Of equal Honour to the *Britiſh* Throne,
With *William* or *Eliza*, ſhe is known;
Who does with new advancing Luſtre ſhine,
And lives the Terror of the humbl'd *Sein*.

We've ſeen her Arms, *Great-Britain*'s Croſs diſplay,
While baffl'd *France* does own, our *Anna*'s Ray
Did, by the Brightneſs of her dawning Reign,
Firſt entr'ing on the Globe, and late began,
What e'er their tedious Monarch wrought, exceed;
And taint his Grandeur by one ſingle Deed,
And pull the fading Laurels from his Head.

* *France* and *Spain*. † As *Drake* and *Raleigh*. ‡ *Strombolo* and *Ætna* are two burning Mountains.

Nor

Nor will, 'till ſhe the mighty Work has done,
Sheath up, and the conteſted Balance won,
And finiſh what the great *Naſſau* begun.

The treach'rous See of *Rome*, and haughty *France*,
She now has put in a confounding Trance,
Which, in all joyful Hearts, does now inſpire
New Conſolations from a Heav'n-born Fire;
And into ev'ry loyal Breaſt inſtills
What with new Love and Admiration fills.

To *France* and *Rome* ſhe is the ſterling Mirror
Of Heart-diſtracting Grief, and thundering Terror.

Let *Vigo* ſpeak, if any Strength be left
In theſe, who of their Senſes were bereaft,
And, breathleſs, hid themſelves in Mountains Cleft.

Let *France* tell, who *Anne*'s Banner view'd with Dread,
When *Marlborough* her victorious Army led
Up to the ſhaken Empire, to defend
From *Lewis*'s ſtrong Invaſion; and did ſend
All his ſlain Hoſt to their infernal Place,
And did his captiv'd Generals Pride abaſe.

Marlborough, ſo great and brave, he gave 'em Light
From his loud Cannons Flames (in Duſk of Night)
For decent Burial of thoſe Warriors all,
Who durſt aſpire to graſp th' Imperial Ball,
The Diadem and Scepter (to enſlave
All *Europe*) thus, he ſent thoſe Hectors to the Grave.

Let their ſad Ghoſts ariſe to tell th' Alarms,
Which ſmote *France* deaf and dumb thro' *Britain*'s Arms,
In Spight of *Maintenon*'s * deluſive Charms.

Since *Rome* and *France* proclaim it certain Death
To ſpeak of this great Conqueſt but one Breath,
Let thoſe Shades riſe, tho' they but once appear
Not now to tell the News which all Men hear,
But to torment, and ſtrike 'em dead with Fear.

We'll give 'em Leave *Te Deums* now to ſing,
Since welcome Poſt ſuch glorious News does bring.
If *Lewis* means at next Campaign to thrive,
Le-Cheſe † his Prayers backwards now muſt ſtrive,
(Tho' in much Shame and Ridicule) to mumble,
While Moon-blind Fops with aching Gizzards grumble.

* *Lewis the Fourteenth*'s Miſtreſs. † *Lewis the Fourteenth*'s Confeſſor.

Victoria

Victorious *Anne*, in a triumphant State,
Her publick *Hallelujah's* twice has ſounded,
And, when a third Time ſhe ſhall conſecrate
Immanuel's * Praiſe, may ſhe then be ſurrounded
With th' univerſal Harmony of all,
In Shout, for *France* and *Rome's* tremendous Fall.

And may ſhe reign in Peace and Honour, 'till
Time all the ſacred Prophecies fulfil
A Signet in God's Heart; a Plague to Hell:
And (with his Royal Highneſs †) ever dwell,
Ever, in Beatifick-Viſion-Place;
In the eternal (dear and full) Embrace
Of great *Jehovah*, to behold his Face.

Amen, Amen.

* *Jeſus Chriſt.* † Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Queen *Ann's* Conſort.

A true and faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majeſties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in their Expedition againſt the *French*, in the *Carribbee Iſlands*, in the *Weſt-Indies*: Under the Conduct of his Excellency *Chriſtopher Codrington*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the ſaid Forces, in the Years 1689 and 1690. Written by *Thomas Spencer*, Junior, Secretary to the Honourable Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, Baronet, to whoſe Regiment he was Muſter-Maſter, and ſupplied the Place of Commiſſary. *London*, printed in 1691. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

To the Right Honourable *Edward Ruſſel*, Admiral of their Majeſties Fleet for the Year 1691, Treaſurer of their Majeſties Navy, and one of the Lords of their Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

Right Honourable,

I *Might juſtly imagine myſelf to be thought rude and impertinent, when I firſt preſumed to tender this Account to your Honour; and I ſhould never have adventured upon ſo great a Boldneſs, if I had not thought it really my Duty to preſent it to your Honour's View:*

View: And the Reaſon which moved me to it was, becauſe the moſt notable Actions herein related, as the Taking of St. Chriſtophers, *and St.* Euſtace, *were the immediate Succeſs of Part of that Royal Navy, which your Honour now happily commands in Chief; I mean that Squadron commanded by Admiral* Wright *in the* Weſt-Indies, *without which it had been utterly impoſſible for the* Engliſh *to have enterpriſed any Thing in thoſe Parts: For their Majeſties Iſlands there were ſo depopulated by a raging Mortality, that the ſurviving Inhabitants were even harraſſed with a daily Fatigue to defend themſelves. Upon this Motive, joined with the Conſideration of the innate Generoſity, which is generally found in all Perſons ſo Nobly and Honourably deſcended as yourſelf; but is ſo peculiar to the moſt Noble Family of* Bedford, *and with which (as you are a principal Branch thereof, ſo) you are principally adorned; I firſt aſſumed the Boldneſs to addreſs your Honour with a Copy of this Relation; and the high Favour you were pleaſed to vouchſafe me, in your Peruſal and Approbation of it, when it was a Manuſcript, hath encouraged me not only to ſend it to the Preſs, but hath alſo emboldened me to implore your Patronage to countenance it, with which it will be ſufficiently honoured and defended, and may boldly appear in Publick. But, for the Return of ſo high an Obligation, as it tranſcends the utmoſt of my Hopes to accompliſh, ſo I muſt confeſs my Incapacity to make any farther Advances towards it, than an humble and grateful Acknowledgment, which ſhall ever be paid with the ſtricteſt Obſervance, by him who craves Leave to ſubſcribe himſelf,*

Right Honourable,

Your Honour's

Moſt humbly devoted

and obedient Servant,

Thomas Spencer.

THE Deſign of this ſmall Treatiſe is to give a ſuccinct Relation of the Proceedings of their Majeſties Forces, in the *Caribbee-Iſlands*; and, in a plain and compendious Method, a faithful Narrative of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, from the Beginning of the War, to this preſent Time: Only I muſt deſire to be excuſed, in the Omiſſion of noting the particular Days of the Month in ſome Places, the Loſs of ſome Papers having forced me to be leſs exact in the Performance of that, than I could wiſh; but, as this is not abſolutely material and *per ſe*, but only circumſtantial and *per Accidens*, I preſume it may the more eaſily be pardoned.

But, before I fall upon the intended Matter, I think it not amiſs to ſhew the firſt Grounds and Reaſons of the Differences which have happened in thoſe Parts. Be pleaſed then to know, that the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers* hath formerly been a Stage of War between the *Engliſh* and *French*: But, of late Years, Matters being accommodated, and the Iſland divided between them, they have each of them lived under their own Government, and an Act of Neutrality hath paſſed by the Conſent of both their Kings, to the Intent they might there enjoy a quiet and unterrupted Peace, notwithſtanding any Wars that might happen between the two Crowns in *Europe*: But the *French*, being a fickle and inconſtant People, broke through all thoſe Conſiderations; and, before the Wars were proclaimed between *England* and *France*, prompted by ſome private Animoſities of their own, and animated by the Inſtigations and Impulſions of ſome *Iriſh* upon the Iſland, in the Month of *July*, 1689, entered

tered the *Engliſh* Ground with Fire and Sword, forcing the Inhabitants to fly to the Fort for their Safety.

The *Engliſh*, being in this Diſtreſs, applied themſelves to the Government of *Barbadoes* for Aſſiſtance; upon which Application, the Honourable Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, Baronet, offered himſelf, to go at the Head of a Regiment to their Relief; to which the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly aſſenting, the Drums beat up for Voluntiers, and, in leſs than a Fortnight, there was raiſed a Regiment of ſeven-hundred able Men, all which (the commiſſioned Officers excepted) were fitted with Arms, *&c.* for the ſaid Expedition, at the Coſt and Charges of the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, convenient Veſſels being alſo provided, for the tranſporting them to the Iſland of St. *Chriſtopher's*.

All Things being in a Readineſs, they embarked and ſet Sail on *Thurſday* the Firſt of *Auguſt*; and, on *Monday* following, being the Fifth of the ſaid Month, they arrived at the Iſland of *Antigua*, where they received the unwelcome News, that the Fort at St. *Chriſtopher's* was ſurrendered to the *French*, on *Monday* the Twenty-ninth of *July*, upon Articles, and the *Engliſh* ſent off to the adjacent Iſland of *Nevis*.

Affairs being thus ſtated, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* knowing his Strength to be inconſiderable to attack an Iſland ſo well manned and fortified as St. *Chriſtopher's*; and the Government of *Antigua* alſo ſolliciting him to continue with them till the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which was daily expected; he agreed to their Propoſals, and landed his Regiment there, quartering them in the Town of *Falmouth*.

After a Month's Continuance in the ſaid Iſland, Lieutenant-General *Codrington* ſent three Sloops, manned with fourſcore of Sir *Timothy*'s Regiment, under the Command of Captain *Edward Thorne*, to fetch their Majeſties Subjects, with their Goods and Stock, from the Iſland of *Anguilla*, where they were miſerably abuſed and deſtroyed, by ſome *Iriſh* which the *French* had put on Shore amongſt them: Before, and during Sir *Timothy*'s Stay in *Antigua*, the *Indians* of the neighbouring Iſlands, who were in League with the *French*, landed ſeveral Times upon the ſaid Iſland, killing thoſe Inhabitants that lived near to the Sea (to the Number of ten) and then making their Eſcape in their ſwift Periaquas, notwithſtanding the beſt ſailing Sloops were ſent in Purſuit of them; but, by the Diligence of the Lieutenant-General, in placing Guards at all the Bays and Landing-places, thoſe Incurſions were afterwards prevented.

About the Middle of *September*, a *French* Privateer, landing at *Five Iſlands*, near *Antigua*, had taken off ſome *Negroes*; and, in his Going away, met with two *Engliſh* Sloops, one of which, after ſome Reſiſtance, he took; the other, making her Eſcape, came in, and gave an Account of the Action; upon which, Sir *Timothy* ſent out two Sloops, manned with a Company of Grenadiers, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, who next Day brought her in with her Prize: On Board the Privateer (beſides thirty *French*) were ſix *Iriſh*, who were tried by a Court-martial, and four of them deſervedly executed.

At this Time, a dreadful Mortality raging in the Iſland of *Nevis*, eſpecially among the Men, which had reduced that Sex to a Moiety of its uſual Number, forced the Inhabitants to make their Addreſſes to Sir *Timothy*, who now had received a Commiſſion for Major-General, to bring his Regiment down thither for their Defence, their Iſland lying within two Leagues of St. *Chriſtopher's*, and in daily Expectation of being attacked; the Major-General weighing their Neceſſity, after the Violence of the Diſtemper was abated, in the Month of *November*, removed his Regiment thither, incamping them upon a commodious Plain, cloſe adjoining to a River.

In the Beginning of *December*, the Lieutenant-General, coming down to *Nevis*, called a General Council of War, in which it was determined, that the Major-General, with three-hundred of his own Regiment, and two-hundred *Neviſians*, ſhould go down and attack St. *Martin's* and St. *Bartholomew's*, two Iſlands belonging to the Enemy, in which they reared conſiderable Quantities of Stock, for the Support and Maintenance of other their Sugar Iſlands; in order to which Expedition, the Major-General, on *Sunday* the Fifteenth of the ſaid Month, put his Forces on Board the Veſſels provided for them, being one Brigantine, and nine Sloops; and, on *Monday* the Sixteenth, he himſelf embarked, and the Fleet ſet Sail for the ſaid Iſlands. On *Wedneſday* the Eighteenth, in the Morning, we paſſed by St. *Bartholomew's*, and, about Four in the Af-

ternoon, being within four or five Leagues of St. *Martin's*, we eſpied a ſmall Sloop ſtanding up towards us; but, upon Sight of us, ſhe tacked, and put into one of the Bays: When we came up with the Bay where ſhe lay, the Major-General ſent one Lieutenant *Dowden*, with three Files of Men in a Boat, to go up to her and board her, and, if ſhe were floating, to bring her out; when the Boat was got near on Board, the Enemy, who lay hid in the Buſhes on each Side, the Bay being land-locked, fired very thick upon them, forcing them to retreat, two of them being wounded. The Major-General, being very deſirous to have the Sloop, after it was dark, ſent thirty Men in four Boats and Canoes, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, again to attempt the Bringing her out; but the Enemy diſcovered them, and fired hotly upon them; the Canoe, which Captain *Hamilton* was in, rowed cloſe up to the Sloop, and found her run on Ground; the Men, being all gone out of her, ſo were forced to leave her, and return to their Veſſels: Captain *Hamilton* received two Shots in one of his Legs, about four Perſons more being wounded, but none killed; that Night we ſtood off and on, as though we deſigned to land in the Morning.

The next Day being the Nineteenth, there was a Council of War held by the Officers on Board the Brigantine, wherein it was determined, firſt to attack St. *Bartholomew's*, and accordingly the Sloops ſtood up in the Night to the ſaid Iſland: The next Morning before Day, Major *John Stanley* landed with four-ſcore Men, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Enemy, and beat them out of their Breaſt-works, and by Break of Day he had planted his Colours upon a Battery they had, conſiſting of two great Guns: All the Forces being landed, the Major-General ordered them to take three ſeveral Ways; himſelf leading his own Guard of Gentlemen Reformadoes, with two Companies more, through the Body of the Iſland. After a Mile's March, we diſcovered a large Fortification, which appeared to be well manned; but the Major-General, running down bravely with his Men, ſo diſheartened the Enemy, that, after they had given us two or three Vollies, they quitted it, and fled into the Woods. The Fortification was quadrangular, conſiſting of about two Acres of Land, encompaſſed with double Rows of Stakes, ſix Feet high, and four Feet diſtant; the Intervals being filled with Earth, and a wide deep Trench without it; on each Corner there was a Flanker, in one of which were planted four great Guns; the Entrance into it was a Lock, admitting but one at a Time; in the Middle of it was the Governor's Houſe, and a Guard-Houſe for the Soldiers; alſo a large Ciſtern with Store of Water; ſeven or eight Barrels of dried Salt Fiſh, with Bread proportionable, and two Barrels of Powder: It was ſituated in a Bottom, by the Side of a Lane, through which we were to paſs to come at it, and on the other Side was a very high Hill. After we had entered it, the Major-General ſent this Relator with four Files of Men, to gain the Top of the Hill; which he did, finding it fortified with two great Guns, loaden and primed, with the Match lighted, and ſeveral Bags of Partridge-ſhot lying by them, but the Enemy was in ſo much Haſte, they did not ſtay to fire them upon us.

About four Miles diſtant from the Fortification, upon the Side of a Hill, there appeared a large white Building, reſembling a Fort, to which the Major-General ſent three-hundred Men under the Command of Colonel *Charles Pym*, with Orders, if he found it ſtrong, to ſit down before it, and wait his Coming. About Two of the Clock, the Major-General (leaving a ſufficient Guard in the Fortification) marched up thither with the reſt of his Forces; and, when we came to it, we found it to be only a Stone Platform, laid ſhelving for the Conveyance of the Rain Water into the Ciſtern; the Iſland being deſtitute of Rivers, Wells, or other Conveniencies of freſh Water, the Inhabitants are forced to make Uſe of all Advantages to catch the Rain, each Houſe being furniſhed with one or more of theſe Ciſterns, ſome of them capable of holding twelve or fourteen Tuns. There we incamped that Night, and the next Day (the Twenty-firſt) we marched back to the Fortification.

On *Sunday* the Twenty-ſecond, in the Morning, two Captains of the Enemy came in with a Flag of Truce, bringing Articles from their Governor, upon which they offered to ſurrender themſelves; which, when the Major-General had peruſed, he returned an Anſwer to him in Writing, and alſo by two Gentlemen, who ſpoke *French*, which he ſent to him, that his

his Terms were denied; but, if he would come in with the Inhabitants, with their Arms and Ammunition, within three Days, he ſhould find him a Gentleman; but, if he ſtood out longer, he was to expect no Quarter: That Night the Gentlemen returned to the Camp with an Anſwer from the Governor, that on *Wedneſday* he would come in; but he could not ſooner, becauſe ſome of the Inhabitants were hid in Woods, to whom he could not communicate his Deſign before that Time.

On *Monday* and *Tueſday* (the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth) we marched round the Iſland, burning all the Houſes as we paſſed along; the Inhabitants in ſome Places firing upon us from the Woods, but without any Damage.

On *Wedneſday* (the Twenty-fifth) we eſpied a Flag of Truce coming toward us, with the Governor, and a great Company of the Inhabitants; upon which, the Major-General, having his own Company of Guards in the Fortification, and the reſt of his Forces drawn up round it, ſent the two Gentlemen, who were before with him, to meet the ſaid Governor; and, at the Entrance into the Fortification, he was received by Lieutenant-Colonel *John Thomas*, and by him conducted to the Major-General, who ſat in the Houſe (which rather reſembled a Pigeon-houſe, than a Governor's Pavilion, as the *French* termed it; for it conſiſted only of one Room about twelve Feet ſquare below, and another above) he was accompanied by a Friar, and ſome of his Officers, all which were received with great Civility by the Major-General, and many Compliments paſſed between them: After ſome Diſcourſe they went to Dinner, and the Major-General ſo well warmed the Friar with good *Madera* Wine, that he ſpoke *Latin* ſo fluently upon *Tranſubſtantiation*, that he confounded himſelf in his own Argument. The Priſoners, who came in, were between ſix and ſeven Hundred, all which were tranſported; the Governor, with the Men, as Priſoners to *Nevis*; the Women and Children to St. *Chriſtopher's*; all the live Stock was alſo carried up to *Nevis*, with the Negroes, Goods, *&c.* The Major-General returned the Governor ſome of his Negroes, his Horſe, Arms, Apparel, *&c.* to be carried for him to St. *Chriſtopher's*. In taking this Iſland, we had about ten Men killed and wounded.

While we were thus buſied in ſacking this Place, Colonel *Hewetſon* landed with three-hundred *Antigua* Men upon another Iſland belonging to the *French*, called *Marigalanta*, beating the Inhabitants into the Woods, burning their Town, nailing their Guns, demoliſhing their Fort, and returned to *Antigua* with the Plunder of their Iſland.

During our Stay upon St. *Bartholomew's*, we had an Addition of eight or nine Sloops, with about fifty Men, from ſome of the neighbouring Iſlands, which the Major-General made Advantage of; for, on *Sunday* the Nineteenth of *January*, he ſent the Brigantine with nine Sloops, the like Number that had been there before, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, to alarm the Iſland of St. *Martin's*, and the next Morning to make a falſe Attack on the windward Side: After Captain *Hamilton* was gone down, the ſame Day the Major-General embarked with all his Forces in the other Sloops, and in the Night ſet Sail for the ſaid Iſland, and the next Morning, the Twentieth, landed all his Men on the Leeward-ſide, without any Oppoſition, the Enemy having drawn all their Forces to the other Side of the Iſland; only, after the firſt Company was landed, about twenty of the Enemy fired upon them from a Breaſt-work, but were ſoon beat out of it. When all the Forces were landed, they marched intire through the Body of the Country, and, after two Miles March, were drawn up in a convenient Plain, the Enemy being in Sight, and, as we thought, advancing towards us: After we had continued an Hour in this Poſture, the Enemy retiring, had fired a great Building upon a Hill, about a Mile diſtant, which ſeemed to be a Fortification; upon which, the Major-General marched up to it with the whole Body, but found it to be only a large Houſe, which they had burnt, becauſe it ſhould not ſerve us for Shelter; but the ſtone Walls, which remained ſtanding, however, proved ſerviceable to us, in covering us from their Shot. There was a large Ciſtern of Water, but they had rendered it unfit for Drinking, by throwing Salt into it; a Pond alſo, that was adjacent, they had poiſoned with Tobacco. We had not been long here, before the Enemy began to fire upon us from a Breaſt-work, where they had two great Guns planted upon a Hill a Quarter of a Mile diſtant, there

being a clear Valley between us; on the left Hand low and buſhy Ground, and on the right, a Ridge of Mountains, with a very thick Wood: The Major-General ſent Captain *Birt*, with a Company of Men, to gain the Top of the higheſt Mountain, which had the Command of the Poſt we were at; which being done, he left an hundred Men, under the Command of Captain *Geoffery Gibbs*, to maintain that Poſt, and marched back into the Plain, with the reſt of his Forces, to ſecure the Avenues, and hinder the Enemy from coming upon our Backs: Being come down into the Plain, himſelf, with ſeveral Officers, and about an Hundred Sentinels, went to drink at a Well, where, while they were drinking, they received a Volley of about thirty Shot from the Enemy, who lay hid in the Woods; but it pleaſed God, though they ſtood cloſe one by another, there was but one Man hurt.

Withdrawing from thence, Major *John Stanley* was ſent with a Party to rout them out of the Woods; which he did, beating them from two ſtrong Breaſt-works they had upon a Saddle between two Hills, oppoſite to thoſe we had before gained, in which Works he poſted himſelf. The Paſſages being both Ways ſecured, the Major-General incamped with the Body in the Middle of the Plain that Night, and the next Morning, the Twenty-firſt, our two braſs Field-pieces, with Carriages, and two iron ones without were brought on Shore; the iron ones were planted in the Plain, but the Braſs were drawn up to the burnt Houſe, where our Body was now incamped, and about Three in the Afternoon we began to play upon the Enemy. In the Evening, Captain *Bartholomew Sharp* was ſent with one Company of Men, to cut a Path through the Wood, that we might make an Attack upon the Enemy that Way; for in the Valley they had four great Guns planted directly againſt the Road; but, being without Carriages, they could not bring them to bear upon us as we lay; Captain *Sharp* had made no great Progreſs in his Work before he was diſcovered, and ſo hotly dealt with, that he was forced to retreat; all Day the Enemy kept Firing upon us from their Breaſt-work, both with their great Guns and ſmall Arms, but in the Night they ſilently quitted it.

The next Morning, the Twenty-ſecond, leaving thirty Men at the burnt Houſe, under the Command of *James Smith*, we marched over to the Breaſt-work and demoliſhed it, and alſo their Line, which run down to a Well in the Valley near their four great Guns, which we nailed, together with the other two above. Continuing our March about a Mile farther, we came to a fine Plain, encompaſſed with Orange and other Fruit-trees, where we incamped, there being Store of Cattle graſing; at the Upper-end of it were three ſmall Houſes, in one of which were found Blood, and Dreſſings of ſome wounded Men, and we underſtood by two Priſoners which we took preſently after, that they had near twenty killed and wounded.

The next Morning, the Twenty-third, the Major-General leaving this Relator with a ſufficient Guard in the Plain, to take Care of the Plunder; he marched with the Body againſt their chief Fort, about two Miles diſtant, which he took without any Loſs, having but one Man wounded, the Enemy quitting their Fort after a ſmall Reſiſtance; it conſiſted of ſix great Guns mounted upon a Platform without Carriages, with Banks of Earth thrown up. After he had nailed and overthrown the Guns, he proceeded in his March about four Miles farther, and then incamped in a pleaſant Valley, where was a Houſe and Garden belonging to the Friar; there they found the Governor's Horſe ſaddled and bridled, he having left him and fled into the Mountains with the Inhabitants. This Day, Major *John Stanley* marched over the Hills on the other Side the Iſland, and engaged a Party of the Enemy, beating them out of their Breaſt-work, and demoliſhing it; at Night he returned to his Poſt on the Saddle.

The Twenty-fourth, the Major-General continued his March round the Iſland without any Oppoſition, and at Night returned to the burnt Houſe, where he again incamped; the Plunder being alſo removed thither.

On *Saturday* Morning, the Twenty-fifth, we ſaw three great Ships, a Brigantine and a Sloop, ſtanding in with the Iſland, and, about Noon we underſtood by ſome Priſoners, which we took, landing out of the ſaid Sloop, that it was Monſieur *Decaſs*, come down from St. *Chriſtopher's*, with ſeven-hundred Men, to defend the Iſland againſt us, who they heard had been upon St. *Bartholomew's*, and they thought us to be yet there. The Major-General immediately

mediately commanded away Guards to all thoſe Bays where he thought the Enemy would land; but they, ſeeing our Sloops, perceived we were already upon the Iſland, and ſo came not to an Anchor, but gave Chace to our Sloops who made the beſt of their Way to get clear; one of them, in great Danger of being taken, run herſelf a ground, but was again hauled off by the Enemy, but the Men were all got out of her. The Maſter of one of the Sloops being at the Camp, when the Priſoners were brought up, who gave this Account, the Major-General diſpatched him with an Expreſs to *Antigua*, to acquaint the Lieutenant-General with our Condition, and deſire him to ſend ſome Ships to our Aſſiſtance.

Decaſs ſtood off and on all Night, and in the Morning, the Twenty-ſixth, coming cloſe in with the Shore, he fired ſeveral Guns, to give the Inhabitants Notice of his Arrival; about Noon he came to an Anchor, before the windward Part of the Iſland, hanging abroad bloody Colours. The Inhabitants, encouraged by the Coming of theſe Ships, came down out of the Mountains, and, finding their Fort unmanned, they again took Poſſeſſion of it, replanting and drilling their Guns. In the Night *Decaſs* landed his Soldiers, which the Major-General having Advice of, brought his braſs Field-pieces from the burnt Houſe into the Plain, and planted them on the right and left Wing of the Body, which was there incamped; the iron Pieces being planted before towards each Road, having placed ſtrong Guards upon the Saddle, at the Burnt-houſe, and the Mountain which commanded it.

In this Poſture of Defence we continued the Twenty-ſeventh, Twenty-eighth, and Twenty-ninth, the Enemy not daring to attack us; they had now three Ships more come down from St. *Chriſtopher's*, which joined with *Decaſs*.

On *Thurſday*, the Thirtieth, in the Morning, arrived Colonel *Hewetſon* from *Antigua* with three Ships, which the Lieutenant-General had ſent to our Aſſiſtance. The *French* Ships at an Anchor, perceiving *Engliſh* Colours, weighed, and ſtood out to meet them. About Noon they engaged, and after four Hours Diſpute, with little Damage on our Side, the *French* bore away, our Ships alſo ſtanding off all Night, but in the Morning, the Thirty-firſt, they returned. The *French* Ships alſo appeared in Sight, but kept off at a Diſtance. The Major-General, having ſent the Plunder and Field-pieces on Board, ordered all his Out-guards to quit their Poſts, and march down into the Plain, in order to embark; which the Enemy perceiving, marched down likewiſe, and both Parties engaged, to the great Loſs of the Enemy, who was beaten into the Woods in Confuſion. The Major-General made an honourable Retreat, and embarked ſafe with all his Men, except about ten who were killed in the whole Action, and three who were taken Priſoners, by being aſleep in one of the Breaſt-works, when our Men quitted them; one of them made his Eſcape and got down to the Sea-ſide, and a Boat went and brought him off clear; the other two were afterwards exchanged. There were about twenty more wounded, which with the reſt arrived ſafe at *Nevis*, on *Sunday* Morning the Second of *February*.

After the Major-General's Regiment returned up to *Nevis*, the Inhabitants of the ſaid Iſland, conſidering the Service they had done, and their Willingneſs to continue in their Defence, againſt the expected Aſſaults of a neighbouring Enemy; in the Month of *April*, 1690, they allowed the ſaid Regiment Pay, ſo to continue for ſix Months, except the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould arrive, and then to be allowed Pay but one Month after the Arrival of the ſaid Fleet; which happened in *June* following, at which Time, Preparations being made for an Expedition againſt St. *Chriſtopher's*, by all the Leeward *Caribbee* Iſlands, they brought their Forces down to the Iſland of *Nevis*, which was appointed to be the Place of general Rendezvous, it lying moſt convenient for the ſaid Purpoſe; and upon *Monday* the Sixteenth of *June*, 1690, by the Command of his Excellency *Chriſtopher Codrington*, who had now received a Commiſſion from their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all their Leeward *Caribbee* Iſlands, there was a general Muſter in the Iſland of *Nevis*, of all their Majeſties Forces raiſed for the ſaid Expedition againſt St. *Chriſtopher's*, which, according to the Muſter-rolls given in, appeared to be as follows, *viz.*

In the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Holt*, Seven-hundred.

In

In Major-General *Thornhill*'s Regiment, under his own Command, Five-hundred.

In the *Antigua* Regiment, under the Command of Colonel *Williams*, Governor of the ſaid Iſland, Four-hundred.

In the *Montſerat* Regiment, under the Command of Colonel *Blackſtone*, Governor of the ſaid Iſland, Three-hundred.

In the two *Nevis* Regiments, under the Commands of Colonel *Pym* and Colonel *Earl*, Six-hundred.

In the Marine Regiment, being a Detachment out of the Frigates, under the Command of Colonel *Kegwin*, Commander of the Aſſiſtance, Four-hundred.

In the Captain-General's Guard, under the Command of Colonel *Byam*, One-hundred.

In all, Three-thouſand Men.

Upon *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday*, being the Seventeenth and Eighteenth of the ſaid Month of *June*, we embarked for the ſaid Expedition; and upon *Thurſday*, the Nineteenth, we ſet Sail from *Nevis* with our whole Fleet, conſiſting of ten Men of War, two Fire-ſhips, twelve Merchant-men, and about twenty Brigantines and Sloops; and the ſame Evening we came to an Anchor before the Iſland of St. *Chriſtopher*'s in *Frigate-bay*. In the Night eight of our Frigates weighed, and fell down three Leagues to the Leeward, to amuſe and harraſs the Enemy, and the next Morning they returned. That Day we plied our great Guns from ſome of the Frigates, which lay neareſt in with the Shore, upon the Enemy in their Trenches, and received ſome Shot in Exchange, from a Battery of five Guns they had there, but without any Damage on our Side.

That Night there was a Council of War held on Board the Admiral, by the General Officers and ſome of the Prime Commanders, according to the Reſult of which, Major-General *Thornhill*, with four-hundred of his own Regiment, and a Detachment of one-hundred and fifty out of the Regiments of *Montſerat*, *Nevis*, and *Antigua*, between two and three of the Clock next Morning, being *Saturday* the Twenty-firſt, landed with the Forelorn, the Field-mark being Matches about their left Arms, at the little Salt-ponds, about a League to Windward of the afore-ſaid *Frigate-bay*, without any Oppoſition; the Enemy having left that Place unguarded, by Reaſon of its Situation, it lying at the Foot of an almoſt inacceſſible Hill, over which they thought it an Impoſſibility to march. This ſteep Aſcent we mounted by a Path frequented by none but wild Goats, and in ſome Places ſo near a Perpendicular, that we were forced to uſe our Hands as well as our Feet in climbing up. About Break of Day we gained the Top, where we received a Volley of about ſeven or eight Shot, from ſome Scouts there placed, who immediately, upon their Firing, retreated; which wounded us two briſk Commanders, one of which died of his Wounds ſoon after. The Major-General, leaving one Company to ſecure the Paſs upon the Hill, led his Men down about a third Part of it, before they were diſcovered by the Enemy, who now began to fire briſkly upon us from their Trenches, wounding ſeveral of our Men; and the Major-General himſelf received an unfortunate Shot through the Small of his left Leg, which obliged him to ſtay the Binding of it up; but his Men, running down briſkly upon the Enemy, and flanking them in their Trenches, and the Duke of *Bolton*'s and the Marine Regiments landing at the ſame Time at *Frigate-bay*, in which Action Colonel *Kegwin* received a mortal Wound, forced them to quit their Poſt in Diſorder, and leave us Maſters of the Field; we found fourteen of them dead, we having loſt half the Number, beſides wounded Men.

All our Forces being landed, and the Major-General with the wounded Men ſent on Board, the Army was drawn up into four Battalions; the Duke of *Bolton*'s Regiment, in the Van, was ordered to take the Road adjoining to the Sea; the Major-General's Regiment, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *John Thomas*, in the Body, was ordered to march through the Country; and the *Antigua* Regiment was commanded to march at a Diſtance, as a Reſerve to the Body; the other four Regiments were to keep their Poſts, and wait for farther Orders. After an Hour's March, the Duke of *Bolton*'s Regiment encountered a ſmall Party of the Enemy, and ſoon put them to the Rout; immediately after thoſe *French* Companies which ran from *Frigate-bay*, joining with the reſt of their Forces, which were gathered from all Parts of the Iſland, were advancing upon our Body; they having much the Advantage of Ground, and three to one in Number; and, after a ſharp Diſpute of half an Hour,

they

they had almoſt ſurrounded us; but Colonel *Williams*, coming up with the Reſerve, and giving them an unexpected and vigorous Aſſault, ſo encouraged the Major-General's Regiment, that they preſſed reſolutely on, and beat the Enemy out of the Field in Confuſion; one Part flying to the Mountains, and the reſt betaking themſelves to the Fort, which formerly belonged to the *Engliſh*.

Orders being ſent to the four Regiments at *Frigate-bay*, to march up, and the Duke of *Bolton*'s Regiment alſo meeting us, the whole Army was drawn up into an intire Body, and the Soldiers were permitted to drink by Companies, at the adjacent Wells and Ciſterns.

While the Army was thus refreſhing, the Cockſwain of the *Mary* Frigate came with Advice to the Captain-General that, the Frigates having fallen down before the Town and Fort of *Baſterre*, the Enemy, after Firing two or three Rounds, had ſtruck their Flag, ſet the Town on Fire, and quitted it; but, by the Diligence of the Seamen who came on Shore from the Frigates, it was happily extinguiſhed. Upon which Advice, the Captain-General marched immediately away to the ſaid Town, with Intent to quarter the Army therein for that Night; but, the Enemy having left Store of Wines and other Liquors behind them, and fearing the Diſorders it might breed among the Soldiers, he altered his Reſolutions, and only making a Halt there, and placing his own Company of Guards in the Maſs-houſe, commanded the Army to march to the *Jeſuits* Convent, lying about a Mile above the Town, where being again drawn up, and Orders given to lie by their Arms all Night, Centries were placed, and ſome Parties ſent to drive in Cattle, there being Store of Flour, Bread, *&c.* in the Convent. The Night proved very wet, it raining without Intermiſſion till Morning; but the Officers generouſly ſhared the Weather with the Centinels, ſcarce any, except the General Officers, going into the Convent for Shelter.

The next Morning, being *Sunday* the Twenty-ſecond, the Commiſſary-General having ſecured the Liquors in a convenient Store-houſe, the Army marched down to the Town, and free Liberty was granted them to plunder it; Wine and Brandy being alſo diſtributed to them, by the reſpective Commiſſaries of each Regiment. The Fort here conſiſted of ſixteen Guns, which they had nailed and ſpiked, but, by the Diligence of our Men, they were again cleared. In the Afternoon, a Detachment of one-hundred and fifty Men, out of the *Antigua* Regiment, was ſent under the Command of Major *Gunthorpe*, to gain and ſecure a Paſs, which was thought to be poſſeſſed by the Enemy, lying in the Way to the *Engliſh* Fort; but, when they came, they found it quitted. *Monday*, the Twenty-third, we continued all Day in the Town; and in the Evening the Country was in Flames all round, being fired by the *Engliſh* Negroes who came from the Mountains, where they had lain ſince their Maſters the *Engliſh* were beaten off the Iſland.

On *Tueſday*, the Twenty-fourth, we began our March towards the Fort, and that Night incamped about three Miles from it, having the like Fortune of rainy Weather, without any Means to avoid it. This Day the Frigates weighed from *Baſterre*, and fell down to *Old Road*, where they came again to an Anchor.

Wedneſday, the Twenty-fifth, we continued our Camp at *Old Road*, and the Wheelbarrows, Shovels, Pickaxes, *&c.* were brought on Shore.

On *Thurſday* Morning, the Twenty-ſixth, we marched within a Mile of the Fort, and incamped under the Covert of a high Hill, a Detachment out of Colonel *Earl*'s Regiment being ſent under the Command of Captain *William Butler*, to ſecure the Top of it.

On *Friday*, the Twenty-ſeventh, the *Mary*'s two Chace-guns, ſix Pounders, were brought on Shore, in order to be drawn up to the Top of the Hill, and the Marine Regiment under the Command of Colonel *Kirkby*, Commander of the *Succeſs*; Colonel *Kegwin*, being dead of his Wound he received in Landing, was employed in cutting and clearing a Path for the Drawing them up.

On *Saturday* and *Sunday*, the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth, the Marine Regiment ſo vigorouſly purſued their Buſineſs, that they had drawn the Guns to the Top of the Hill, and planted them upon a Platform they had laid for them, with Baſkets of Earth thrown up for a Covering from the Enemies Shot, it lying open to the Fort.

On *Monday* Morning, the Thirtieth, Powder, Shot, *&c.* being carried up, they began to play upon the Fort, the very firſt Shot doing Execution,

tion, and the Frigates alſo, weighing from *Old Road*, ſtood down to the Fort, and battered againſt it; the whole Army at the ſame Time marching into a deep and wide Ditch, between the Hill and the Fort, within Muſket-ſhot of it. In the Afternoon, the Frigates ſtood up again to *Old Road*, but the Guns from the Hill kept playing inceſſantly till Night, at which Time we began our Intrenchments, running, from the Ditch where we lay incamped, a Trench, with a Half-moon at the End, capable of holding four-hundred Men.

On *Tueſday*, the Firſt of *July*, one of the *Nevis* Regiments and Part of the *Antigua* Regiment, were ſent under the Command of Colonel *Charles Pym*, to take a ſmall Fort of the Enemies about three Miles diſtant from the Camp, which they ſucceſsfully ſurpriſed, taking about fifty Priſoners in it.

This Evening, Lieutenant-General *Holt* having given Orders to the Out-centries that were placed towards the Fort, to fire, without Challenging, at any who ſhould come that Way; himſelf afterwards, riding by them in the Twilight to view the Works, was ſhot into the Body, by one *Gibbons*, an *Iriſhman*, who was one of the Centries; he returned to the Camp and languiſhed long of it with little Hopes of Recovery; *Gibbons* was afterwards tried by a Court-martial, but after a full Hearing acquitted.

On *Wedneſday*, the Second, thoſe Guns on the Hill proving ſo ſerviceable, there were four more of a larger Size drawn up; but, one of them ſplitting at the firſt Time of Firing, and the reſt being incommodiouſly planted, they were no more made Uſe of. This Day four Companies of the Enemy marched out of the Fort, and drew up before the Gate, but in a Quarter of an Hour they marched in again. The Half-moon being now finiſhed, we run another Trench about a Quarter of a Mile below it, able to contain the like Number of Men; and, at the like Diſtance below that, we began another, wide enough to draw the Carriages of the great Guns through.

The third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Days, we continued in the Day-time quiet in our Trenches, in the Night running on with our Works; the Enemy firing Day and Night upon us with great Guns and ſmall Arms, but doing us little Damage; but the Guns on the Hill galled them exceedingly, leaving no Corner of the Fort unſearched.

Some Hundreds of the Enemy being out in the Mountains, headed by one Monſieur *Pinelle*, Parties were ſent daily abroad, commanded by the Officers in their Turns, to ſcour them out; and on *Monday*, the Seventh, the Major-General, his Wound being well healed, went himſelf at the Head of two-hundred Men, upon the ſame Deſign; but could not meet with the Enemy to engage them, they lurking ſometimes in one Place, and ſometimes in another.

On *Wedneſday*, the Ninth, he returned to the Camp, with ſome Priſoners, many Negroes, and great Store of Cattle. After the Major-General's Return, Proclamation being made, by Beat of Drum, in ſeveral Places of the Iſland, by the Command of the Captain-General, that all, which would come in within three Days, ſhould receive his Protection, to ſecure their Perſons from the Outrages of the Soldiers; ſeveral Families ſurrendered themſelves, to many of which was alſo granted Liberty to return to their Houſes, and keep ſome ſmall Stock till farther Orders.

Monſieur *Pinelle*, alſo, ſent in a Flag of Truce from the Mountains, to acquaint the Captain-General, that he could not come in without Leave from the Governor; but, however, he aſſured him, he would remain quiet, and give free Paſſage to any of our Men he ſhould meet with.

The Tenth and Eleventh, we continued in our Trenches, which we had now run within Piſtol-ſhot of the Fort.

Over-againſt the Gate we had an Half-moon, on which we planted ſeveral Colours. On the left Hand of the Half-moon was a Battery raiſed for ſix great Guns, two eighteen Pounders, and four twelve Pounders; but, before they were mounted, on *Saturday*, the Twelfth, about One in the Afternoon, the Drums beat a Parley in the Fort, and four Perſons marched out with a Flag of Truce; they were met in the Paſture between our Trench and the Fort, by Major *Legard*, and by him conducted to the Captain-General; and, after ſome Treaty, Hoſtages were given on both Sides, one of the Majors continuing with us, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Nott* was ſent to them; Captain *Hamilton* alſo going with him as an Interpreter. But, notwithſtanding the Treaty,

ty, the Captain-General continued his Works, joining our Trench to the Enemies Trench, through which they uſed to come from the Fort to the Well; our Centries were placed under the Walls, and at the Gate of the Fort, and that Evening our Guns were alſo mounted upon the Battery.

About Twelve of the Clock in the Night, there was a Canoe let over the Fort-walls, it being ſituated by the Sea-ſide, which run on Board a Sloop that came cloſe in with the Shore, under the Covert of the dark Night; our Men let fly a whole Volley upon them, which made them haſten away. Captain *Hamilton* came to the Centry at the Fort-gate, and ordered him to acquaint the Major-General, that there was a Ship ſeen off; upon which this Relator was diſpatched away to *Old Road*, to give Admiral *Wright* Notice of it, but, in the Interim, a Brigantine was ſent in Purſuit of the Sloop; the Admiral immediately ordered two Frigates to weigh, and put out in Search of the ſaid Ship and Sloop; which they did, and the next Day, the Thirteenth, returned without ſeeing any Veſſels.

During the whole Action upon this Iſland, there were two Frigates that cruiſed about, to take any *French* Veſſels which might arrive there, either by Deſign or Chance, but they met with none.

On *Monday*, the Fourteenth, the Fort was ſurrendered to the Captain-General, upon the ſame Articles that it was before delivered up to the *French*. After the Enemy marched out, and the *Engliſh* Flag was put up, the King's and Queen's Healths were drank, and the great Guns three Times fired, three Vollies being alſo made by the whole Army. The Fort was quadrangular, conſiſting of four Flankers, with a Curtain between each; on each Flanker were mounted five Guns; the Walls were of Stone, about twenty Feet high, ſurrounded with a deep Ditch twelve Feet wide, over which was a narrow wooden Bridge. In the Middle of the Fort were two Mounts thrown up for Batteries; there was alſo a Well, but, upon Firing the Guns, the Water would inſtantly dry away. There was Store of Proviſion, Liquors, and Powder, but they wanted Shot.

In Retaking this Iſland, we had about an hundred Men killed and wounded; the Iſland in general is very ſtrong, there being ſeveral ſmall Fortifications and Breaſt-works all around, except where it is naturally fortified with Hills or Shoals. The Inhabitants were about eighteen-hundred Men, beſides Women and Children, and Negroes, all which, except the Negroes, which were to be divided as Plunder, were tranſported to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*; only ſome particular Perſons had the Favour granted them to be carried up to *Martinico*.

After a Week's Refreſhment, the Major-General, on *Sunday*, the Twentieth of the ſaid Month of *July*, embarked with his own Regiment in the Sloops, and the Marine Regiment on Board the Frigates, and ſet Sail for the Iſland of St. *Euſtace*; and the ſame Evening, lying before the ſaid Iſland, he ſent Captain *Hamilton* on Shore, with a Flag of Truce, to ſummon the Iſland to ſurrender, who returned with an Anſwer from the Governor, that he would defend it to the utmoſt.

The next Morning, the Twenty-firſt, the Frigates began to batter againſt the Fort, and the Major-General landed at the ſame Time with his Men under a high Cliff, which they aſcended; being got up, they had not marched far, before they perceived ſome *Dutch* Colours in the Woods; upon which a Party was ſent to diſcover them, who returned with an Account, that it was Colonel *Scorer*, the Governor of the Iſland for the *Dutch*, when the *French* took it, with one-hundred Men under his Command, who came from *Saba*, and landed there three Days before; but, not having Strength enough to take the Fort, into which the Inhabitants were fled, he deſigned to get what Plunder he could, and ſo go off again. He refuſed to join with the Major-General, becauſe he was firſt landed, and ſo accordingly went off the next Day. The Major-General proceeded in his March towards the Fort, and incamped within Muſquet-ſhot from it, under the Riſing of a ſmall Hill.

The next Day the Marine Regiment landed, and, the Shovels, Pickaxes, *&c.* being brought on Shore, they began their Intrenchments, running their Trench along by the Fort, within Muſquet-ſhot from it.

After five Days Siege, the Enemy ſent out a Flag of Truce, with Articles; but they were ſo high in their Demands, that the Major-General refuſed them, and returned an Anſwer,

ſwer, If they did not deſcend to more reaſonable Terms, within three Days, he would grant them no Quarter. Within the preſcribed Time, they came out again with a Flag of Truce, and ſurrendered themſelves and their Fort upon Quarter for Life, and to march out with their Baggage. Their Fort contained ſixteen great Guns; it was ſurrounded with double Rows of Stakes, the Intervals filled with Earth, and without that ſtrong Paliſadoes, and on the Outſide of them a deep Ditch, over which was a narrow Bridge leading into the Gate, admitting but one at a Time; the Beſieged were about ſixty Men, the Women and Children being ſent off ſome Time before; they had a Well for Water, and about twenty Barrels of Flour, ſome ſalt Fiſh and Pork, and a ſmall Quantity of Ammunition; they behaved themſelves very briſkly, during the Siege, eſpecially the Governor, who was very active in Firing the great Guns, *&c.*

In Taking this Iſland, we had not above eight Men killed and wounded. The Major-General, leaving one Company upon the Iſland, under the Command of Lieutenant *John Mac-Arthur*, returned to St. *Chriſtopher's* with the whole Fleet, carrying the Inhabitants Priſoners thither, and afterwards tranſporting them to *Hiſpaniola*. Lieutenant *Pilkinton* was afterwards ſent down with a Company out of the Duke of *Bolton*'s Regiment, to relieve Lieutenant *Mac-Arthur*, and he ſtill continues there for the Defence of the ſaid Iſland.

The Inhabitants of the Iſland of St. *Bartholomew's*, who were brought up Priſoners from thence to *Nevis*, being ſent down to St. *Chriſtopher's*, before that Iſland was retaken, there met with their Wives and Families; and, after that Iſland was retaken, they were deſirous to live under an *Engliſh* Government; upon which the Captain-General gave them Liberty to return to their Iſland, tranſporting them thither, and granted a Commiſſion to one Captain *Le Grand*, a former Inhabitant among them, to be their Governor, and to keep and defend the Iſland in the Name and Behalf of their Majeſties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under which Government it ſtill continues.

In the latter End of *October*, this Relator's Concerns calling him Home to *England*, he left the *Caribbee* Iſlands; the Captain-General having then iſſued out Orders for the muſtering their Majeſties Forces, and getting them in a Readineſs to embark upon a farther Expedition, againſt *Guadalupe*, and other *French* Iſlands, leaving a Gariſon upon St. *Chriſtopher's*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Nott*.

Thus you have a brief and plain Relation of the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Arms in the *Caribbee* Iſlands, and it may reaſonably be concluded, that, as the *Engliſh* Affairs there have hitherto been happily proſperous, ſo, being under the Management and Conduct of ſuch prudent and active Generals, and promoted by the Forwardneſs of the Soldiery, but principally by a Divine Bleſſing attending upon their Endeavours, they will ſoon put a ſucceſsful Period to thoſe troubleſome Wars, and root the *French* Intereſt out of that Part of the World.

The

The Laws Diſcovery: Or a brief Detection of ſundry notorious Errors and Abuſes contained in our *Engliſh* Laws, whereby Thouſands are annually ſtripped of their Eſtates, and ſome of their Lives. By a Well-wiſher to his Country. *London*, printed in 1653. *Quarto*, containing five Pages.

The Author was a Gentleman born to a fair Eſtate, by Degree a Barreſter, who, partly through Sickneſs, and partly for Conſcience, deſerted the Profeſſion of our Laws, as epidemically evil; he ſpent divers of his laſt Years in ſuperviſing the Defects thereof: Amongſt many Grievances, wherein he deſired Redreſs, perſonal Impriſonment for Debt was one, and the Inſufficiency of our Laws, for Charging the Debtor's Eſtate, another: Therefore, ſeveral of theſe ſubſequent Propoſals tend chiefly for Securing of Creditors, out of the Debtor's Eſtate, whereby the Debtor's Perſon may go free.

I. WHereas the Lands of a *Copyholder*, who is a Tenant at Will, according to Cuſtom, are not ſubject to Extent in his Life-time, nor liable to his Debts in the Hands of his Heirs; it were convenient that ſome plenary Act were made for Redreſs hereof, ſecuring the Lord's Fine, and preſerving the Cuſtom of the Manor.

II. That *Leaſes* taken for other Men's Lives, whether in Poſſeſſion of the general or ſpecial Occupant, may be ſubjected to Payment of Debts; the Creditor, whoſe Money bought the Leaſe, or preſerved it from Sale, hath better Right thereto, than either of theſe Occupants. Such Defects as theſe protect Heirs in Burrough *Engliſh*; alſo when Lands fall to the youngeſt Son of a Copyholder; neither of theſe can be charged upon Anceſtors Bonds, becauſe not Heir-general at Common Law.

III. That an *Heir of a Tenant in Tail* may be liable to pay his Father's Debts.

IV. That ſome Remedy be uſed for Payment of Debts, where *Parents* purchaſe Lands in their Children's Names, *with other Men's Monies.*

V. That where *Heirs alien* Lands before Action brought by the Creditor, they may pay ſuch Debts, and not leave the Creditor to a Suit in Chancery in ſuch plain Caſes.

VI. That the Creditor, for Securing his Debt, have Liberty to charge the Heir and Executor, both together; becauſe it is uncertain which is beſt able to pay; if he recover of one, the other may ſtay his Suit.

VII. That *younger Brothers*, and *Grand Children* enjoying Lands upon Deſcent, be liable to pay Debts.

VIII. That *Coheirs* in *Gavelkind*, where Brethren inherit equally, may all, as well as the eldeſt, be liable to pay Debts; alſo that Lands, left in Truſt for Children, be liable to Payment of Debts.

IX. That Creditors have Liberty to extend more than Half the Debtor's Lands for Payment of Debts, which cannot be done at preſent.

X. Whereas rich Debtors get their Lands extended by one Creditor or other, thereby to defraud the reſt; therefore, that, as Leaſes, Goods, and Bankrupt Lands are ſold, ſo where the landed Debtor will not ſell, within convenient Time, that the Creditors ſhould have the Debtor's Lands to ſell and diſpoſe of, returning the Overplus to the Debtor, or elſe that ſome other convenient Remedy be uſed herein.

XI. That there were ſome Place in every Shire for *Regiſtering* all *Leaſes*, *Bargains*, *Conveyances*, *Statutes*, *Judgments*, *Recogniſances*, and the like, which any Way concern the Lands in that Shire; in former Times, Care hath been uſed for Recording of Bargains, Sales, and Statutes, within ſix Months, but none at all for Leaſes, Feoffments, Deeds of Covenants to ſtand ſeized to Uſes, with Leaſes and Releaſes after them.

XII. That Writs to take a Debtor be dirigible, particularly to one, and generally to all other Sheriffs or Juſtices within *England*.

XIII. That the Privileges and Abuſes of Palatines, which extremely hinder Payment of Debts, be laid by with us, as they are in *Portugal*.

XIV. That, in regard Attachments prevent Arreſts and Bloodſhed, they may be uſed as well in other Parts of *England*, as at *London*.

XV. That, as was uſed by the Antients, againſt Sanctuary-men, ſo inſtead of Appearances, Notice by Juſtices of the Peace, or the like, may be given or left; and, in Caſe of Contumacy the ſecond or third Time, Proceſs may be made againſt the Offender. This would prevent thoſe Grievances by Outlawry, alſo the great Expences in *Chancery*, the Abuſes in *Palatinates* Privilege, the Exchange and Fairs from Arreſts avoided, Tryals by *Ejectione firmæ*, and Abuſes by under Sheriffs.

XVI. To prevent the Abuſes practiſed in Wills and Adminiſtrations, that, in every great Town or Hundred, ſtanding Commiſſioners ſhould be choſen by the Neighbourhood (and ſworn before ſome Juſtices) for Seizing and Selling of Eſtates, unleſs Executors, or the like, give ſufficient Security to ſuch Commiſſioners for the abſolute Payment of all Debts, and that all Debtors be paid alike; this Courſe might very much help Orphans, alſo the juſt Payment of Debts and Legacies; likewiſe it were good ſome ſtrict Laws were made againſt Imbezzling any Part of ſuch Eſtates.

XVII. That inſolvent Debtors be freed from Impriſonment, or elſe detained ſome ſhort Time at the Creditors Charge, till their Cauſe be determined, and that their Eſtates be ſeized for Satisfaction of Creditors.

XVIII. To help the Creditor for Matter of Proof, that the Debtor, or what others the Creditor or Judges think fit, may be examined upon Oath, as in Caſe of Bankrupt.

XIX. For the Encouragement of Merchants, and ſome ſpecial Manufactures, as at *Antwerp*, ſome Immunities from Arreſts, at leaſt for ſmall Sums, be conferred on the Profeſſors.

XX. Whereas poor Men can ſeldom put in Bail, for Want whereof, they ſuffer unheard many Months Impriſonment, till their Day of Hearing comes, and are thereby often utterly ruined; therefore for Prevention, that the Plaintiff by his own Oath, or of ſome credible Perſon allowed by the Judge, declare the Truth of the Cauſe; wherein, if he failed, the Priſoner, giving Authority for his Appearance, to be diſmiſſed without Bail; or which is better, that the Judge be authoriſed to determine of Law, Fact, and Equity, to avoid the Formality and Charge of Pleading.

XXI. That no Perſon be held to Bail, who hath offered to pay without Suit of Law, neither ſhould his Perſon be liable to Execution.

XXII. Whereas, by that barbarous and ſenſeleſs Law of Preſſing to Death, rich and landed Men are encouraged to ſteal, and Acceſſaries wholly eſcape; therefore, if ſuch Manner of Offenders were attainted by Verdict, ſuch Inconveniences might be prevented.

XXIII. Whereas *by Clergy* many Times Murderers, and notorious Thieves, are but warmed

ed a little in the Hand, becauſe they can read; and another for a Sheep, or Trifle, is hanged, not for his Offence, but becauſe he cannot read: Therefore it were requiſite, that this ſenſeleſs and barbarous Character, which admits of much Knavery, and cannot be read by every good and able Scholar, were baniſhed, as well as *French*, *Latin*, and *Court-hand*, eſpecially in ſuch Caſes which concern Men's Lives.

XXIV. That Perſons, *accuſed for Life*, be permitted *Council*, in Regard their Fears render them often both ſpeechleſs and unadviſed; bare Accuſations are not ſuch ſufficient Condemnations, as to deprive any (though innocent) of Council in ſuch Extremity.

XXV. That there may be but one Statute for one Matter, and Repeals made total, not in Part, ſo that Men may know what is in Force, what not, and live under ſuch Laws, as it is poſſible to know, which now they cannot.

XXVI. That Reverſioners have free Power to diſpoſe of their Eſtates without the Tenants Conſent: This would both prevent many *Chancery* Suits, and ſecure Purchaſers.

XXVII. That the Statute of *Merton* may be totally repealed, and thereby thoſe antient local Cuſtoms confirmed in Behalf of the Tenants and Inhabitants.

XXVIII. That the uncertain Fines of Copyholders may be reduced to a Certainty, either of an eaſy yearly Rent, or moderate Fine; alſo that the like might be done, in ſervile Tenures and Heriots; this would prevent many *Chancery* Suits and Oppreſſion by Lords.

XXIX. That the Suborner, as well as the corrupted Witneſs, ſhould be ſtigmatiſed and diſabled for future Matters; alſo, that whoſoever unjuſtly takes away another's Teſtimony, by making him a Party, ſhould loſe his Suit, if proved: This is an old *Chancery* Trick.

XXX. That Tryal by Combate may be ſuppreſſed as a reaſonleſs Law, and unwarrantable by God's Word.

I Have narrowly epitomiſed the Author, partly becauſe others have (eſpecially Mr. *William Leach*) treated at large upon ſome of theſe Grievances; and partly, that, as a *Compendium* of many neceſſary *Mementoes*, it might produce an active Remembrance, in all true-hearted *Engliſhmen*, and worthy Patriots of their Country.

An

An Enquiry into the Phyſical and Literal Senſe of that Scripture

JEREMIAH viii. 7.

The Stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed Times; and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow obſerve the Time of their Coming, &c.

Written by an eminent Profeſſor * for the Uſe of his Scholars, and now publiſhed at the earneſt Deſire of ſome of them. Printed by *J. H.* no Date. *Duodecimo*, containing Thirty-ſix Pages.

THE whole Place is a Rebuke to Man, who ſhould beſt know, and therefore moſt readily perform, the *Law of his Creator*, written in his Nature; this is the Theological Scope, wherein he is upbraided by brute Creatures, that better obſerve their Inſtincts.

But our preſent Enquiry is of the Phyſical and Literal Senſe, eſpecially of theſe Words [*in the Heaven*] *where the Stork ſeems to be and reſide, when ſhe knoweth her appointed Time of her Return unto this our Earth.* The Queſtion is, *Whence come the* Stork, *and the* Turtle, *the* Crane, *and the* Swallow, *when they know and obſerve the appointed Time of their Coming?*

For the probable Solution of which Queſtion, *four* Things deſerve ſome particular Conſideration, being of the Number of thoſe wonderful Works of God, which ſeem to be propoſed to be ſought out of all them that have Pleaſure therein, *Pſal.* cxi. 3. beſides the Theologico-Moral Deſign of convincing unnatural Sinners.

1. *The Kinds or Species mentioned.* And they are Fowls; not but Beaſts, Worms, and Fiſhes have their Seaſons and Months, in which they may be found (as is ſaid of the *Wild Aſs*, Jer. ii. 24.) But their Abſence and Coming is not ſo remarkable, becauſe, for the moſt Part, they are known and obſerved by Men, whither they make their Receſs; whereas, in divers Sorts of Fowls, their Abſence is ſuch, that we know not whither they go, or whence they come, but are, as it were, miraculouſly dropped down from Heaven upon us.

Nor are theſe particular Kinds of Fowls, mentioned, all thoſe that do obſerve thoſe Seaſons; but it is probable, they were the moſt remarkable in the *Holy Land*; but we have divers Sorts beſides, of which we ſhall take Notice, the rather becauſe they are more familiar to us than ſome of thoſe here mentioned; and ſo we can better obſerve their *Phænomena*, that may afford us ſome Light in this Matter: Such are the Winter-Birds that breed not here, as the *Woodcock*, and *Wind-Thruſh* (or the *Redwing*, *Wheener'd*, *Whindle*; for ſo many Names it has in divers Countries) *Field-fare*, *Snipe*, &c. And the Summer Birds, that breed here, as the *Nightingale*, the *Cuckow*, *Mallot*, &c. which may be added to the *Swallow*, mentioned in the Text, a Breeder in our own Country, and the *Stork*, a Breeder in our Neighbour Countries, of which we may obtain certain Knowledge and Intelligence; but the *Crane* is an *Exotick*, and preſerved ſometimes amongſt us only as a Rarity.

* Mr. *Charles Morton*. See *Calamy*'s Continuation, Vol. I. Pag. 211.

2. The *Second* Thing to be conſidered of them, is, *Their Knowledge of the Seaſons:* This is an Inſtinct, or implanted natural Faculty, whereby they take Notice of the Changes of the Air where they are, or the Steams of the Body where they reſide, or the Alteration or Abatement of their daily Food, or the Changes ariſing from one or more of theſe in the Temperament of their own Bodies, whereby they are invited to change Quarter, in order to obtain what is more ſuitable to them, or to avoid what is offenſive. I will not ſuppoſe that they ratiocinate in the Matter; yet I will not deny, but they have true Senſe and Perception, and moved by ſomething therein more than Mechaniſm. Without Dogmatiſing, as it may be propoſed a *Problem*, or *Poriſma*, to be conſidered, whether the Souls of Brutes are not more than rarefied, or inflamed Matter; and whether it will not ſuit well enough the Harmony of the World, that Spirits created ſhould be of three Sorts; ſome that ſhould have no Relation to the Matter, as Angels; ſome that ſhould bear Relation to Matter, but without Dependence (unleſs *quoad actum informandi*) as the reaſonable Souls of Men; and ſome that ſhould bear Relation to Matter, with Dependence (*quoad eſſe, fieri, & operari*) as the Souls of Brutes. Certainly, if this were granted, there would be one Step more (not yet taken Notice of) to advance the Throne of the higheſt Perfection, and no ſuch Chaſm, and vaſt Diſtance between Things ſpiritual and corporeal, that there need to be Vehicles invented to join them together in one *Compoſitum*. And truly, if Immortality be not ſo much the Reſult of Immateriality, as of the Decree and Deſignation of the firſt Cauſe, the moſt conſiderable Argument that I know is diſmounted, that it cannot better this Hypotheſis, if any one would make bold to aſſert it.

3. *The Appointment of their Time.* This is not like the Appointment of *Days*, or *Months*, or *New-moons*, or *Sabbaths* to the reaſonable Creatures, who have both Notions of Time, and a Power to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the Parts thereof; all which is denied to Brutes. But it is only the Settlement of the Order and Fixation of the whole Frame of Nature, that which was at firſt made, and afterward ſecured by the Promiſe, Gen. viii. 22. *While the Earth remains, Seed-time and Harveſt, and Cold and Heat, Summer and Winter, Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe.* This Diverſity is derived from the Lights in the Heaven, ſet for *Signs and for Seaſons, and for Days and for Years*, Gen. i. 14. For, according to the Acceſs and Receſs of theſe Lights, ſo as their Irradiations are more direct or oblique, to any Part of the Earth, or as they vary their mutual Aſpects one to the other, ſo is their Influx upon the Earth, or any other Body among the Heavens of like Compoſition, to cauſe ſuch Changes in the *Effluvia*, as gives Diſtinction to thoſe brute Creatures, in this or that Seaſon, ſo or ſo to provide for themſelves; that is, while the *Effluvia*, or Steams, or the other Things requiſite for theſe Animals, are congenial to their Temperament, it intimates to them, to abide where they are; but, when an offenſive Alteration is made, it commands them to be gone, and ſhift for themſelves; ſo that the Ordinances of Heaven (as they are called, *Job* xxxviii. 33.) that is, the ſettled Order of Motions and Influences of the Heavenly Bodies, and the regular and uniform Acts of Nature by Agents and Patients joined with that common Law of Nature, given by Inſtinct to every Thing to preſerve itſelf; theſe two together do conſtitute that Law which is here called, *the Appointments of their Seaſons*, to which Law they readily yield Obedience, not out of Religion, as reaſonable Creatures do, or ſhould (Religion, rather than Reaſon, being according to the Opinion of ſome learned Men, the eſſential Difference) but out of Neceſſity of Nature, and by thoſe Shadows of Reaſon, which many brute Creatures have.

4. The *laſt* Thing to be conſidered, is, *The Place whence they come, and whither they go*; which is the main Enquiry, and gave Occaſion to this Exercitation.

Concerning ſome Brutes, that keep Seaſons, it is known to Men, where they make their Receſſes, or what is become of them, when they are abſent from us. I ſhall mention ſome Particulars in their ſeveral Kinds.

1 And *Firſt* of Inſects, and almoſt all Sorts of Flies; we know they are plentiful with us in the Summer; but where are they in the Winter? Some in their Leeds or Eggs, as *Silk-worms*, *Butterflies*, &c. ſome in their pregnant Dams, as *Bees*, *Waſps*, &c. which hide themſelves all Winter in ſome warm Place, and in the Spring lay their Eggs, which, by the Warmth of their Bodies, and Temper of the Air, are after hatched in great Abundance.

2. Divers Sorts of *Fiſhes* have their Seaſons, ſome whereof are River-Fiſh, that go up into the ſmaller Brooks to breed, as *Salmon*, *Trout*, &c.

&c. and after go down into the greater Rivers, as *Trouts*, or as low as the Mouth of the Rivers, into the very Sea, yet not ſo far but they may now and then have a Guſt of freſh Water, as is obſerved in the *Salmon*, which, being marked when they were young Spawns, and caſt into the Rivers, have gone down into the Sea, and returned again full grown with their Marks into the ſame River. Some are Sea-fiſh, that come in great Shoals at certain Seaſons, as *Mullet*, *Mackarel*, *Herring*, *Pilchard*, and many more; but theſe, having the wide Sea to travel in, do remove North and South either for the ſuitable Warmth of the Water, or the ſuitable Food which ſuch Warmth doth produce.

3. Divers Kinds of Beaſts have alſo their Removes; theſe having not ſo great a Scope to range in, as being confined to the habitable Parts of the Earth, where Man alſo reſides (the Fear and Dread of whom was placed in them all, *Gen.* ix. 2.) Therefore thoſe that are natural, or that are wild, do at Times go farther from the Preſence of Men, when they have Convenience of Covert and Food, or when they breed, the better to hide and ſecure their Young; but, when they are ſtreightened in thoſe Conveniencies, they are forced to appear nearer, by ſpreading further to ſeek for Forage; but even then they take the Opportunity of the Night, wherein they may be beſt concealed; this is excellently celebrated, *Pſal.* civ. Ver. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24. *The high Hills are a Refuge for the Goats, and the Rocks for Conies.* Ver. 20. *Thou makeſt Darkneſs, and it is Night, wherein all the Beaſts of the Foreſt do creep forth.* Ver. 21. *The Sun ariſeth, they gather themſelves together, and lay them down in their Dens.* Ver. 23. *Man goeth forth unto his Work, and to his Labour, until the Evening.* Ver. 24. *O Lord, how manifold are thy Works! in Wiſdom haſt thou made them all.* 4. But the *Fowls of the Air* are moſt remarkable in their Seaſons, as is before noted; their Removes are at a greater Diſtance, by the Convenience of their Wing, and they have a larger Scope than the Fiſhes themſelves, who have the whole Ocean to wander in. The Sea is wide and deep, yet not as the Air, that compaſſeth the Sea and Land, nor ſo paſſible in any Part as the Air is ſuppoſed to be in ſome Parts thereof: For, if the Opinion be true, that Gravitation is from the Magnetiſm of the Earth, then, the more remote from the Earth, the leſs is the Gravity, and by Conſequence the more eaſy Paſſage; for then the Bird, employing little or none of his Strength to bear up its Weight, may uſe it all in Promotion whither it would tend. Then (beyond the *Atmoſphere*) the Air is thin, and makes leſs Reſiſtance, and does ſo at leaſt compenſate the Want of Denſity to thruſt the Wing againſt; therefore the whole Strength of the Bird is reſerved only for the progreſſive Motion, and by Conſequence that Motion there muſt be abundantly more ſwift and eaſy, than it can poſſibly be here below in the *Atmoſphere*.

Before I do propoſe a direct *Anſwer* to the *Queſtion*, *Whither theſe Fowls do probably make their Receſs*, I muſt lay down ſome *Poſtulata* or *Prolegomena*; ſuch as,

1. That the Creator made the Univerſe for the Manifeſtation of his own Glory.

2. That, in order thereunto, he has endowed the rational Creature (*Man*) with a Capacity to obſerve, ſearch out, and celebrate his Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs in his Works.

3. That, ſince the Fall, the ordinary Method of Man's underſtanding any Thing of the Works of God, is by Induſtry in Senſe, Obſervation, Experience, Induction, and the Communication of theſe Things from one Man to another.

4. That muſt be acknowledged as true, or at leaſt moſt probable, that is moſt eaſily deducible from Man's Experience and Obſervation of the *Phænomena* of Nature.

5. That thoſe *Phænomena* do yield Ground for Opinions more ſtrange, weak, or variable, not ſo much from the Diverſity of Appearances, as of Obſervation from whence principally they derive their Denomination of *Phænomena*; therefore, when Men ſpeak of new ones, upon which they ground new Argumentations and Opinions, they are not (for the moſt Part) new Things in Nature, but old Things newly taken Notice of.

6. *New Obſervations* may be made in one Age, that are not in another, by the Hints that one Age gives to another, whereby human Reaſon (being ſtill the ſame in all Ages) works on upon former Obſervations, ſo as what is begun, in one Age, may be perfected in another; and the ſame may hint ſome Things imperfectly to the next, that may be left to them to perfect, and ſo onwards: *Ita res accendunt lumina rebus.*

7. Whence

7. Whence it follows, there may be a ſober Senſe of that Saying [*Seneſcente Mundo adoleſcunt ingenia*] the older the World, the wiſer; not that new Opinions ariſe from Affectation of Novelty, or proud Contempt of the Ancients; but, granting their Wit and Induſtry to be equal, yet we may ſoberly ſay, their Opportunities were not ſo; for latter Ages have the Obſervations of the former, and their own to Boot.

8. That all Manner of Sciences have improved, and are ſtill improving, is manifeſt enough to any that are not overweening of their own entertained Conceits, or impertinently ſuperſtitious towards dead Heroes, and from hence are Enemies to all Reformation; as if envying that any Thing ſhould be done well, that was not done by them and their Anceſtors; or as if this muſt needs reflect upon them, as careleſs or unſkilful.

9. That many little Things in Nature are of great Importance, and become the moſt admirable (and God's Wiſdom therein) when their End and Uſe come better to be diſcerned. One would admire to think, why God ſhould create Eclipſes to appear only at certain Times. The Thing in itſelf is a very Toy, a Non-entity, a Privation, a Shadow of ſhort Duration, and no more in Nature than the Putting my Hand between my Eye and the Candle, and yet this little Darkneſs gives Light to all Aſtronomy and Chronology; for by this Men only are ſure that their Hypotheſes in the main are more than doubtful Conjectures, God making Uſe of this contemptible Mote (as a *Feſcue*) to teach Men to read the Heavens, and it enables Man (*that little Pigmy on a Mole-hill*) to meaſure and comprehend at ſuch a Diſtance ſuch vaſt Magnitudes and Motions. This is noted to prevent the Sneer of ſome that poſſibly may be at our Enquiry after the Habitation of a Woodcock.

10. I do ſuppoſe, that the Hypotheſis of *Copernicus* is reaſonable, and may be real, without any Contradiction to Scripture, namely, *That the Moon's Body* (as alſo of the other five Planets) *is of a Compoſition like our Earth, and may have in it dry Land and Water, Mountains and Vallies, Fountains, Streams, Seas,* &c. *and about it an Atmoſphere of Vapours and Fumes from its Body, Clouds, Rain,* &c. *like this Earth we inhabit, and by Conſequence convenient Entertainment for thoſe Fowls, in Caſe they arrive thither.*

Theſe Things premiſed, I ſay, it is not impoſſible, that divers of theſe Fowls, which make ſuch Changes, and obſerve their Seaſons, do paſs and repaſs between this and the Moon, which is the neareſt Concute heterogeneous, or earthly Body of the Planets; which will appear, if we conſider,

1. If theſe Birds did, in the Time of their Abſence from us, reſide any where in this Earth, it is likely, that ſome one would, in one Age or other, have diſcovered the Place; but I cannot, from any Record of the Learned, or diſtinct and reaſonable Account of other Men, find that there is any Man has ſeen them out of their Seaſons; and therefore I conclude, they are no where in this our Earth; for, *de non entibus & non apparentibus eadem eſt ratio.* It is true, indeed, I have heard Stories of no ſuch Certainty as a Man's Mind may acquieſce in them: One tells me of 'Swallows lying in 'clay Lumps in the Bottom of Rivers;' which I cannot perſuade myſelf to believe, becauſe the Water and Earth are too cold Quarters, in the Winter, for ſuch Summer Birds: Beſides, if they ſhould have no Occaſion for Breath, while they lie in their Sweeven, or Winter-ſleep, yet, in the Spring-morning, when they ſhould awake, it is ſcarce conceivable, how their Feathers ſhould be in a Trim to lift them out of the Water. Others tell us of 'Heaps 'of Swallows lying in the Clefts of the Rocks 'near the Sea;' but I never yet could ſpeak with any one that ever ſaw them ſo, though I have lived many Years near the Sea: And alſo, methinks, it is very ſtrange, that no curious Perſons, inquiſitive into the Nature of Things, ſhould procure any of thoſe ſleeping Swallows, to obſerve the Progreſs of Nature concerning them. The like I have heard of the Cuckow, found in hollow Trees; but it is only Rumour, and no more of Woodcocks: I have been told, that one was taken on *Midſummer*-day, but he was all louſy: This (if true) might be; perhaps the poor Creature was ſick, or wounded, at the Time he ſhould have been gone, and ſo, perhaps, was left behind his Fellows. And, indeed, I have often wondered, that none, who might have Opportunities for it (as a walled Garden, with a Brook running through it) have, by pinioning them, preſerved ſome of theſe alive all the Year long, eſpecially in thoſe Parts where they are moſt plentiful, and ſometimes of very little Value.

Of Snipes and Fieldfares, I have heard of young ones found in deſolate Moors, and Northern Parts; but then the ſame Reporters tell us, 'It is but very rare, and ſcarce one Neſt 'in many Years has been found:' But what is this to the Multitude we have, eſpecially of the Fieldfare, which come in mighty Flocks? As to the Wind-thruſh, I never yet heard of any, that pretended to know any thing of their Abode, or Breed.

2. Conſider their Coming, which is ſo ſudden (as to divers of the Kinds) that it is as if they dropped down upon us from above: In Woodcocks, eſpecially, it is remarkable, that, upon a Change of Wind to the Eaſt, about *Allhallows-tide*, they will ſeem to have come all in a Night; for, though the former Day none are to be found, yet the next Morning they will be in every Buſh: I ſpeak of the *Weſt* of *England*, where they are moſt plentiful: Nor is it obſerved, that they are in the Eaſtern Parts ſooner than in the moſt Weſtern; nor that they fly Weſtwards, when they are fluſhed, or raiſed to the Wing, more than to any other Quarters; whereas, if they came from any earthly Coaſt, it is likely, their Tendency to ſpread themſelves farther would be from thoſe Coaſts, from whence they came: They come not in Flocks, as Fieldfares and Redwings, but are ſprinkled ſingly all over the Country, and in ſome Parts are twenty for one what they are in others, eſpecially where are Plenty of Springs and woody Sides of Hills; and perhaps Mineral Streams may contribute to the Attraction of them.

It may, therefore, be ſuppoſed they hover aloft, where the Attraction is weak; and, though they may come all together to the utmoſt Parts of the Atmoſphere, they may there diſperſe themſelves to take a Guſt of the Air, and, when they meet with Steams that are agreeable, they forthwith drop right down to the Place that beſt pleaſes them. One ſingle Bird, in his Diſperſion, over-ſhot himſelf, and, it ſeems, rambled too far out of his Way; for I have heard this remarkable Story: —— "A Ship out at Sea, farther from Land "than any Birds uſe to be found, diſcovered "a Bird aloft in the Air, hovering over them, "as high as they could diſcern; which Bird "deſcended towards them, and made divers "Rings over the Veſſel, and at laſt lighted "on the Deck: It was a Woodcock, ſo wea-"ried that they took it up with their Hands." This Relation I had from the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Travers*, of *Cornwal*, who received it from the Captain, or Maſter, of the Veſſel, a Man of good Credit and Underſtanding: He ſaid alſo, "It came not from any Coaſt, but down "right from above; and (if I do not miſre-"member) it was more Southerly, than any "ſuch Birds uſe to be found."

Now, if this be true (as I have no Reaſon to doubt it, it either ſhews the Creature to come from above, or at leaſt thus much, if it come from any remote Part of the Earth, it firſt mounts above the Attraction of the earthly Globe, before it begins its Journey towards us: Which if it be gained, it fairly helps our Suppoſal, as is before noted; for, if there be ſuch an Attraction (which is called *Gravity*) and it have Bounds in a certain Height, then it may as well ſerve their Going to the Moon, as to ſome other Parts of the Earth.

As to the Fieldfare and Redwings, they ſeem alſo to come as ſuddenly upon a Change of the Air; but it is moſt on a Northern Wind, and therefore they may be thought to come from the Northern Parts of the Earth; and, by Conſequence, it doth not ſo clearly evince our Hypotheſis upon this Conſideration, though it may help it well enough upon ſome other Conſiderations. This is to be noted of them, that they fly very high at their firſt Coming (as doth the Swallow) and this may help a little, eſpecially as to the Attraction of the Earth.

3. Conſider the different State of theſe Fowls, in their firſt Coming, to what they are afterwards. This is noted of the Woodcock, that, when it firſt comes, the Taſte of its Fleſh is quite another Thing from what it is afterwards; it is ſhort and tender; whereas after it eats ſtringy, and of a fibrous Fleſh, as other of our Fowls are: And, towards its Going off, it is obſerved, if you ſhoot a Cock, it will bleed plentifully at the Wounds, which at the Beginning of the Winter it never does; and then alſo, when it is ſo full of Blood, it ſeems inclined to chuſe a Mate for Breeding; for about *Candlemas* you ſhall ſeldom flush a ſingle Cock out of a Buſh; which you always do, all the Winter before. From this, the Conjecture is, that they have another Kind of Nouriſhment, before they come here, than what this Earth doth afford, or elſe their Fleſh would,

would be of the same Constitution; or, if they had Blood at their first Setting out, it served them for a *Viaticum*, and was spent in their Nourishment, throughout their long Journey; and that their Feeding here prepared them for Breeding elsewhere, whither they travel with the Companions of their Choice.

4 Consider the Flying of these Birds, while they abide among us: It is manifest, that the Woodcock and Redwing make very short Flights, when they are stirred; it is also manifest, that these of them, that are found near the Sea-shore, do never, when disturbed, offer towards the Sea, but shelter themselves again, as soon as they can, on the Land: Besides, it may be observed, that the Wing of that Fowl, proportionable to its full Body, is very inconsiderable to bear it a long Flight, in such a Course, where is necessarily required a constant Support of its Weight.

Hence, therefore, we conjecture, it never came from any Part of the Earth, that lies beyond our Seas; for it would never venture at Flights over any Sea, or considerable Breadth of Water; much less, that it should come from Parts remote beyond Man's Travels; therefore, more probably, it is from above, where the Main of the Journey is performed without any Gravitation.

As to the Windthrush (or Redwing) and Fieldfare, it is observed also, what is of the Woodcock, that their Flights are short, and that they shun the Seas; else why do they not better shift for themselves, in a very cold Season, by getting over to *France*, or other warmer Countries, rather than starve here, as Multitudes of them do? From this I conceive, that they are not beyond-sea Birds, nor ever came into this Island from another Part of the Earth; but that they come down directly upon us, when our Land is presented fair for them, as they view it above in the Atmosphere.

The Swallow, Cuckow, Stork, and the other Summer Birds make but short Flights and Returns; the Swallow, Swift, and Marlet are almost always flying; and these also shun the Seas, though they sometimes, for Flies, or Drink, do dip and play over the fresh Water: Therefore, surely, neither are these any beyond-sea Birds.

5. Consider these Fowls in or near the Times of their Departure: The Woodcock (as was said) is full of Blood, gets Company, and, to which add, is stronger of Flight, and mounts higher, when moved. The Fieldfares and Redwings gather into great Flocks, so do the Swallows and Marlets; and all these, except the Woodcock, are wont to make a chearful Singing, or chattering Noise, before they take their Farewel; their Flights are also high, but never over any Sea-water, that I can hear of; therefore, I conceive, they leave not the Land to go beyond Sea: Nor is it probable that they hide in the Sand, or seek Lurking-places to sleep in; for then, methinks, they should be more dull and drooping towards their Going to Sleep: No; rather their Chearfulness seems to intimate, that they have some noble Design in Hand, and some great Attempt to set presently upon, namely, to get above the Atmosphere, hie and fly away to the other World.

But, of all the Remarkables, in this Respect, nothing is more luminous in this Matter than the Proceedings of the Stork in the *Low-Countries*, of which I have had this Account: The Stork, when it hath bred, and the Young fully fledged, and the Time of Departure drawing nigh, they all (to a Bird) gather together about the *Harlem Meer*; then they continue some Days chattering, and making a great Noise, till the last are come into their Rendezvous; then, in the Midst of this Noise, there is a sudden Silence for a short Time, where, I suppose, upon a Signal given, they all rise together, and fly in one great Flock, or Cloud, fetch many great Rounds, first near the Earth, but after higher, like the Spiral Ascent of a Goss-hawk when she lowers, till at last this great Cloud, that at first darkened the Air right over the Place of their Ascent, appears less and less by Distance, till it utterly disappears. 1. And here I call to Mind a Story of Sir *Anthony Welden's*, in his *Court and Character of King* James: 'The King, 'saith he, being at *New-market*, delighted 'much to fly his Goss-hawks at Herons, and 'the Manner of the Conflict was this: The 'Heron would mount, and the Hawk would 'get much above it; then, when the Hawk 'stopped at the Game, the Heron would 'turn up its Belly, to receive her with his 'Claws, and sharp Bill; which the Hawk 'perceiving, would dodge, and pass by, rather than endanger itself: This Pass being 'over, both Hawk and Game would mount

'to the utmoſt of their Power, till the Hawk, 'being got above, would be at another At-'tempt, and after divers ſuch Aſſaults, by 'ſome lucky Hit or other, the Hawk would 'bring her down. But, ſaith my Author, 'one Day a moſt excellent Hawk, being at 'his Game, in the King's Preſence, mounted 'with his Game ſo high, that both Hawk 'and Heron got out of Sight, and were ne-'ver ſeen more. Enquiry was made, not only 'over all *England*, but in all the Foreign 'Princes Courts in *Europe*, the Hawk hav-'ing the King's Jeſſes, and Marks ſufficient, 'whereby it might be known, but all was to 'no Purpoſe.' Now, Whither ſhould theſe Creatures go, unleſs it were to the Moon? I confeſs, the Hawk and Heron might, being very weary, drop into the Sea, and ſo be loſt; tho' this be not very probable, becauſe the Heron's uſual Shift is, not by a Stretch onwards, but only by Mounting up, and then, when they were weary, they ſhould drop near the Place where they roſe, which was far enough from the Sea: But, as to the Stork, there can be no ſuch Thing ſuggeſted, for then the whole Kind would periſh; nor is it a Force that makes them mount, as the Heron, but only their own Choice; ſurely they ſeek a Place where they may have a comfortable Repoſe, but that cannot be any other Land here, for directly upright is not the Way to any Part of this Globe.

6. And *laſtly*, Conſider ſome remarkable Words in the Text; one is, their *tempus itineris*, the Time of their Journey; ſo, inſtead of *Coming*, do the Learned render it; From which thus much may be gained, that Swallows do not lie in the Clefts, as ſome pretend, for it is but a ſmall Journey for that ſwift Flier from the Clefts to the Chimney-tops. It is probable therefore they come from ſuch a Diſtance as may deſerve the Name of a Journey.

The other, and great, Remarkable is, *Ciconia in Cœlis*, the *Stork in the Heavens*; the Note is, of the Difference between the two original Words בשמים *in the Heaven*, and השמים *of the Heaven*. Now, whenever, in the Scripture other Birds are ſpoken of with Relation to the Heaven, it is in the latter Word, *Fowls of the Heaven*; only this is ſaid to be *in the Heavens*, when it knows its Time of returning to us, which is not ſaid of any other, that I know of: Nay, this I know, the former Word is commonly aſcribed to thoſe Things, that have the Heaven for their proper Place, and as contradiſtinct from the Earth. A few of them I ſhall mention:

Exod. xx. 4. *Thou ſhalt not make any Likeneſs of any Thing that is in Heaven above*, &c. that is, Thou ſhalt not pourtray any earthly Thing, to make an Idol of it, or make it a Mean of Worſhip, contrary to Inſtitution, nor of any heavenly Body, as the Sun, Moon, or Stars, to be either an Object, or a Mean, but thou ſhalt worſhip thy God ſpiritually, and immediately, and only as he hath appointed.

So, 1 *Chron.* xxix. 11. *All that is in the Heaven and the Earth is thine*, i. e. All the Efficacy of terreſtrial Bodies, and all the Influences of heavenly Bodies are in thy Diſpoſal, therefore thine is the Kingdom of Kingdoms, O Lord, and thou art exalted as Head above all.

So, *Pſal.* cxiii. 6. *Who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himſelf to behold the Things that are in the Heaven, and in the Earth*; i. e. Such is his Majeſty, that it is Condeſcenſion in him to look down, and take Notice of any of his Creatures. The lofty Heavens, and all thoſe luminous Bodies, which we may well admire, yet are infinitely below him, and the Glory of his Throne. Now the Scripture gives us Notice of three Heavens, the Aerial, or Heaven of the Fowls; the Ætherial, or Heaven of the fixed Stars and Planets; and the *Empſigreum*, the Seat of the Bleſſed, or ſpecial Preſence-chamber of the Majeſty on high; here the Apoſtle was admitted to behold unutterable Glories. This laſt falls not under our preſent Conſideration; the Queſtion is of the former two, that is, whether the Stork, that is ſaid to be in the Heaven, be only in the Air, or ſome one of the Planets, moſt likely the Moon, which is neareſt to us; I ſay, it ſeems probable, that other Fowls, that are ſaid to be of the Heaven, are for a ſhort Time in the loweſt Aerial, the Heaven, in which they freely, by Flying, wander about; and, that being their Excellency above other Animals, that muſt only walk upon the Earth, they are therefore called *Fowls of*, or belonging to *the Heaven*. But *in the Heaven* ſeems to be ſomething more; namely, a ſteady Abode in ſomething that is called *Heaven*, that cannot be the Air, for ſix Months together; therefore,

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it muſt be ſome ſolid heavenly Body, ſuch as the Moon is found to be.

It is true indeed, I find one Place where the Word, *in the Heaven*, is ſpoken of the Aerial Heaven, the Place of Meteors, *Pſal.* lxxviii. 26. *He cauſed an Eaſt-wind to blow in the Heaven*: But then it is even here to be noted, that this Heaven is the proper Place of the Wind; but this cannot be ſo to the Stork, it cannot have there a Reſting-place for ſo many Months together; *in the Heaven*, indeed, may ſignify to be in the Air or Atmoſphere; but then it muſt be underſtood of ſuch Bodies as are by Nature adapted to abide therein, but not of ſuch as are there occaſionally, and for a ſhort Space of the Air, for them is a Phraſe of ſufficient Dignity.

The Sum of all is, the Stork, in its Abſence, is ſaid to be *in the Heaven*, therefore it is not in any other Parts of the Earth; and ſince, *in the Heaven*, ſignifies to be in the Air, or in ſome one of the heavenly Bodies, and that it cannot abide ſix Months in the Air, no more than *Noah*'s *Dove*, which was as good a Flier, yet wanted a Reſting-place for the Soal of her Foot, it remains therefore, that the Stork, and the like may be ſaid of the reſt of Seaſon-obſerving Birds, till ſome other more fit Place can be with Reaſon aſſigned them, does go unto, and remain in ſome one of the celeſtial Bodies; and that muſt be the Moon, which is moſt likely, becauſe neareſt, and bearing moſt Relation to this our Earth, as appears in the *Copernican* Scheme, yet is the Diſtance great enough to denominate the Paſſage thither an Itineration or Journey.

Object. 'Great enough, indeed, for it is 'ſaid to be Fifty-two Semidiameters of the 'Earth, which being accounted Twenty-one 'thouſand, Seven-hundred, and Twenty-three 'Miles, and three Sevenths about, its Dia-'meter is Six-thouſand, Nine-hundred, and 'twelve Miles; then its Semidiameter is 'Three-thouſand, Four-hundred, and Fifty-'ſix; this, multiplied by Fifty-two, gives One-'hundred and Seventy-nine thouſand, Seven-'hundred, and twelve Miles, for the Diſtance 'of the Moon from the Earth; now at One-'thouſand *per* Day in One-hundred and eigh-'ty Days, which is but two and a Half ſhort 'of Half a Year, he could go but One-hun-'dred and eighty-thouſand, which is not ſo 'much more than the Number of Miles men-'tioned; ſo that the whole Year muſt be ſpent 'in going and coming at One-thouſand Miles '*per* Day; in Two-thouſand of one Half, 'the Year; in Four-thouſand, a Quarter; 'and this is as much as can be allowed them, 'namely, ſix Weeks coming, and ſix Weeks 'going, to tarry five Months there, and five 'Months here. Now, how can it be con-'ceived, that any Bird ſhould move Four-thou-'ſand Miles a Day, that is, One-hundred and 'Sixty-ſix Miles, and two Thirds, *per* Hour?'

Anſw. This is, I confeſs, a difficult Objection, and I know not how better to anſwer it, than by giving them a little more Time for their Journey, that is, by dividing the Year into three Parts; allow one Third for Staying here, another one Third there, and the remaining one Third for their Going and Coming, that will be Sixty Days, or two Months for each, then will their Motion be about One-hundred and twenty-five Miles in an Hour; now, I have heard that Race-Horſes have moved at the Rate of five Miles in a Minute; this comes to Three-hundred Miles in an Hour, if they could continue it: But, if this may ſeem too much to be believed, let us abate; ſay four Miles is Two-thouſand Four-hundred *per* Hour, Eight is One-hundred and eighty *per* Hour, ſtill this is more than our Account One-hundred and twenty-five, but Two is One-hundred and twenty, that is ſomewhat leſs; now, if any of theſe be poſſible by a Horſe, that hath two or three Impediments, then it is much more eaſy for a Bird, that hath none; the Horſe is hindered by its own Weight, the Bird hath none beyond the Attraction; the Horſe hath Reſiſtance from the Air, the Bird in the Air meets with no Obſtruction; and perhaps this may be added, that, if there were the Reſiſtance of the Air, yet the Bird could better make its Way, not only by the Shape of its Body, fitted for the Purpoſe, but, becauſe of the Smallneſs of its Dimenſion, proportionable to its Strength; for it is noted by an ingenious Perſon, that generally ſmaller Animals are ſtronger, proportionable to their Bulk, than ſtronger, by the quadruple Proportion.

2. *Object.* 'Oh, but, as theſe have no Re-'ſiſtance, ſo they have no Furtherance; for 'the very fluid Æther makes no Reſiſtance 'to the Stork of the Wing (as is before no-'ted,

'ted, whereas the Horſe hath the ſolid Earth 'to beat his Heels againſt?'

Anſ. We will ſuppoſe (according to our Hypotheſis) that, as the Bird aſcends out of the Attraction, it accelerates its Motion by the ſame Force that, in the Beginning, did ſerve to raiſe it but ſlowly; and, perhaps, this Acceleration may be much as the Deſcent of heavy Bodies, by Vertue of Attraction, namely, by odd Numbers (1, 3, 5, 7, 9) for, though there be ſtill ſome Gravity remaining in the Body, while it is aſcending out of the Attraction, yet the Force continues either the ſame, or, if it be diminiſhed any thing by Wearineſs, this may be balanced by the Thickneſs of the middle Region, affording better Stroke for the Wing: Now, if (I ſay) there be ſuch Acceleration even to the Æther, where there is neither Help nor Reſiſtance, yet there it ſhall continue in its full Vigour and Velocity, that was acquired in the Aſcent, and may, for any thing that appears, hold on to the Moon's Attraction; but this increaſing Swiftneſs may, at its Height, be well ſuppoſed to tranſcend the Swiftneſs of any Horſe; and, by Conſequence, may well accompliſh this long Journey in the Time allowed.

3. *Object.* 'But ſhall not the Animal eat 'or ſleep, all this long Time of two Months?'

Anſ. As for Eating, it may poſſibly be without, in that Temper of the Æther, where it paſſeth, which may not be apt to prey upon the Spirits, as our lower nitrous Air; and yet, even here, Bears are ſaid to live upon their Summer Fat all the Winter long, in *Greenland*, without any new Supply of Food. Now we noted before, that ſome of thoſe Birds (and perhaps it may be true of the reſt) are very ſucculent and ſanguine, and ſo may have their Proviſions laid up in their very Bodies for the Voyage.

As to Sleep, it is very probable, that they are in a Sleep, or Sweeven, if not all the Way, between the Attraction of the Earth and that of the Moon; to which Sleep the ſwift acquired Motions may very much contribute; for we ſee the like in a Chicken, which if you twing in your Hand, with its Head under its Wing, you will preſently lay it aſleep. Now it is likely, theſe Birds, being there, where they have no Objects to divert them, may ſhut their Eyes, and ſo ſwing on faſt aſleep, till they come where ſome Change of Air (as a middle Region about the Moon or Earth) may, by its Cold, awake them. Add to this, that this Sleep ſpares their Proviſions; for, if, as ſome would have it, Cuckows, or Swallows, can lie aſleep half the Year without Eating, why cannot theſe, in as deep a Sleep, as well for two Months forbear it?

4. *Object.* 'But the Moon goes near round 'the Earth every Day, or the Earth round 'itſelf; and if, from any Part of the Earth, 'they ſhould ſteer their Courſe to the Moon, 'they muſt make many great Circles round the 'Earth, to keep the Moon in View; nay, it 'is impoſſible they ſhould ſo do, if they ſhould 'attempt it; for, near the Earth, their 'Courſe muſt be twenty-one Thouſand Miles 'a Day, which can no Way be conceived. 'Beſides, this ſpiral Aſcending would abundantly augment their Way, which is long e'nough beſides.'

Anſ. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that they at firſt direct their Courſe to the Moon, but rather, offended by the Steams of the Earth, do tend directly from it; and that ſtraight Line, it is probable, they purſue, till they come ſo near the Moon, that ſhe is the faireſt Object to draw their Inclination. For, if the Moon hath a Motion in a Month about the Earth, then at the two Months End they will find it in the ſame Line of Direction, where it was when they begun their Journey; for, ſuppoſe it full Moon at the Place where they began, juſt at two Months End it will be full Moon again to the ſame Place which they left; therefore, if they proceed in the ſame ſtraight Line, they will be ſure to meet the Moon in their Way, it being the End of their ſecond Period, while they were in their Journey.

5. *Object.* 'But all this Diſcourſe is grounded upon the *Copernican* Scheme, and the new 'Motions of Philoſophy, which are yet under 'Debate; but, if all this be miſtaken, then 'ſo are all your Conjectures.'

Anſ. I take for granted my Grounds, and ſo need not diſpute them: If any doubt what I ſuppoſe, I muſt refer him to the Authors that on Purpoſe have handled theſe Matters, whoſe Works when he hath well conſidered, perhaps, he

he may allow my Suppoſition: In the mean Time, he may leave alone theſe Papers, as what he is not yet prepared to examine.

I know not what elſe may be objected, and this is all, at preſent, I can ſay of this Matter: If, from what hath been ſaid, may be an Illuſtration of the wonderful Works of God, any Light afforded to the Letter of any abſtruſe Text, or if but any Incitement to better Abilities to make a further Enquiry; it ſhall compenſate the ſmall Pains of him, who profeſſes himſelf not to affect Novelties, but only deſirous to underſtand the Truth, and is

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Your Friend, C. M.

POSTSCRIPT.

IF, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid in Anſwer to the *firſt* Objection, concerning the great Diſtance between the Moon and the Earth, any one ſhall ſtill remain unſatisfied, I have only this to offer to his Conſideration: 'Whether there may not be ſome concrete Bodies, at a much leſs Diſtance than 'the Moon, which may be the Receſs of theſe 'Creatures, and may ſerve for little elſe but 'their Entertainment.' Thus we ſee many rocky Iſlands in the Sea, that are of no other manifeſt Uſe, than for Sea-fowls to reſt and breed upon, and theſe are therefore commonly called *Gurl-rocks*. Now, if there be ſuch Globules (or æthereal Iſlands) they muſt be ſuppoſed of ſuch Magnitude only, and ſet off at ſuch Diſtance, as their reflexive Light may not reach home to our Earth (tho', perhaps, they may ſerve to illuminate our Atmoſphere) elſe they would before now have been diſcovered; and yet no farther off, than theſe Birds may conveniently arrive unto them in ſuch Time, as may be moſt convenient to allow them. This I do ſuggeſt, becauſe it is as hard for me to perſuade myſelf, that they come from any other Part of this Earth, as it is to perſuade another, that they come from the Moon; and therefore, if the Moon will not be allowed, ſome other Place muſt be found out for them.

The Spiritual Courts epitomiſed, in a Dialogue betwixt two Proctors, *Buſy-Body* and *Scrape-all*, and their Diſcourſe of the Want of their former Employment. *London*, printed in 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, repreſenting the Biſhops-Court in great Confuſion.

Buſy-body.

WE are utterly undone, this Parliament hath not only rendered us contemptible to the World, but hath deprived us of our Practice; the King's Advocate hath not got a Fee for an *Ex Officio* Buſineſs this half Year; myſelf have drawn no Articles againſt one that repeated Sermons with his Family this Twelve-month; my Lord of *Canterbury* might have ſpared the making of a Table of Fees, he needed not to. have turned out the Regiſter for Extortion, unleſs the Iſſue had been better.

Scrape-all. It is true Mr. *Buſy-body*, but we do not ſuffer an Eclipſe in the High Commiſſion only, but in all other Courts. *Bow Church*, that on a Court-Day uſed to be fuller than at a Sermon on a *Sunday*, and the Audience Court in *Paul's*, where a Man could not hear with his own Ears; the Prerogative, Conſiſtory, and Archdeacon's, with the Dean and Chapter's Courts, that were wont to be crouded

crouded like Money into an Uſurer's Bag, are very quiet and peaceable now; we cannot talk falſe *Latin* now, but it will be underſtood; we cannot get ten Pounds in Part for the *Probate* of a Will, as corpulent Mr. *Copper-noſe* our Brother, the *Engliſh* Proctor, could; we cannot put *Ponſonby's* Name to Articles, for Incontinency, with the Privity of the Judge, as heretofore we could, and then compound for the Penance ourſelves, as we have done with the Judge before his Sentence.

Buſy-body. No more can we ſend our Meſſengers into the Country, that pry into People's Actions there, as Alderman *Abell's* Spirits would into a Butt of unlicenſed Wine. You know, when many Articles were drawn in the Name of *me neceſſarii promotoris Officii*, againſt any that we knew was rich, upon no Ground at all, but Hope that he would refuſe to take his Oath, either to accuſe or forſwear himſelf, if he did refuſe, then we would be paid our Fees; Mr. *Advocate*, for peruſing and ſubſcribing the Articles, a Piece, that is, two Fees, when it was all but one Labour; myſelf for drawing them, running up and down, ſending my Man, and twenty Pains more, that, Heaven knows, I never took, my Fees treble, and the Office would be careful enough for their Fees; for Expedition, for extraordinary Attendance, Bonds, and twenty Things more, they would not want much of twenty Times their Fees; and then, he remaining Obſtinate, my Lord's Grace would deal with him, as he did with others, into Priſon with him, no Redemption. O Money Cauſes were pure good ones; a Parſon would ſpend more Money, by Delay, than the Benefice is worth. We could not endure Alimony, many of them were *in forma pauperis*.

Scrape-all. A Pox on them, I had rather the Judge would have given Sentence againſt my Client, than beſtowed a *Pauper* on me; I am ſure the Creature, if he followed not his own Buſineſs better than I, he would have a cold Bargain of it; for my Part, I fitted him, but ſometimes he would preſent a *George* or the like to my Man, and, if he looked after it, ſo; if not, *Vale pauper*. I got very well by a Wench that has been undone in a dark Entry: Sir *John* would commute her Penance into ten Pounds, towards the Repair of *Paul's*, and then we would ſhare it. A Shop-door could not be open on a Holy-day, but the next *Sunday* the Church was ſaluted with a *Coram nobis*; and, if he did not appear, whether he heard of it or no, *Dominus eum in ſcriptis excommunicavit*. Let him appear, when he would, he muſt render down his Contumacy Fees, or he remains and is accounted *pro excommunicato*; and, when he is reſtored *Chriſti fidelium*, he muſt pay the Officers Fees; Faith, ſuch Buſineſſes were pretty Toys.

Buſy-body. And I have gained well by a poor Will, when the Eſtate has not amounted to above forty Pounds; I would perſuade the Executor for Confirmation to prove it *per teſtes*, but firſt it muſt be proved in *communi forma*, and by that Time ſome twenty Marks or ſuch a Sum would redound to me out of the Forty; I never cared much for an Adminiſtration.

Scrape-all. But I did, for I would get more by it; the Inventory (which my Man ſhould ingroſs, as if one Word were afraid of another) the Account and the *quietus eſt*, and the Gratuity (which I never failed of) than you could by an ordinary Will. All *Bloomsbury*, *Covent-garden*, *Long-acre*, and *Beech-lane* were as fearful of me, as of a Conſtable, or Juſtice *Long*; many a Time have I ſtepped in with them for my Fees, and have had all Content poſſible. I ſhould have thought it an ill Day in the Vacation, if I had not got a Piece.

Buſy-body. Oh, Brother! you would not believe how I delighted in a Commiſſion, which I would go into the Country withal, and expedite; and, if they would not give me ten Pounds for it (which if a Country Proctor had done, he would not have required above a Piece) I would not make many Delays for the Matter, but have got it taxed by any Surrogate (whom I could perſuade) to twelve or fourteen Pounds; a Motion flies down, and an Excommunication after it, and ſo I lived in as much State as *Auguſtus Cæſar*; over your Country, Commiſſions would afford good Profit.

Scrape-all. Faith, Brother, and I have cheated many of my Brethren in the Country, who uſed to ſend me up Buſineſſes ready roaſted; I would pretend Caveats were entered, and detain the Buſineſs in my Hands a Week longer than the Time, and then make them pay me, as fully for them, as if my Man had ingroſſed them himſelf.

Buſy-body. O, but I was as good at an Appeal as could be, for, when the Cauſe was ready for Sentence, if I thought the adverſe Party would not appeal, if Sentence went againſt him, I would perſuade the Judge to give Sentence

tence againſt my Client, and then I would be ſure to appeal, and, when I had appealed, my Bill would exceed a Taylor's; there would be *Pro ſolicitatione*, *pro ſportulagio*, *pro privato ſigillo*, and *pro* twenty Things more, that were never done. A notable merry Fellow had a poor Cauſe appealed thrice; and then the adverſe Party got a Commiſſion of Review, my Client ſtill having Sentence; which when he told, how his Enemy had appealed ſo often, and was yet gone further; ſays he, I have a Proctor that will follow to the Devil, if I whip him with a ſilver Laſh. And, on my Conſcience, I ſhould have looked as ſcurvily upon a poor Client as a Beggar does upon a Beadle, or a Whipping-poſt: For God's Sake, Brother, how long is it ſince theſe Bleſſings failed?

Scrape-all. Faith, ever ſince the Parliament begun, or rather before. At the Viſitation at St. *Magnus*'s Church, when Doctor *Duck* was hunted dry-foot into the Water, where, had he not dived, the Spaniels would have tore him in Pieces, they catched Hold of his Legs, and made them ſwell extremely; ever ſince that Time, we have been held in moſt ſpecial Contempt; your Whores, that would have hanged themſelves before to pleaſe us, now call us *civil Villains* *, our Law, the bawdy Courts, and they, that have preſerved our Bills, now ſhew them us, and expect Reſtoration; nay, the *ultimum refugium* fails us now: That is, to bring a Boy with fifty or threeſcore Pounds, and, within a Year or two, turn him away, but keep his Money; this is a black Tune for us; ten Groats given in a Licenſe now make me as jocund as a Gratuity of ten Pounds would before. Cannot you deviſe what Courſe is to be taken?

Buſy-body. Now, if I could draw a Prohibition, I would leave my Sheepskinhood, and convert it into a Buckram Bag; a *Weſtminſter* Attorney lives a King's Life now; however, I am (if the Oath *&c.* ſhot out of our new Cannons does not ſtrike us quite Dead) get Acquaintance with Pariſh Clerks, and keep a Horſe that can ſmell out a Teſtament; if my Brother *Copper-noſe* would die once, I would be made free of the Girdlers, and beg the Probation of Citizens and Aldermens Wills; if all fail me, I will fly after Doctor *Roan* into *France*, and then we will eat Capons and revive our Living.

* By Way of Ridicule, inſtead of *Civilians*.

A late Voyage to *Holland*, with brief Relations of the Tranſactions at the *Hague*; alſo Remarks on the Manners and Cuſtoms, Nature, and Comical Humours of the People; their Religion, Government, Habitations, Way of Living, and Manner of treating Strangers, eſpecially the *Engliſh*. Written by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, attending the Court of the King of *Great-Britain*. Printed in 1691. *Duodecimo*, containing forty Pages.

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SECT. I.

The Accidents that fell out in our Voyage, &c.

WE departed from *London*, *Thursday January* the Sixteenth 1690, about Nine in the Morning, and came that Night to *Cittingbourn*; the next Day, about Noon, we came to *Margaret*, in the Isle of *Thanet*; and, the same Evening, we went on Board the Frigate that carried his Majesty's Musick, which lay then in the Road, with the rest of the Fleet, commanded by Admiral *Rooke*: Early the next Morning, being *Saturday* the Seventeenth, the King arrived from *Gravesend*, attended by the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Devonshire*, *Dorset*, and *Portland*, and other Grandees of the Court: About Noon, the Signal being given from the Admiral, the whole Fleet consisting of twelve Men of War, seven Yatchs, and many Tenders, set Sail, with a fair Gale. On *Tuesday* the Twentieth, we came in Sight of the Coast of *Holland*, near the Island of *Goree*; but, the Weather being darkened with Fogs, and the Shore choaked up with Heaps of Ice, piled up one upon another, it was not for us to come near: However, the King put himself into a Shallop to get to the Land, notwithstanding the Danger that threatened him; and, when all the rest were terrified with the Perils, wherein his Majesty ventured his Person, and the Seamen themselves were not in a little Terror, it was observed, that he himself was the only Person nothing at all dismayed. In the mean Time, the Fogs grew thicker and thicker, insomuch that we, who were in the Man of War, soon lost Sight of the Shallop where the King was; and, Night coming on, his Majesty was for ten Hours exposed to all the Injuries of the Air, and the Waves of the Sea, which sometimes came into the Shallop; so that the Lords, who were with him, had their Cloaths all covered with Ice: However, the next Morning his Majesty landed in the Island of *Goree*, and went into a Country-man's House, which had no more Room to receive him, and all the Lords of his Train, than one miserable Chamber and a Kitchen; but it was a welcome Retreat after so great a Hazard. After the King had shifted his Linnen and his Cloaths, and had been complimented by the Magistrate of the Island, who offered him his House, which his Majesty refused, he took Coach again in the same Coach that brought him to the Country-man's House, and went a-board the Shallop again, to land upon

upon the firm Continent; but then he met with new Difficulties, for the ſmall Veſſel could not get near the Shore for the Ice; ſo that two Seamen were forced to take the King in their Arms, and carry him to the Shallop: At laſt, his Majeſty, with our whole Fleet of Tenders, (the Men of War returning for *England*) arrived at a Place called *Orangie. Poldar*; here his Majeſty was complimented by the Prince of *Naſſau Sarbrach*, Camp-Marſhal, the Count of *Berka*, the Emperor's extraordinary Envoy, Monſieur *Catonna*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, the Prince of *Friezeland*, Count *Horn*, and ſeveral other Perſons of the higheſt Quality, who attended him to *Houſlaerdike*, where he repoſed himſelf for ſome Hours. It was thought his Majeſty would have continued here for ſome Days, till all Things were ready for the magnificent Entry, they were reſolved to make for him. But he told them, he deſired none of thoſe Honours, well knowing that the Glory of a Prince does not conſiſt in Appearing, but in Acting. The King therefore went the ſame Day to the *Hague*, and arrived there about Six in the Evening, accompanied with the Lords already mentioned, and ſurrounded with the Guards of the Body. And, in Regard the King's Coming was in a Manner a Kind of Surpriſe, his Entrance was alſo without any Ceremony. So that all that could be done, in Teſtimony of the publick Joy, was only by ſome Peals of Cannon, and Ringing the Bells.

Nevertheleſs, the Burgeſſes of the *Hague* had prepared, a long Time before, for his Majeſty's publick Entry, and had been at conſiderable Charges to make a glorious Appearance; and all the Towns adjoining had prepared to be preſent at the Solemnity. In a Word, all the *Hollanders* were willing to ſee the King in Publick, and to aſſure themſelves, with their own Eyes, that a Prince, whom they love ſo infinitely, and of whom the common Enemy had ſpread ſo many falſe Reports, was ſtill alive, and returned into their Provinces, which obliged the States to intreat his Majeſty to make a publick Entry; which he refuſed a long Time, in that ſuch Ceremonies were but the Loſs of that Time, which he had reſolved to ſpend altogether in Action. At length, all that they could obtain from the King was, that he would dine about a Quarter of a League from the *Hague*, at a Houſe of the Earl of *Portland*'s, and return in his Coach through the Midſt of the Burgeſſes, ranged in Files, from the Court to the End of the City; which was done on *Thurſday*, *February* the Twenty-ſecond, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, to the inexpreſſible Satisfaction of the People, all the Inhabitants of the Towns round about being got together; and perhaps there never was ſeen at the *Hague* ſuch a vaſt Concourſe of People.

I ſhall not ſpend Time in deſcribing all the Particulars of this Entry, which had nothing of extraordinary Magnificence, except the three triumphant Arches, which ſurpaſſed, in Beauty and Magnificence, all that was ever made in *France*, under the Reign of *Lewis the Fourteenth*, upon the like Occaſions. There you might ſee repreſented the principal Actions of the King, in Honour of whom they were erected, accompanied with ſeveral Inſcriptions and Devices perfectly correſponding with the Subjects to which they were applied, and which appeared to be done by the Hand of a Maſter. There you might particularly ſee *Europe* delivered from the Gripes of her Raviſher; the Liberty of *Holland* defended and preſerved; that of *England* reſtored; *Ireland* ſubdued; and the *Proteſtant* Religion maintained. The whole Ceremony ended in the Evening with Fire-works in ſeveral Places of the City, ſeveral Peals of Cannon, and Vollies of ſmall Shot diſcharged, as well by the Burgeſſes, as by the Regiment of *Triſon* which was in Arms, with Bonfires and Fire-works, before the Court: After all was over, they ſtill continued giving ſeveral Teſtimonies of their Satisfaction to ſee once more a Prince ſo highly beloved by the *Hollanders*; and, in Regard the Whole proceeded from a ſincere Affection, there is a great Probability that theſe Rejoicings will long endure.

On the other Side, the King manifeſted an extraordinary Goodneſs and Affability to all Societies, and private Perſons that came to kiſs his Hands. Admiral *Trump* was one of this Number, and his Majeſty honoured him with the Command of the *Holland* Fleet for this Summer's Expedition; which was no ſooner ſpread about the Country, but you might ſenſibly perceive an Augmentation of Joy among the *Hollanders*, for the King's Coming: His Coach was environed with Crouds of People that followed him where-ever he went; and by a Thouſand Acclamations teſtified their Satisfac-

tion, that *William the Conqueror* would command their Army by Land; and *Trump*, who juſtly may be called a ſecond *Neptune*, was to command their Fleet by Sea; and here, for the Preſent, I ſhall break off my Relations of the Tranſactions at the *Hague*, and divert the Reader with my Obſervations on the Place.

SECT. II.

Containing a Deſcription of the Hague.

THIS curious Village and moſt delightful Place, the Reſidence of that *auguſt Senate*, which has been, as it were, the Arbiter of Peace and War to all *Europe*, whoſe Charms are ſo great, its Buildings ſo ſtately and magnificent, and its Streets ſo large, its Shades ſo ſweet, its Inhabitants ſo civil, and ſo good-natured, that one may call it the *Delight of the World*; it hath three very pretty and delightful Meadows on the Side of *Delph*, and Mountains of Sand on the other Side, to cover it from the Rage of the Ocean, which is not above half a League diſtant from it; at the End of which is the ſmall Village called *Scheveling*, which is inhabited chiefly with Fiſhermen, where is a curious hard ſandy Shore, admirably contrived by Nature, for the Divertiſement of Perſons of Quality; and here, in the Summer Time, the States, foreign Ambaſſadors, and their Ladies, *&c.* in their Coaches and ſix Horſes, ride on the Sands for ſeveral Leagues; the Road from the *Hague* to this Village is a late made Way, cut through vaſt deep Mountains of Sand, paved through with curious Stone, a Work fit for the ancient *Romans*.

That Side, which looks to *Leyden*, hath a very pretty and large Wood, with curious Walks and Groves, of Oak, Elm, and Lime-Trees, where there is a Park ſtored with Variety of Deer. The Inhabitants take the Air there in the Summer Seaſon, with a Divertiſement capable to render them envied even among the Gods, moved by this, that the pretty Ladies take their Pleaſure, without Fear of the fabulous Plunder, ſo much celebrated by the *Grecks*, whereby poſſibly they ſometimes make them real and veritable.

The Counts of *Holland* frequently kept their Courts in this Palace, chiefly moved thereunto, by the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, and its commodious Situation for Hunting; our King (when *Prince of Orange*) kept his Court at this Place, where he has a moſt ſtately Palace, the back Part of which, with the great Hall, ſufficiently teſtify its Antiquity. There is on the Side of it a great Square, in which Place, on the Side of the *Levant*, are three magnificent Lodgments, built a few Years ſince; the *Doeles* make the Corner, whereof his preſent Majeſty, they ſay, laid the firſt Stone: Over-againſt the other Corner, is another Palace, built by Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, in which are to be ſeen the Pourtraitures of all the Kings in *Europe*, with many Curioſities brought from *America*. The *Voorhant* Frontiſpiece, as well as the Houſes that face the Court on the Side of the *Vivier*, make by far the pleaſanteſt Quarter of the *Hague*, by Reaſon of the Largeneſs and Spaciouſneſs of the Streets, and the Number of Trees that are planted there; you may ſee great Numbers of Perſons of Quality of both Sexes reſort thither in the Evening, ſome in their Coaches, and ſome on Foot. The Cloiſter of the *Jacobines*, which was built on the ſaid *Voorhant*, at this Day ſtill retains the Name of the Church of the *Chiſters*.

There is another Church, built much after the Form of the Theatre in *Oxon*, and is ſo admirable a Piece of Architecture without, that none within the ſeven Provinces (or ſcarce in the World) is comparable to it; there are no Pillars within, ſo that the Miniſter may be ſeen, in every Place of the Church, by Thouſands of People without any Impediment. The Counts of *Holland*'s Chapel, which is in the Court, is at this Day a Church for the *French Refugees*; there are two pretty Places like Squares, the one before, and the other behind the Court, where all the Houſes reſemble thoſe of Princes.

The States of *Holland* reſide here, as well the Counſellors of the Provincial Court, as of the Grand Council. The Cities of *Holland* have built here very magnificent Houſes for their Deputies, of which in my Opinion that of *Leyden* is one of the beſt ſituated, and next the Court. The Ambaſſadors of Princes, the States

States Allies, have their Reſidence here. The *Groote Kirck*, or great Church, is very fine, in the Midſt of which is to be ſeen the Arms of the famous Knights, the Order of *Toyſon D'ore*, which plainly ſhews, that they there celebrated the Feaſt of the ſaid *Toyſon*: The Tower is very high, and its Form is quadrangular, built with Bricks, which may be ſeen at a vaſt Diſtance: In fine, this Place is, at all Times, ſo well inhabited by Gentry, and Perſons of the greateſt Quality, that, if we conſider its Splendor, the Magnificence of its Buildings and Streets, the Affluence of the Nobles, and the Pleaſure of Converſe, the *Hague* is one of the prettieſt Courts, and the moſt agreeable in the Univerſe.

SECT. III.

Some further Relation on the Affairs and Tranſactions at the Hague.

AFter the King came to the *Hague*, few Days paſt without the Arrival of ſome Princes, or other conſiderable Perſons, as well to have the Honour to wait upon his Majeſty, as to confer with him about the preſent Affairs. It is true that moſt of the Princes came *incognito*, as well to avoid the Diſputes of Precedency, as to confer more familiarly together, and without the Peſterment of Formalities. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who lay at *Cleves* for ſome Time, in Expectation of the King's Coming, no ſooner heard of his Arrival by the Couriers that were forthwith diſpatched to give him Notice thereof, but he haſtened to the *Hague*, where he arrived *incognito*, the Twenty-fourth of *January*. The Duke of *Wirtenbergh*, Prince Regent, during the Minority of the Heir, and the Prince his Brother arrived, the Twenty-ninth, and were admitted to the King a little Time after. The Count of *Windiſgrats*, from the Emperor, arrived, *February* the Fourth, and was immediately admitted to the King. The Duke of *Bavaria* arrived the Sixth, about Ten of the Clock at Night, and went to wait upon the King the next Day, about Four o' Clock in the Afternoon, with whom he had a Conference of two Hours long. The Marquis of *Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, arrived the next Day with a jolly Train, of which, however, but one Part appeared, becauſe the Princes were *incognito*. The Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel* arrived the Eleventh, accompanied by the Count of *Lippe*, the Baron of *Gars*, and ſeveral other Lords. The Prince of *Commerci*, General of the Imperial Forces, arrived, the Fifteenth. The Duke, and one Prince of *Courland*, arrived the next Day. The King regaled the greateſt Part of theſe Princes, and was alſo pleaſed to accept of Entertainments at ſome of their Houſes. It would be too long to make a Recital of all theſe Feaſts. I ſhall only therefore mention two, to ſhew what are the principal Ceremonies obſerved upon ſuch Occaſions.

His Majeſty gave an Entertainment to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Third of *February*, at his Houſe in the Wood; the King had an Hour's Conference with the Elector, which being ended, they entered into a ſpacious Dining-room, where was a Table and Cloth laid, with one only ſingle Vermeil Furniture (conſiſting of the gold Plate, fine Napkins, Knife, Fork, and Spoon) and an Elbow-chair, where the King ſat down: After that, a Chair was brought for the Elector, with a white ſattin Cuſhion, and a Vermeil Furniture laid him, like the King's. Then the King commanded Seats and Furnitures to be brought for all the reſt of the Lords that were preſent, who were placed in this Order: The Elector on the King's Right-hand; next to whom ſat the Duke of *Ormand*, the Earl of *Scarborough*, Monſieur *Colbar*, and Monſieur *Dankelman*: The Earl of *Portland* ſat at the lower End of the Table, juſt oppoſite to the King; the Duke of *Norfolk* on the King's Left-hand; next to whom ſat the Count of *Denhoff*, and then the General *Spaen* cloſed that Side of the Table, next to the Earl of *Portland*. The firſt Health was begun by the King, who whiſpered it ſoftly to the Elector, and the Elector to the reſt, without Naming it; after that, the King began ſeveral other Healths, which he carried to the Elector, and the Elector to the reſt, without Naming. The King and the Elector were ſerved each of them by a Page, all People being put out of the Room, with Orders given to the Guards to let no-body enter. The Drums beat, and the Trumpets ſounded, when the

the King and the Elector drank, but not for any of the reſt.

The Fifth of the ſame Month, the King dined with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who went out into the very Street to receive him, and carried him into a ſpacious Dining-room, where the Table was covered with eleven Furnitures; and, in a ſhort Time after, the Meat was ſerved up. The King ſat in an Elbow-chair; on the King's Right-hand ſat the Lord Chamberlain, and then the Earl of *Portland*; on the Left-hand of the Elector ſat the Duke of *Ormond*, and then the other Lords of the Court, without any Diſtinction of Precedence; and Monſieur *Colbar* performed the Office of Eſquire Carver: The King's Butler was alſo preſent to pour out the Wine. The King was ſerved by one of his Pages, and two of his Gentlemen ſtood behind his Chair. When the King returned, the Elector accompanied him to the very Boot of his Coach. All theſe Divertiſements of Entertainment and Pleaſure were intermixed with ſerious Conferences, his Majeſty being unwilling to loſe a Moment of Conſultation for the general Good of the Confederate Affairs; but all theſe Conferences are kept ſo ſecret, that it is impoſſible to penetrate the Knowledge of them; nor ſhall we underſtand the Concluſions, but by the Effects that will follow. The King has ſat in the Aſſembly of the States-General, in that of the States of *Holland*, and in the Council of State; to all which Bodies he expreſſed himſelf in moſt affectionate Terms; which makes it appear, that his new Dignity has no way leſſened the Love and Affection which he had for thoſe Provinces.

On the Firſt of *March*, the Duke of *Zell* arrived at the *Hague*; and the Duke of *Wolfenbuttel*, his Brother, the *Tueſday* following. The Elector of *Bavaria* went the ſame Day to *Amſterdam*. On the Sixth, the King ſet out for *Loo*, the Duke of *Zell* going in the Coach with him, and the Elector of *Bavaria* followed, the next Day. The Day before, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* went ſtrait Home, and the reſt of the Princes parted with mutual Satisfaction; and, my noble Lord returning for *England*, I attended on him.

SECT. IV.

Containing particular Obſervations on the Manners, Nature, and Humours of the Dutch Boors, *or* Peaſants; *the Nature of their Habitations, and Way of Living,*

THEIR Soil (where they inhabit) is all fat, though wanting the Colour to ſhew it ſo; for, indeed, it is the Buttock of the World, full of Veins and Blood, but no Bones in it; it is a ſingular Place to fat Monkies in. There are Spiders almoſt as big as ſmall Shrimps; their Gardens, being moiſt, abound with them, and, were they but venomous, to gather Herbs were to hazard Martyrdom.

You may travel among them, though you have not a Guide, for you cannot baulk your Road, without the Hazard of Drowning. There is not there any Uſe of an Harbinger. Whereſoever Men go, the Way is made before them, where, if your Foreman be ſober, you may travel in Safety; otherwiſe you muſt have ſtronger Faith than *Peter* had, elſe you ſink immediately. A ſtarting Horſe endangers you to two Deaths at once, Breaking of your Neck, and Drowning.

Some Things the Boors do here, that ſeem Wonders. It is ordinary to ſee them fiſh for Fire in Water, which they catch in Nets, and tranſport to Land in their Boots; where they ſpread it more ſmoothly, than a Mercer doth his Velvet, when he would hook in an Heir, upon his Coming to Age. Thus, lying in a Field, you would think you ſaw a Cantle of green Cheeſe, ſpread over with black Butter.

Their ordinary Pack-horſes are all of Wood, carrying their Bridles in their Tails, and their Burdens in their Bellies. When they travel, they touch no Ground, and, when they ſtand ſtill, they ride; and are never in Danger, but when they drink up too much of their Way.

The Elements are here at Variance, the ſubtile

ſubtile overſwaying the groſſer. The Fire conſumes the Earth, and the Air the Water. They burn Turfs, and drain their Grounds with Windmills, as if the Cholick were a Remedy for the Stone, and they would prove, againſt Philoſophy, the World's Conflagration to be natural, even ſhewing thereby, that the very Element of Earth is combuſtible.

The Land, that they have, they keep as neatly, as a Courtier does his Beard; they have a Method in Mowing; it is ſo intervened with Water and Rivers, that it is impoſſible to make a Common among them.

Though their Country be Part of a main Land, yet every Houſe almoſt, that is inhabited by the Boors, ſtands in an Iſland; and that, though the Boor dwells in it, looks as ſmug, as a Lady that hath newly locked up her Colours, and laid by her Irons. A gallant Maſquing-ſuit fits not more compleat, than a Coat of Thatch, though of many Years Wearing.

If it ſtand dry, it is embraced by Vines; but, if you find it lower ſeated, it is only a cloſe Arbour, in a Plump of Willows and Alders, pleaſant enough, while the Dog-days laſt.

The Bridge to this is a Fir-plank, with a Box of Stones to poiſe it withal; which, with the leaſt Help, turns round, like the Executioner, when he whips off a Head: That, when the Maſter is over, ſtands drawn, and then he is in his Caſtle. It is ſure his Fear, that renders him ſuſpicious; that he may, therefore, certainly ſee who enters, you ſhall ever find his Window made over his Door.

When you are entered the Houſe, the firſt thing you encounter is a Looking-glaſs; no Queſtion but a true Emblem of politick Hoſpitality; for, though it reflect yourſelf in your own Figure, yet it is no longer, than while you are there before it: When you are gone once, it flatters the next Comer, without the leaſt Remembrance that you ever were there.

The next are the Veſſels of the Houſe, marſhalled about the Room like Watchmen, as neat as if you were in a Citizen's Wife's Cabinet; for, unleſs it be themſelves, they let none of God's Creatures loſe any thing of their native Beauty. The Lining of their Houſes is more rich than the Outſide, not in Hangings, but Pictures, which even the pooreſt of the Boors are there furniſhed with: Not a Cobler but has his Toys for Ornament. Were the Knacks of all their Houſes ſet together, there would not be ſuch another *Bartholomew*-Fair in *Europe*.

Their Beds are no other than Land-cabins, high enough to need a Ladder, or Stairs: Up once, you are walled in with Wainſcot, and that is good Diſcretion to avoid the Trouble of making your Will every Night; for once Falling out, elſe, would break your Neck perfectly. But, if you die in it, this Comfort you ſhall leave your Friends, that you died in clean Linnen.

You may ſooner convert a *Jew*, than to make an ordinary *Dutchman* yield to Arguments that croſs him. An old Bawd is eaſilier turned Saint, than a Waggoner perſuaded not to bait thrice in nine Miles; and, when he doth, his Horſes muſt not ſtir, but have their Manger brought them into the Way, where, in a top Sweat, they eat their Graſs, and drink their Water, and preſently after hurry away; for they ever drive, as if they were all the Sons of *Nimſhi*, and were furiouſly either purſuing an Enemy, or flying from him.

They are ſeldom deceived, for they truſt no-body; ſo, by Conſequence, are better to hold a Fort, than win it; yet they can do both. Truſt them you muſt, if you travel; for to aſk a Bill of Particulars is to put in a Waſp's Neſt; you muſt pay what they ask, as ſure as if it were the Aſſeſſment of a Subſidy.

Compliments is an Idleneſs they were never trained up in; and it is their Happineſs, that Court-vanities have not ſtole away their Minds from Buſineſs.

Sailors among them are as common, as Beggars with us: They can drink, rail, ſwear, *&c.* but, examining their Uſe, a Meſs of their Knaves are worth a Million of ours, for they, in a boiſterous Rudeneſs, can work, and live, and toil; whereas ours will rather laize themſelves to Poverty, and, like Cabbages left out in Winter, rot away in the Loathſomeneſs of a nauſeous Sloth.

Moſt of them are Seamen born, and, like Frogs, can live both on Land and Water. Not a Country-*Urieſter*, but can handle an Oar, ſteer a Boat, raiſe a Maſt, and beat you out, in the rougheſt Straits you come in. The Ship ſhe avouches much better for Sleep, than a Bed.

In their Families they are all Equals, and you have no Way to know the Maſter and Miſtreſs,

Miſtreſs, but by taking them in Bed together. It may be thoſe are they; otherwiſe *Malky* can prate as much, laugh as loud, be as bold, and ſit, as well as her Miſtreſs.

Their Women would have good Faces, if they did not mar them with Making. Their Ear-wires have ſo nipped in their Cheeks, that you would think ſome Fairy, to do them a Miſchief, had pinched them behind with Tongs. Theſe they dreſs, as if they would ſhew you all their Wit lay behind, and they needs would cover it; and, thus ordered, they have much more for Head than Face.

They love the *Engliſh* Gentry well; and, when Soldiers come over to be billeted among them, they are emulous in chuſing of their Gueſt, who fares much the better for being liked by his Hoſteſs.

The Habit of the Men is much after the *Tarpaulian* Faſhion, their Breeches yawning at the Knees, as if they were about to ſwallow his Legs unmercifully.

The Women are far from going naked, for, of a whole Woman, you can ſee but half a Face: As for her Hand, that ſhews her a ſore Labourer; which you ſhall ever find (as it were in Recompence) loaden with Rings to the Cracking of her Fingers.

Where the Woman lies in, the Ringle of the Door does Penance, and is lapped about with Linnen, either to ſhew you, that loud Knocking may wake the Child, or elſe that, for a Month, the Ring is not to be run at. But, if the Child be dead, there is thruſt out a Noſegay, tied to a Stick's End, perhaps for an Emblem of the Life of Man, which may wither as ſoon as born; or elſe to let you know, that, though theſe fade upon their Gathering, yet, from the ſame Stock, the next Year a new Shoot may ſpring.

In ſhort, they are a Race of People diligent rather than laborious, dull and ſlow of Underſtanding, and ſo not dealt with by haſty Words, but managed eaſily by ſoft and fair; and yielding to plain Reaſon, if you give them Time to underſtand it. They know no other Good, but the Supply of what Nature requires, and the common Increaſe of Wealth. They feed moſt upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and, by that Means, I ſuppoſe, neither their Strength, nor Vigour, ſeems anſwerable to the Size, or Bulk of their Bodies.

SECT. V.

Of the Nature of the Country in General, its Situation, &c.

FOUR of theſe Provinces, *viz.* thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezeland*, and *Groninguen*, are ſeated upon the Sea, and make the Strength and Greatneſs of this State: The other three, with the conquered Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleves*, make only the Outworks, or Frontiers, ſerving only for Safety and Defence of theſe.

The Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the Sea in a Calm, and looks as if, after a long Contention between Land and Water, which it ſhould belong to, it had at length been divided between them: For, to conſider the great Rivers, and the ſtrange Number of Canals, that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almoſt to every Village, and the Infinity of Sails, that are ſeen every where, courſing up and down upon them, one would imagine the Water to have ſhared with the Land; and the People, that live in Boats, to hold ſome Proportion with thoſe that live in Houſes. And this is one great Advantage towards Trade, which is natural to the Situation, and not to be attained in any Country, where there is not the ſame Level and Softneſs of Soil, which makes the Cutting of Canals ſo eaſy Work, as to be attempted almoſt by every private Man; and one Horſe ſhall draw, in a Boat, more than Fifty can do by a Cart; whereas Carriage makes a great Part of the Price in all heavy Commodities: And, by this eaſy Way of Travelling, an induſtrious Man loſes no Time from his Buſineſs, for he writes, or eats, or ſleeps, while he goes; whereas the Time of labouring or induſtrious Men, is the greateſt native Commodity of any Country.

There is, beſides, one very great Lake of freſh Water ſtill remaining in this Province, by the Name of *Harlem Maer*, which might, as they ſay, be eaſily drained; but the City of *Leyden*, having no other Way of refreſhing their Town, or renewing the Water of their Canals,

Canals, but from this *Maer*, will never conſent to it.

Another Advantage of their Situation of Trade, is made by thoſe two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Maeſe*, reaching up, and navigable, ſo mighty a Length, into ſo rich and populous Countries of the higher and lower *Germany*; which, as it brings down all the Commodities from thoſe Parts to the Magazines in *Holland*, that vent them by their Shipping into all Parts of the World, where the Market calls for them; ſo, with ſomething more Labour and Time, it returns all the Merchandiſe of other Parts into thoſe Countries, that are ſeated upon theſe Streams.

The Flatneſs of their Land expoſes it to the Danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite Charge, in the continual Fences and Repairs of their Banks to oppoſe it; which employ yearly more Men, than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain. They have found the common Sea-weed to be the beſt Material for theſe Digues, which faſtens with a thin Mixture of Earth, yields a little to the Force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back.

The extreme Moiſture of the Air I take to be the Occaſion of the great Neatneſs in their Towns; for, without the Help of thoſe Cuſtoms, their Country would not be habitable by ſuch Crowds of People, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot Seaſon, and expoſe the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diſeaſes, which they hardly eſcape three Summers together, eſpecially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not ſo eaſily renewed; and, for this Reaſon, I ſuppoſe it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neateſt and cleaneſt kept of all their Towns.

The ſame Moiſture of Air makes all Metals apt to ruſt, and Wood to mould; which forces them, by continual Pains of Rubbing and Scouring, to ſeek a Prevention or Cure: This makes the Brightneſs and Cleanneſs that ſeems affected in their Houſes, and is called *natural* to them, by People who think no further. So the Deepneſs of their Soil, and Wetneſs of Seaſons, which would render it unpaſſable, forces them, not only to Exactneſs of Paving in their Streets, but to the Expence of ſo long Cauſways between many of their Towns, and in their High-ways; as, indeed, moſt national Cuſtoms are the Effects of ſome unſeen, or unobſerved, natural Cauſes or Neceſſities.

The Lowneſs and Flatneſs of their Land make it, in a great Meaſure, the Richneſs of their Soil, that is eaſily overflowed every Winter, ſo as the whole Country, at that Seaſon, ſeems to lie under Water, which, in Spring, is driven out again by Mills.

SECT. VI.

Of the People of Holland, *their Manners, Humours, and Diſpoſitions*, &c.

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into theſe ſeveral Claſſes: The *Peaſants* or *Boors*, who cultivate the Land. The *Mariners*, or *Skippers*, who ſupply their Ships. The *Merchants*, or *Traders*, who fill their Towns. The *Renteeners*, or Men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents, or Intereſts of Eſtates formerly acquired in their Families; And the Gentlemen and Officers of their Armies.

The Firſt we have already treated of in a Section by themſelves, in Regard of the giving a more particular Character of their Manners and Humours.

The Second, the Mariners, are a plain People, but of a very rough Hue; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fiſh and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors: They are ſurly and ill-mannered, which is miſtaken for Pride; but, I believe, is learnt, as all Manners are, by the Converſation we uſe. Now, theirs lying only among one another, or with Winds and Waves, which are not moved nor wrought upon by any Language, or Obſervance, or to be dealt with but by Pains, and by Patience, theſe are all the Qualities their Mariners have learnt; their Language is little more, than what is of neceſſary Uſe to their Buſineſs; their Valour is of a Size extraordinary, even beyond Compariſon, except with that of the *Engliſh Tarpaulin*.

The Merchants and Tradeſmen, both the Greater and Mechanick, living in Towns that

are of great Reſort, both by Strangers and Paſſengers of their own, are more Mercurial, Wit being ſharpened by Commerce and Converſation of Cities, though they are not very inventive, which is the Gift of warmer Heads; yet are they great in Imitation, and ſo far, many times, as goes beyond the Originals: Of mighty Induſtry, and conſtant Application to the Ends they propoſe and purſue. They make Uſe of their Skill, and their Wit, to take Advantage of other Men's Ignorance and Folly they deal with: Are great Exactors, where the Law is in their own Hands. In other Points, where they deal with Men that underſtand like themſelves, and are under the Reach of Juſtice and Laws, they are the plaineſt and beſt Dealers in the World; which ſeems not to grow ſo much from a Principle of Conſcience, or Morality, as from a Cuſtom or Habit introduced by the Neceſſity of Trade among them, which depends as much upon common Honeſty, as War does upon Diſcipline; and without which all would break; Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Soldiers Thieves.

Thoſe Families, which live upon their patrimonial Eſtates in all the great Cities, are a People differently bred and mannered from the Traders, though like them in the Modeſty of Garb and Habit, and the Parſimony of living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Univerſities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common Studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Country.

Where theſe Families are rich, their Youths, after a Courſe of their Studies at Home, travel for ſome Years as the Sons of our Gentry uſe to do; but their Journies are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, ſeldomer into *Spain*, nor often into the more *Northern Countries*, unleſs in Company or Train of their publick Miniſters. The chief End of their Breeding, is, to make them fit for the Service of their Country in the Magiſtracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of theſe Kind of Men are the Civil Officers of this Government generally compoſed, being deſcended of Families, who have many Times been conſtantly in the Magiſtracy of their native Towns for many Years, and ſome for ſeveral Ages, and not Men of mean or mechanick Trades, as it is commonly received among Foreigners, and makes the Subject of comical Jeſts upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants or Traders in Groſs from being ſeen in the Offices of their Cities, and ſometimes deputed to their Eſtates; nor ſeveral of their States from their turning their Stocks in the Management of ſome very beneficial Trade by Servants, and Houſes maintained to that Purpoſe.

The next Rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who, in this Province of *Holland*, are very few, moſt of the Families having been extinguiſhed in the long Wars with *Spain*. But thoſe that remain are in a Manner all employed in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. Theſe are, in their Cuſtoms and Manners, much different from the reſt of the People; and, having been bred much Abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour Courts, than the popular Air of their own Country. They ſtrive to imitate the *French* in their Mien, their Cloaths, their Way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry, or Debauchery. They are otherwiſe an honeſt, well-natured, friendly, and gentlemanly Sort of Men, and acquit themſelves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the Gentlemen.

Theſe are ſome Cuſtoms, or Diſpoſitions, that ſeem to run generally through all Degrees of Men among them; as, great Frugality, and Order, in their Expences. Their common Riches lie in every Man's ſpending leſs than he has coming in, be that what it will: Nor does it enter into Men's Heads among them, that the common Part or Courſe of Expence ſhould equal the Revenue; and, when this happens, they think they have lived that Year to no Purpoſe; and the Train of it diſcredits a Man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal Extravagance does in other Countries. This enables every Man to bear their extreme Taxes, and makes them leſs ſenſible than they would be in other Places, eſpecially in *England*: For he that lives upon two Parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the *State*, he does but part with what he ſhould have laid up, and had no preſent Uſe for; whereas he that ſpends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth Part to the Publick,

Publick, it goes from him like that which was neceſſary to buy Bread, or Clothes, for himſelf or his Family.

This makes the Beauty and Strength of their Towns, the Commodiouſneſs of travelling in their Country by their Canals, Bridges, and Cauſways, the Pleaſantneſs of their Walks, and their Grafts in and near all their Cities; and, in ſhort, the Beauty, Convenience, and ſometimes Magnifience of their publick Works, to which every Man pays as willingly, and takes as much Pleaſure and Vanity in them, as thoſe of other Countries do in the ſame Circumſtances among the Poſſeſſions of their Families, or private Inheritance.

To conclude this Section, *Holland* is a Country, where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in Requeſt than Honour; where there is more Senſe than Wit; more good Nature than good Humour; and more Wealth than Pleaſure; and where a Man would chuſe rather to travel, than to live; ſhall find more Things to obſerve than deſire; and more Perſons to eſteem than to love. But the ſame Qualities and Diſpoſitions do not value a private Man and a State, nor make a Converſation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely, that ſome very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and ſome very extraordinary Gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

SECT. VII.

Of their Religion, the Number of Sects among the People, particularly in Amſterdam.

THE great Care of this *State* has ever been to favour no particular or curious Inquiſition into the Faith or Religious Principles of any peaceable Man, who came to live under the Protection of their Laws, and to ſuffer no Violence or Oppreſſion upon any Man's Conſcience, whoſe Opinions broke not out into Expreſſions, or Actions, of ill Conſequence to the *State*. A free Form of Government either making Way for more Freedom in Religion; or elſe, having contended ſo far themſelves for Liberty in this Point, they thought it the more unreaſonable for them to oppreſs others.

The *Roman Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common Protection of their Laws, making Men (as the Law-makers believed) worſe Subjects than the reſt, by the Acknowledgment of a foreign and ſuperior Juriſdiction: Yet ſuch has been the Care of this *State*, to give all Men Eaſe in this Point, who aſk no more than to ſerve God, and ſave their own Souls, in their own Way and Forms; that what was not provided for, by the Conſtitutions of their Government, was ſo, in a very great Degree, by the Connivance of their Officers, who, upon certain conſtant Payments from every Family, ſuffer the Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, as free and eaſy, tho' not ſo cheap, and ſo avowed, as the reſt. This, I ſuppoſe, has been the Reaſon, that though thoſe of this Profeſſion are very numerous in the Country among the Peaſants, and conſiderable in the Cities; and not admitted to any publick Charges; yet they ſeem to be a ſound Piece of the *State*, and faſt jointed in with the reſt, and have neither given any Diſturbance to the Government, nor expreſſed any Inclinations to a Change, or to any Foreign Power.

Of all other Religions, every Man enjoys the free Exerciſe in his own Chamber, or his own Houſe, unqueſtioned, and unſpied: And if the Followers of any Sect grow ſo numerous in any Place, that they affect a publick Congregation, and are content to purchaſe a Place of Aſſembly, to bear the Charge of a Paſtor, or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propoſe their Deſire to the Magiſtrate of the Place where they reſide, who inform themſelves of their Opinions, and Manners of Worſhip; and, if they find nothing in either, deſtructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Conſtitutions of their *State*, and content themſelves with the Price that is offered for the Purchaſe of this Liberty, they eaſily allow it; but with the Condition, that one or more Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, who ſhall have free Admiſſion at all their Meetings, ſhall be both the Obſervers,

ſervers, and Witneſſes of all that is acted or preached among them, and whoſe Teſtimony ſhall be received concerning any Thing that paſſes there, to the Prejudice of the *State*; in which Caſe, the Laws and Executions are as ſevere, as againſt any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*; and, in the Firſt, I think, all Sects, that are known among *Chriſtians*, have their publick Meeting-places; and ſome, whoſe Names are almoſt worn out in other Parts, as the *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, and others. The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among them, by being rather the Diſtinction of a Party in the *State*, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in Compariſon of others, but few in Number, tho' conſiderable by the Perſons, who are of the better Quality, the more learned and intelligent Men; and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptiſts* are juſt the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower Ranks of People, Mechanicks and Seamen, and abound chiefly in *North Holland*.

The *Calviniſts* make the Body of the People, and are poſſeſſed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions of the State, as well as of the only Miniſters or Paſtors, who are maintained by the Publick.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the Violence and Sharpneſs, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, ſeems to be appeaſed or ſoftened here, by the general Freedom, which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance. I believe the Force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintance, ſpreading ſo far as they do in ſmall Circuits, ſuch as the Province of *Holland*, may contribute much to make Converſation, and all the Offices of common Life, ſo eaſy, among ſo different Opinions, of which ſo many ſeveral Perſons are often in every Man's Eye; and no no Man checks or takes Offence at Faces, or Cuſtoms, or Ceremonies, he ſees every Day, as at thoſe he hears of in Places far diſtant, and perhaps by partial Relations, and comes to ſee late in his Life; and after he has long been poſſeſſed by Paſſion or Prejudice againſt them. However it is, Religion may poſſibly do more Good in other Places, but it does leſs Hurt here; and wherever the inviſible Effects of it are greateſt and moſt advantageous, I am ſure, the viſible are ſo in this Country, by the continual and undiſturbed Civil Peace of their Government, for ſo long a Courſe of Years; and by ſo mighty an Increaſe of their People, wherein will appear to conſiſt chiefly the vaſt Growth of their Trade and Riches, and conſequently the Strength and Greatneſs of their State.

SECT. VIII.

Of their Way of Trade, and Manner of Increaſe in Wealth.

IT is evident to thoſe, who have read the moſt, and travelled fartheſt, that no Country can be found either in this preſent Age, or upon Record of any Story, where ſo vaſt a Trade has been managed, as in the narrow Compaſs of the four Maritime Provinces of this Common-wealth: Nay, it is generally eſteemed, that they have more Shipping belongs to them, than there does to the far greater Part of *Europe* beſides. Yet they have no Native Commodities towards the Building, or Rigging of the ſmalleſt Veſſel; their Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming all from Abroad, as Wool does for cloathing their Men, and Corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any Thing properly of their own Growth, that is conſiderable, either for their own neceſſary Uſe, or for Traffick with their Neighbours, beſides Butter, Cheeſe, and Earthen Wares. For *Havens*, they have not any good upon their whole Coaſt: The beſt are *Helvoetſluys*, which has no Trade at all; and *Fluſhingue*, which has little, in Compariſon of other Towns in *Holland*: But *Amſterdam*, that triumphs in the Spoils of *Liſbon* and *Antwerp* (which before engroſſed the greateſt Trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*) ſeems to be the moſt incommodious *Haven* they have, being ſeated upon ſo ſhallow Waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it, without the Advantage of Tides; nor great ones, without unlading. The Enterance of the *Teſſel*, and Paſſages over the *Zudder Sea*, is now more dangerous, than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Channels; ſo that it eaſily appears, that it is not a *Haven* that draws Trade, but Trade

that

that fills an *Haven*, and brings it in Vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any Native Commodities, but by Force of Induſtry; by Improvement and Manufacture of all Foreign Growths; by being the general *Magazine* of *Europe*, and furniſhing all Parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their Seamen, being, as they have properly been called, the common Carriers of the World.

It appears to every Man's Eye, who hath travelled *Holland*, and obſerved the Number and Vicinity of their great and populous Towns and Villages, with the prodigious Improvement of almoſt every Spot of Ground in the Country, and the great Multitudes conſtantly employed in their Shipping Abroad, and their Boats at Home, that no other known Country in the World, of the ſame Extent, holds any Proportion with this in the Numbers of People; and, if that be the great Foundation of Trade, the beſt Account, that can be given of theirs, will be, by conſidering the Cauſes and Accidents that have ſerved to force and invite ſo vaſt a Confluence of People into their Country; the Civil Wars, Calamities, Perſecutions, Oppreſſions or Diſcontents, that have been fatal to moſt of their Neighbours for ſome Time before, as well as ſince their State began.

SECT. IX.

Of their Military Forces by Sea and Land, with their State Revenues.

THE Force of theſe Provinces is to be meaſured, not by the Number or Diſpoſitions of their Subjects, but by the Strength of their Shipping, and ſtanding Troops, which they conſtantly maintain, even in Time of Peace; and by the Numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for Support of a War: By their conſtant Revenue to maintain the firſt; and by the temporary Charge, they have been able to furniſh for Supply of the other.

The ordinary Revenue of this State conſiſts, either in what is levied in the conquered Towns, and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*; which is wholly adminiſtered by the Council of State: Or elſe the ordinary Funds, which the Seven Provinces provide every Year, according to their ſeveral Proportions, upon the Petition of the Council of State, and the Computation of the Charge of the enſuing Year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue in Times of Peace, commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Gilders a Year.

Their ſtanding Land Forces, in Time of Peace, conſiſt of Thirty-thouſand Horſe and Foot.

Their Admiralties, in Time of Peace, maintain between Thirty and Forty Men of War, employed in the ſeveral Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten Ships, to attend the *Algerines*, and other *Corſairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and ſome always lying ready in their *Havens* for any ſudden Accidents or Occaſions of the State.

The

The *Dutch* Remonſtrance concerning the Proceedings and Practices of *John de Witt*, Penſionary; and *Ruwaert Van Putten*, his Brother; with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Perſon of Eminency there, and printed at the *Hague*. And Tranſlated out of *Dutch*, *Auguſt* the 30th 1672. *London* Printed by *S.* and *B. G.* and are to be ſold by *R. C.* over-againſt the *Globe* in *Little-Britain*. *Quarto*, containing Thirty-five Pages.

This Remonſtrance contains ſuch Facts of Treachery in the Guardians of a State, that of all others boaſts the moſt of its Freedom and Liberty; and was attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences, even a popular and tumultuous Seizing and Execution of thoſe Traitors, who had received French *Money to deceive and corrupt the Deputies of the People; and to diſable their Nation from making any Reſiſtance to their powerful Enemy, the* French *King: That, methinks, the very Remembrance thereof ſhould not only deter every Miniſter of that State from thenceforward from Practices of the like Nature, but call upon the whole States of the United Provinces to exert their Liberty, by bringing ſuch Miſcreants to condign Puniſhment; and to be ever in Readineſs to repel their natural Enemy the* French, *and to embrace every Opportunity of approving their good Fidelity, by duly executing thoſe Treaties, which the Wiſdom of their Forefathers have obtained for the ſaid Purpoſe. And the Seaſonableneſs of reprinting this Remonſtrance cannot be queſtioned, if we conſider the following Paſſages in a late Memorial preſented on the 17th of* Auguſt, N. S. *Inſtant, by Mr.* Trevor, *his* Britannick *Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary to their High Mightineſſes the* States-General, *at a Time that the ſaid Republick is attacked in its Barrier by the ſaid Enemy of* France, *who has, with little or no Reſiſtance, taken ſeveral of their Strong-holds; has threatened and attempted to invade that Power, which not only made them a free People, but has at all Times protected them in their greateſt Diſtreſſes; in which that great Stateſman not only remonſtrates the Hazard of the preſent Circumſtances, to which the States are reduced, but, with a Pen no ways inferior to the Eloquence of* Cicero *himſelf, diſplays the real Advantage and Neceſſity for their Preſervation, to act vigorouſly, conformable to their Treaties, with their faithful Allies againſt their common Enemy: For,* ſays he,

High and Mighty Lords,

IT is with great Regret, that, in Purſuance of the preſſing Commands of the *King* my Maſter, I find myſelf obliged to put your *High Mightineſſes* in Mind, that the Term preſcribed ſo poſitively and clearly, by the Treaty of 1678, for *employing your good Offices* with the Power, who was the Aggreſſor in the preſent War againſt his Majeſty, expired ſome Time ſince, without their having *in any Manner* procured the Re-eſtabliſhment of the publick Tranquillity, and without his Majeſty's having had the *full* Benefit of the ſaid Treaty.

His

His Majeſty is very far from intending to importune your High Mightineſſes with *Complaints* or *Reproaches.* But what he owes to himſelf and to the publick Security, does not permit him to keep Silence any longer upon the *Inexecution* of a Treaty, the moſt important, and the moſt eſſential of all thoſe which unite his Crown with your State. The King might naturally have promiſed himſelf a more expeditious Determination, as well from the *known good Faith* of your High Mightineſſes, which was doubly engaged by the War declared at the ſame Time againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, as from the Events with which his Majeſty's Requiſition has been followed.

If *good Faith* did not permit your High Mightineſſes to ſee your Allies attacked, without Breaking with the Aggreſſor, *your own Dignity allowed you ſtill leſs to ſee yourſelves attacked in ſo ſenſible a Part as your Barrier, without Reſenting it*, like Sovereigns jealous of their Honour, and attentive to the Preſervation of their Rights.

Where is the State which, *in ſuch Circumſtances*, would not with Eagerneſs and of itſelf have *ſollicited* an Alliance ſo powerful, as that to which the King my Maſter and the Queen of *Hungary* do not ceaſe inviting your High Mightineſſes?

The King hath ſet forth, with ſo much Strength, in his Letter of the 14th of laſt *April*, which was delivered to your High Mightineſſes upon the 29th of the ſame Month, the *Juſtice* of his Demand; your High Mightineſſes have yourſelves, as well by your *proviſional* Anſwer, as by the Succours which you have furniſhed to his Majeſty, acknowledged in ſo direct a Manner the Force of your Engagements, that nothing remains for me to do, but to preſs the *intire* Accompliſhment of them.

Give me Leave, High and Mighty Lords, to appeal to your own Conviction, whether the Good of the *Common Cauſe*, whether the *particular Intereſt* of the *Republick*, have been ſufficiently promoted by this *Indeciſion*, by this *cautious* Conduct, which an *Exceſs of Prudence* has dictated to your High Mightineſſes from the Beginning of the Troubles with which it has pleaſed Providence to viſit *Europe*, to this Day, to encourage your High Mightineſſes to perſiſt in the ſame Method of Proceeding.

To what a Degree has not *this* Indeciſion fruſtrated the Effects of your moſt wiſe Reſolutions? To what a Degree has it not rendered uſeleſs your beſt-placed Expences, and increaſed the Neceſſity of them?

What *Jealouſies*, what *Umbrage* has it not given, and does it not ſtill give to the Allies of a good Cauſe? What *Diſcouragement* to the Powers who might increaſe the Number of them? With what *Preſumption* does it not inſpire our Aggreſſor and his Adherents? What *Facility* has it not given them of extending their Views, and bringing their *pernicious Deſigns* to Perfection?

Your High Mightineſſes know how very *unſucceſsful* your Pains and Efforts have been towards finiſhing the ſalutary Work of Peace, the Name of which is ſo often proſtituted. You know to what a Degree the Ways of *Moderation* have been exhauſted, and how far they have been deſpiſed.

It is Time that the long Forbearance of your High Mightineſſes *ſhould be juſtified*, by manifeſting your *true* Principles in the Eyes of *your Subjects*, of *your Allies*, and of all *Europe*.

Your High Mightineſſes ſee your moſt intimate and moſt powerful Friends, and your own Barrier, attacked at once by the ſame Power; that very Power which drove

drove the Queen of *Hungary* from *Vienna*, and which made an Attempt upon the Throne of the King my Maſter, has now the Command at *Menin*, at *Ypres*, at *Furnes*, after having *driven out the Troops of your High Mightineſſes with Fire and Sword.* Will *you* ſtill heſitate whether to conſider and treat this Power as our *common Enemy?*

Will your High Mightineſſes ſee *capital Revolutions* happen daily in the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms, and in the States the leaſt expoſed, without being alarmed at them, and without providing Remedies proportionable to the Evil? Let us not truſt ſolely to the Juſtice of our Cauſe; the Age in which we live pays Reſpect to nothing but Force.

Ambition and Greedineſs have already drawn together but too many Powers. Let Virtue, let Honour, let the Principles of *Self-Preſervation* at laſt reunite the reſt. And if our Engagements, if our Intereſts are not ſufficient to that End, let the common Danger induce us to take this ſalutary Reſolution; let that move us to look for our Security, where only it is to be found, in our *Union* and in our *Vigour.*

* *

The Readineſs, with which your High Mightineſſes have already executed the Treaty above-mentioned in *all* its *proviſional* Points, is a ſure Pledge to his Majeſty for the Execution of the *Whole.*

More than one cordial Friend, unjuſtly attacked, requires it of a faithful Ally. The tottering Syſtem of *Europe*, with which the *Independance* of your High Mightineſſes is ſo cloſely connected, demands it. A *Proteſtant* and free Nation *, the ſureſt Bulwark of your State againſt the Attacks of Powers † that acknowledge no other Tie towards their Neighbours, than the Submiſſion to their Wills, or their own Inability to extort it, promiſes it to herſelf from a *Proteſtant* Republick, jealous of that Liberty which ſhe has purchaſed ſo dearly, and who has often been the Protectreſs of that of the Republick.

Let not our Actions falſify theſe glorious Titles; but may our united Efforts once more ſet Bounds to Ambition, raiſe a new Barrier in Defence of the publick Liberties, and bring back Peace, Juſtice, and good Order into *Europe.*

Done at the *Hague*, this 17th of *Auguſt*, 1744.

Signed,

ROBERT TREVOR.

EVERY one, not without Reaſon, ſtands amazed, not being able to apprehend how it is poſſible, that, in leſs than forty Days, the King of *France* ſhould ſubdue above forty Cities and eminent Fortreſſes, formerly belonging to this State.

A Diſgrace to our Nation, and a Blot ſo great, that it is never to be waſhed off from the not ſufficiently famous *Batavians.*

Yet, if the Reader pleaſes ſeriouſly to conſider the following Relation, I doubt not but he will in ſome Meaſure be ſatisfied.

My Opinion then is, that the King of *France* did not make ſo great a Progreſs purely by Force of Arms, but by the Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of ſome Governors of this Country; (Oh that they had never been ſo!) who being bought thereto, inſtead of Fathers, became Traitors of our Native Country, which

* *Great-Britain.*

† *France.*

to

to demonſtrate clearly we are to conſider,

That the King of *France* did no Way ſurpriſe us, but gave us ſufficient Warning beforehand; as well with Words to our Ambaſſadors, as in Deeds with his great Preparations made by him, beyond any Example, through his whole Dominions; as alſo by his Majeſty's erecting ſeveral unheard of Magazines, as well in his own Realm, as without, nay, on our Frontiers at *Nuys*. The Preparations whereof were ſo great, that an experienced Officer, who hath borne great Commands in the *German* Wars, as alſo under the King of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other Princes, coming to compliment the Lord of *Amerongen*, who at that Time was on the Behalf of this State at *Cologne*, taking an Opportunity to view the forementioned Magazine, declared to me at his Return, that he had never ſeen nor heard of the like; believing it to be ſufficient to contain Proviſion and Ammunition enough for two, nay three Hundred Thouſand Men.

That he could not ſee this *State* was concerned thereat, aſking, moreover, If they did not intend to defend their Country, becauſe they made ſuch ſmall Preparations for the Defence thereof? That the Aſhes ought to be ſtirred, and the Fire extinguiſhed, before the Flame grew too big.

I confeſs, that, at that Time, I little regarded this Saying; becauſe, according to my Duty, I cenſured favourably, and expected nothing but Good and Faithfulneſs from our Governors; but I have, by the ſorrowful Event, found that I might not, without a good Argument, have condeſcended to the forementioned Officer's Opinion.

For who knows not that the firſt Care of a Governor, for the Defence of his Country, ought to conſiſt,

In erecting ſufficient Magazines, Fortifying of Towns and Caſtles?

Furniſhing the ſame Towns, and Fortreſſes, with valiant and faithful Governors and Commanders, ſufficient Gariſons, Trenches, and Ammunition for War, and eſpecially, to deprive the Enemy of as much Ammunition, and Men, as poſſible. But let us examine whether any of all theſe Things were done with Vigour, and we ſhall, to our Sorrow, and irreparable Loſs and Diſgrace, rather find the Contrary to have been acted by the wicked and ſtrange Directions of thoſe corrupt Governors: For notwithſtanding it was well known, that, at the Beginning of the King of *France*'s Preparations for War, there ſcarce was any Salt-petre in *Europe*, but what was in the Hands of the *Netherland Eaſt-India* Company; and, notwithſtanding it was proffered the State by the ſaid Company, yet they refuſed the ſame, and rather deſired that it ſhould be ſent to *France*, and ſo ſerve as a Knife to cut the Throat of the *Netherlands* at once; which was not ſufficient, for, beſides that (inſtead of publiſhing Edicts to prevent the tranſporting of Ammunition to the Enemy, which ought to have been their chief Care) they encouraged and maintained the ſending of all Neceſſaries for War to the Enemy: Of the Truth whereof every one may be aſſured, ſince it may be heard from the Mouth of the Lord *Jucchen*, Governor of *Weſel*, yet living in the *Hague*, that his Excellency, about four or five Months ago, being adviſed, in a Letter by a loyal Subject, that four Ships, laden with Powder and Shot, and other Ammunition for War, were coming up the *Rhine*, to paſs by *Weſel*; adding, moreover, the Merchants Names, that had ſold and bought it, where it was laden, what Powder-mill the Powder came from, and from whom the other Stores, *&c.* and that the Maſter of the Ship had a Paſs-port from *Cologne*; nay, that it was to be carried to *Nuys*, into the *French* Magazine; adviſing him alſo, that by Vertue of a certain Order (ſent to his Excellency ſome Years ago, that, if the Biſhop of *Munſter* ſhould make any Invaſion) he would pleaſe to ſtop the ſaid Ships; whereupon, going himſelf to the *Rhine*, he aſked, Whether any Perſons had ſeen ſuch Ships paſs by, as were mentioned in his Letter of Advice? (Becauſe this is a very remarkable Buſineſs, I think, it will not ſeem amiſs to give an Account of the Circumſtances thereof.) When one of the Standers-by, anſwering, ſaid, that two ſuch-like Ships were paſt by, and gone up higher; that they were laden with Powder, Shot, and other Ammunition, which, inſtead of being unladen at *Cologne*, according to the Paſs-port, were carried, and put into the *French* Magazine at *Nuys*: That he had this Account from one of the Maſters of the Veſſels that were returned from thence, very much diſcontented that he had been forced to unlade contrary to his Paſs-port.

The Governor, hereupon, ſending for the forementioned Maſter of the Veſſel, and having

ing underſtood the Truth, according to the ſo emention'd Relation from his own Mouth; moreover, that there was a third Veſſel laden with the ſame Sort of Goods yet below *Weſel*, and coming up the *Rhine*. Whereupon, ſtaying till the Evening, and not ſeeing the ſaid Ship, the Governor, fearing that ſhe might paſs by in the Night, ſent ſome Muſqueteers thither, ſtrictly commanding them to enter and ſtay in the Veſſel till it ſhould come up to the City, and be ſearched by his Excellency: Who, on the following Day, examining the ſaid Ship, found the ſame to be laden as before; when, taking the Paſs-port from the Maſter, he immediately cauſed it to be exactly copied; and, keeping the Original, ſent the Copy with the Poſt, who went away that Day, or elſe an Expreſs had been ſent to the State, or Council of State, whom he informed, in a Letter, all what had happened; and therefore deſired ſpeedy Orders how he ſhould govern himſelf in this Affair.

There was, at that Time, but little Powder and Shot in *Weſel*; ſo that the Governor was not a little rejoiced, hoping, that, by this Opportunity, the City would be well provided at a ſmall Charge to the Country.

But, inſtead that the ſaid Ship ſhould unlade there, the Governor received an Order, ſigned by the Secretary, that he ſhould not only free the Veſſel which he had ſtopped, but alſo permit all Ships, that had ſuch Paſs-ports, to paſs freely, and unmoleſted, on their Way; which his Excellency immediately condeſcended to.

Two Days after paſt by another Ship, that had twice as much Ammunition a-board her as one of the former, and from Time to Time ſeveral others of the ſame Nature ſteering the ſame Courſe.

Whilſt the Governor, from that Time forward, ſollicited the Council, that the City *Weſel*, being ſo conſiderable a Town, and of ſuch great Conſequence to the State, ought to have Six-thouſand Men in Gariſon, and ſufficient Trenches and Ammunition; all which the Governor oftentimes requeſted in his Letters to the Council of State; who, at laſt, gave Orders for the making of Trenches about the ſaid City, and furniſhing the ſame with all Manner of Neceſſaries.

But, inſtead of putting a Gariſon of Six-thouſand Men into the ſame, they drew immediately Thirteen Troops of Horſe, and Twelve Companies of Foot, all ſtout and able Men out of it, and put a few Companies, conſiſting the greateſt Part of unexperienced Youths in their Stead; of which the Governor hath often complained; and, to ſecure this conſiderable City the more to the Enemy, they (under Pretence that the Governor *Jucchen* ſhould come and give their High Mightineſſes an Account in Perſon at the *Hague*) put in another Governor; and, how honourably he hath carried himſelf in the Defence of that City, appears by the Event, *Exitus acta probant*. The like Pretence they had to turn other Governors, as appears chiefly by Colonel *d'Offery*, an *Iriſhman*, and a *Roman Catholick*, whoſe Villainies, and traiterous Actions, have been manifeſted formerly in his Services under other Princes, and one, whoſe Correſpondence with the Enemy, and notorious Treaſons concerning the Buſineſs of *Rynberk*, are at large related, in a certain Paper delivered by the Captains *Vytenbogaert* and *Clark*, to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of the State; and alſo in a certain Apology of the Governor of *Baſſem*, and a Comment on the Letter from *Tondlemonde*, all extant in Print, to which I refer you; wherein alſo you have an Account, how that the Gariſons of the City of *Rynberk*, (notwithſtanding it was ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs to this State) were not ſufficient to defend half the Counterſharps; and therefore might eaſily (by the Treachery of *D'Offery*, and the Falſeneſs of the Governor *Baſſem*) be conquered by the Enemies. And indeed, this *D'Offery* following, forſooth, the Examples of the Honourable Lords and Overſeers of this forementioned Work, in their counterfeit fatherly Care, behaved himſelf no Doubt ſo honourably in the Defence of this City, that he well deſerved a triumphant Gallows of a conſiderable Height, not only for his own Falſeneſs, but becauſe ſo many loyal Officers, which undoubtedly were in Gariſon there, were deluded, by his baſe Deſigns and Treacheries, to their utter Ruin.

And, for the better Carrying on of theſe traiterous Courſes, three Regiments more were ſent to *Maeſtricht*, after it was ſufficiently provided, ſo that in all Probability the Enemy (finding that Place ſo fortified) ſhould paſs by there, and come firſt to *Rynberk* and *Weſel*. At the ſame Time when the News came to an Aſſembly of a Province, now in the Enemy's Poſſeſſion, that there were three Regiments more

more put into *Maeſtricht*, it was ſaid, that his Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*, had writ in a Letter, that he did much wonder, that ſuch an extraordinary Care was taken for that City only, whenas it would be more neceſſary to look after other Towns, which were of as great Conſequence to the State: This I was informed by a Perſon, whoſe Fortune it was to be preſent at that Aſſembly.

I alſo heard, at that Time, that a certain Governor, being exceedingly troubled, ſaid, What doth all this tend to? I do not like the Carriage of Affairs, for we are like to loſe our Country for Want of Men, having Twenty-five Thouſand ſhort of what is abſolutely neceſſary.

And what was the Reaſon?

They made a great Shew of raiſing Men, but they acted all Things contrary.

For notwithſtanding the firſt Levies were made with great Trouble out of the Country, and we were aſſured, that, by the many Men that were likewiſe raiſed there by others, the Governors of thoſe Places had taken an Occaſion ſtrictly to forbid the ſame, inſomuch that we knew, there was not one Place, nay not one Foot of Land out of our own Dominions left, where we were permitted to levy any Forces: Yet, nevertheleſs, under a Pretence for the Good of the Country, it was ſtrictly forbid by an Edict, not to raiſe any Men within our Dominions, but in ſuch Places where, we knew before, there was not a Man to be had.

Nay, theſe Officers, (which, for the moſt Part were *Roman Catholicks*) knowing the Unwillingneſs of Men to ſtay with them, were forced to raiſe two or three Times the Men that otherwiſe would have ſerved, to the great Exhauſting of the publick Treaſures, and their own Eſtates: And yet they could not keep ſo many of them together, as to make Half a Company at their Place of Rendezvous. Whereupon the Captains making a Complaint to the Governors, that it was a common Practice of the Soldiers, to take their Money, and afterwards to deſert their Colours; and deſiring that theſe Things might be remedied; they ſhrunk up their Shoulders, ſaying, it was not in their Power to help it. Theſe Diſorders thereupon of beating of Drums within the Country was left off, and the Diſcourſe amongſt the Officers being, that *Holland* had Money enough, and conſequently might have Men at all Times.

The other great Levies and Treaties with the Foreign Princes, *viz. Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, and others, were appointed to be againſt that Time, when they hoped and judged that all Things would be loſt: Notwithſtanding it might have been ſooner accompliſhed, and more effectually, the Princes themſelves having proffered their Aſſiſtance.

The Ratification of the Treaty, being alſo kept cloſe till the laſt Hour, deprived our Ambaſſadors from making a Concluſion.

We may be informed from the Ambaſſadors, that were ſent to *Brandenburgh*, and now reſiding in the *Hague*, that they received the Ratification at *Hamborough*, not before the Beginning of *July*, New Stile.

The ſame Lords Ambaſſadors declare to the whole World, that the States themſelves may juſtly be blamed for the ſo late Coming down of the Auxiliary Troops, That at firſt his Highneſs the Duke of *Brandenburgh* was treated withal, as if they would have bought a Diſh of Fiſh of him. That afterwards his Highneſs, inſtead of being preſſed on, adviſed our Ambaſſador to ſtir up his Lords and Maſters, about the Furthering of Affairs; ſaying, moreover, My Lord, you have Traitors in your Country, Matters are very ill managed there. I am alſo aſſured, and it may likewiſe be heard, from the forementioned Ambaſſadors, that the Treaty with the Princes of *Lunenburgh* and *Brunſwick* was broke off only upon a Difference of Five-thouſand Rix-dollars.

But note, they would rather want the Favour of thoſe Princes, and the Eight-thouſand and ſeven Men which they would have ſent this State.

What do you think (ſaid one of the ſame Ambaſſadors to me not long ſince) if all the Auxiliary Troops had come down in *May*, would the *Frenchmen* have gotten into our Country with ſo much Eaſe as they have done? But, what ſhall we ſay! it was deſigned ſo: Ambaſſadors were ſent to all Princes and Potentates, when we were aſſured that the Army, by the unhandſome Proceedings of ſome, which I ſhall be nameleſs, were all blocked up; and, how our Ambaſſadors managed their Affairs in *England*, I ſhall omit to mention. *De Groot* would alſo have made no better End of his Am-

baſſy in *France*, had he not been ſeconded by his Brother-in-law, that honeſt Patriot, *Momba*. One Man was not ſufficient, therefore we muſt have a ſecond. In ſhort, Affairs were well ordered, our Magazines exhauſted, and the Enemy's filled.

Levies were ordered to be raiſed in ſuch Places, where we knew it was forbidden and impoſſible to be performed; and where Auxiliaries were proffered, and might be had with Eaſe, thoſe were ſlighted, and put off till ſuch Time, as we ſuppoſed, they would be needleſs and too late.

Moſt of the Gariſons, and eminent Places, were either very badly, or not at all fortified. Others, which Shame forced them to ſtrengthen, wanted one Thing or other, to make them inſufficient for Defence; for thoſe that had Men enough were unprovided of Trenches and Ammunition, and thoſe, which were ſtored with Powder, Shot, and other Neceſſaries, wanted Men. And thoſe Places, which we knew the Enemy would not meddle withal, were crouded with more Men than were needful. What ſhall we judge of the Eracination of the ſtrong City and Fortreſs *de Graffe*, and the Contrivance, that the whole Gariſon marching thither, according to Order, were ſurpriſed by the Enemy, who undoubtedly had Notice thereof, and twenty-ſix of their Colours taken from them? Nay, we may juſtly ſtand amazed, to imagine, how it is poſſible, that whole Provinces, as *Overyſſel* and *Utrecht*, ſhould be delivered up in one Day. And whereon depends that Riddle, that the old experienced Soldiers, which were kept Priſoners in the Churches of the conquered Towns, ſhould not be taken Notice of, and yet beat the Drums daily for new Men; ſeeming rather willing to give twenty, nay, thirty Gilders for new and unexperienced Men, than for the old ten or twelve, for which they might be ranſomed.

Who thought ever to have lived to ſee theſe Times in our Provinces, that we muſt go begging from Door to Door for the Horſemen, and permit them to go away for Want of Money, as hath happened in this Conjuncture in *Groningen*; from whence I had Advice thereof from a Perſon, who was an Eye-witneſs thereto. When God intends to puniſh a Country, he deprives loyal Governors of their Wiſdom, and permits the Wicked to uſe the ſame to the Deſtruction thereof.

A certain Member of the States of *Holland*, not long before the March of the Enemy, diſcourſing to one of his Fraternity, about the Condition wherein the Magazines were, ſaid, That the Magazine of *Holland* was ſo well furniſhed, that, though the Wars continued two Years, it was ſufficient of itſelf, without any more Supplies; and now, when too late, great Complaints were made, that there was no Place provided, every one calling for Powder, Shot, and other Ammunition for War; and they were directed to Magazines, which from Time to Time were emptied, and conſequently had nothing left; the ſaid Lord was aſked by his Aſſociate, Where that great and well furniſheſt Magazine was, of which his Excellency had boaſted of ſo much not long before; whereupon ſhrinking up his Shoulders, he ſaid, that his Meaning was, it would ſerve to furniſh *Holland* only, but none of the other Provinces; which this Lord, who, a few Days ago, gave me an Account thereof, reſented very ſtrangely.

Nay, that which is more, our whole Army, being before *Yſſel*, was, two Days before *Whitſuntide*, ſo ill provided of Powder and Shot, that, in Caſe of an Attack, they would not have been able to defend themſelves above twenty-four Hours.

Some of the Deputies upon the Report, which was on *Whitſun-monday*, that the *French* had taken *Burick*, coming from *Nimeguen* to ſollicit the Lords Deputies that were in the Field, for Powder and Shot, received for Anſwer, That they could not ſpare them any; which was alſo told me at the ſame Time by a Governor of *Nimeguen*.

But *Kirk-Patrick*, Governor of *Hertogenboſch*, took better Care for his Government, ſending the laſt Week a Liſt, to the Council of State, of all Things which he wanted.

And to ſhew that his Highneſs, the Prince of *Orange*, uſed more than ordinary Care and Endeavours, he ſent the Governor, whilſt the City, committed to his Care, was blocked up or beſieged, to fetch Powder, Shot, and Cannon, which the ſaid Governor obtained; but then he could not find a Veſſel that either would or could undertake to carry the ſame thither, of which the Governor hath made great Complaints here to ſeveral Perſons. Now whether this Governor was blinded by the Orders of his Maſters, that he could not ſee the forementioned Defects before, or whether the Overſeers of our Country's Welfare judged, that it was of ſmall Conſequence to this State, to

to preſerve this Fortreſs, the Magiſtrates formerly were not of that Opinion; but the Times change,

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

The King of *France* needed not to uſe any Force upon the Works, which, with ſo much Care and Labour, were made along the *Yſſel*, for a far eaſier Way was ſhewn him, to come through the River *Rhine*, and ſo to fall into the Heart of our Country.

To which the treacherous *Momba* was no ſmall Inſtrument, having ſo well ordered that Affair beforehand in *France*, with his honeſt Brother *de Groot*, that by what Means I know not he was made chief Commander of that Part of our Militia, which were appointed for the Defence of that Station: When this Traitor, inſtead of charging his Regiment to be careful in defending their Poſt, and encouraging them to oppoſe their Enemies, gave Orders to march up within a Mile from *Nimeguen*, and ſo to leave that Station.

Which when told to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, who extremely wondered thereat, an expreſs Order was immediately ſent, that they ſhould inſtantly draw down to the forementioned Station again, and endeavour by all Means poſſible to defend the ſame.

But, before they could approach the ſame, the Enemy was above half over the *Rhine*, ſo that our Forces, which were to keep that Station, were as if brought to their Slaughter, and thoſe of *Alva*, his Regiment moſt of them ſlain; as a Lieutenant, under the Lieutenant-Colonel of this Regiment informed me, as he was coming along with twenty-eight Men which he had picked up from ſeveral Companies, after the Paſſage through the *Rhine* was opened to the Enemy:

Et hinc nobis hodiernæ illæ Lacrymæ.

Now, whether that great Favourite of the Enemies can, by Means of his Correſpondence, free his Brother-in-Law *Momba*, from the Puniſhment due to him, for the horrid Slaughter occaſioned by his Means, and for Betraying of our Native Country, the Time will learn us. But we hope, that his Conſcience will check him for his own Villainies, that he will not think of acting any more, if it be poſſible for a Magpy to leave off Hopping.

One of the Lords Deputies of the Field (as I was told by an eminent Member of their Excellencies the high and mighty States of *Holland*) being aſked, How Affairs were ordered, that ſuch ſmall Endeavours were uſed to oppoſe the Enemy? he Anſwered, That he could give no other Reaſon, but that they had no ſecret Correſpondence, to give them any Account of the Enemies Deſigns, of which they were altogether ignorant.

But this Brother, and his Accomplices, had too much Knowledge of the Enemies Deſigns, and were too much concerned therewith.

For, as I am informed, *Momba* would endeavour to clear himſelf by the Letters from the forementioned Lord: And undoubtedly that was the Reaſon, that when his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* was of Opinion that the Enemy ought to be oppoſed ſometimes in one, and then in another Place (to which there then preſented good Opportunities) and deſiring hereon the Advice or Order of the Lords Deputies, he never could get any Thing elſe from them, but ſhrunk up Shoulders, and many Expreſſions of Difficulties, never conſenting, nor abſolutely diſapproving of his Highneſs's Propoſals; but all Things in Suſpenſe tied up as it were his Highneſs's Hands, that he could not do any Thing in the Defence of our Native Country.

Every one may juſtly ſtand amazed, to conſider how it is poſſible that all Things ſhould be thus ſtrangely carried, when there were and are ſtill ſo many loyal Governors at the Helm. For my Part, I can ſatisfy myſelf, when I think on the wonderful Carriage of Officers, and ſtrange Government which hath been of late; to conſider the Power and Sway, which that great, and I muſt confeſs moſt wiſe Penſionary (I could wiſh to God that his Wiſdom had been employed for the Good of the Country) *John de Witt* bore, during the Time of his being Penſionary.

Hath not he, under a Pretence of Freedom, brought us into the greateſt Slavery of the World? Were his Intentions from the Beginning till the Laſt aught elſe? And did his malicious Governing tend to any other End, than to root out and diminiſh the Luſtre of that illuſtrious Houſe of *Orange* and *Naſſau*?

Is

Is there any one Perſon that can be ſaid to be ignorant thereof? Can there be a greater Inſtitution of Slavery thought on in the World, than to force the whole State, as it were, againſt their Conſciences, to ſuppreſs the Prince of *Orange?* (Whoſe Predeceſſors, of bleſſed Memory, may, next to God, only be ſaid to have brought us to this our Freedom, with great Effuſion of Blood, and vaſt Expence of Money. Nay, to oblige themſelves thereto by Oath. We become Slaves, when we are deprived of our Liberty, but Slaves of Slaves, nay Slaves of Sin, when we are prevented from doing of Good, and forced by an Oath to do Evil. No Governors were admitted to the Regency, but with taking this Oath; and ſo, in the Beginning of their Office, were forced to make themſelves guilty of ſo abominable, and, before God and the World, horrid Sin of Ingratitude; a Sin, which not only carries ſo many unheard of Oaths along with it, but is alſo the Occaſion of ſo great Effuſion of Blood in our Native Country. A Sin, which can, and may be ſaid to have given the Almighty God ſufficient Reaſon utterly to deprive us again of our ſo dear bought Freedom, and bring us to a greater Slavery than ever we were in before. What Man, how prudent ſoever he be, can apprehend how it is poſſible that one Man ſhould infect and poiſon a whole State, wherein there are ſo many wiſe, honourable, and loyal Regents and Lords, to oblige themſelves, and their Succeſſors, as much as in them lay, by an Oath, to ſuch a ruinous and ever-crying Sin of Ingratitude? And yet, nevertheleſs, it was done, for, not above eight or ten Days before the ſtrange Revolution, the Penſionary of *Harlem* was forced, at the Court, to ſwear to the forementioned perpetual Edict. Thus to renew and increaſe the crying and blood-guilty Sin of our Country! I tremble, when I remember, that, ſome Years ago, I accidentally lighted on a Book, wherein, inſtead of mentioning the Virtues of the praiſe-worthy and never-ſufficiently famous Princes of *Orange*, ſtood written with an accurſed and deviliſh Pen, that there were no Virtues of the Princes to boaſt of, but their Vices, as, Whoring, Adultery, Drunkenneſs, and the like, were at large deſcribed, and attributed to every Prince. Who doth not ſtand amazed at the Hearing hereof, and the more, when they know, that this was not only ſold publickly, but was alſo licenſed, and printed, with Authority from the State? The Counſellor-Penſionary had ſufficiently examined the ſame, and ſupplied all the Defects, and eſteemed the Writer hereof as a loyal Subject, calling him the Defender of the Country's Freedom. But, if any Thing in that Nature had been done to the Prejudice of that long *John*, or aught had been writ of any of his Relations, Would not the Writer thereof have been proſecuted with Fire and Sword, and the printed Paper, or Book, immediately taken and burnt? What hath not this grand Deſigner, with the Help of his Accomplices, and hired Slaves, which he rewarded, by giving them ſeveral Offices, done to execute his treacherous and wicked Deſigns? See farther. No ſooner were the Keys of our native Country (always ſo highly eſteemed, and preſerved, with great Care and Circumſpection) villainouſly given into the Hands of the Enemy, but we began to help him to open the Gates alſo. Who could ever dream of ſuch Actions? No Books afford the like Example. *Peter de Groot*, that perjured and diſhonourable Wretch, is to make Peace.

To which Purpoſe he had a blank Commiſſion from the whole State (without any Inſtructions according to which he might govern himſelf) to treat with the Enemy; and, to ſpeak plain, to make an abſolute Agreement for our dear bought Freedom, Religion, and Native Country.

It would ſooner have ſeemed to me, and all the World, a Fable than a Truth, had it not appeared plainly out of the printed Letter ſent from the Lords, the States of *Zealand*, who manifeſted their Fidelity and great fatherly Care, and alſo declared, that, not without great Reaſon they could not conſent to ſuch an unlimited Power as *de Groot* had given him; that it was an unheard of Thing in the Government of this Country *(ipſiſſima verba Epiſtolæ)* to give full Power to a deputed Perſon, to treat with a Potentate; but much leſs with a publick Enemy: Moreover, ſaying plainly, that they *(Nota bene)* juſtly ſuſpected this contrary Way of acting, and that it gave them an Apprehenſion that the Enemy would thereby be encouraged to propoſe ſuch Conditions to ſuch a Deputy, which never can nor muſt be treated of, *viz.* their Religion, Freedom, and the lawful Government of theſe Countries.

And,

And, how the forementioned three Points would have been maintained by ſuch a Deputy, who is a notorious Atheiſt, a Slave to the Enemy, bought to the Deſtruction of our whole Government, every one may eaſily judge. Juſt at the Time when this Commiſſion was finiſhed, and *de Groot* yet in the *Hague* ready on his Departure, I had the Honour to ſpeak with one of my very good Friends and a Member of the high and mighty States of *Holland*, who on my curious Queſtion of, What News? Changing his Countenance (as if Things did not go according to his Mind) was pleaſed to ſay: We ſhall in ſhort have a Peace, but I fear a ſorrowful one.

De Groot goeth to the King of *France*, and hath *plein pouvour*.

When asking amazedly, How will it be then? His Excellency replied, there is a blank Charter to be laid before the King, and his Majeſty is to write.

On which I anſwered, Then *de Groot* is a great Prophet; for this Morning a certain Lord informed me (as indeed it was true) that the forementioned *de Groot*, about three Months before, diſcourſing with him the ſaid Lord, ſaying that our Native Country was threatened with a great and terrible War: *De Groot* anſwering ſaid, Piſh! piſh! I do not ſee any ſuch great Difficulty therein; I do believe that the King of *France* will at the firſt take ſome of our Cities, which we cannot hinder him from, but *(Nota)* I, I *de Groot* (ſtriking on his Breaſt) will make Peace with the King of *France* in the Field about three Months hence.

And obſerve the Time, wherein he received his forementioned Commiſſion, was about ſo long after.

The Lord, hereupon diſcourſing liberally with me, ſaid, that he believed the ſame, becauſe *de Groot* was a Perſon exceedingly ſelf-opinionated; and that not long ago (not naming the Time, which I gueſſed at by his Words) he had told his Excellency himſelf, that he ſhould certainly conclude a Peace; adding moreover, that though we ſhould loſe, and add a Pearl to his Crown by this Peace; yet, if we examined the Prerogatives and Benefits which *Holland* ſhould reap from it, we would not account our Loſs ſo great.

Though this Lord would not favour me with an Explanation of the aforeſaid Prerogatives; yet I ſuppoſe in all Likelihood that his chiefeſt Aim was that *Holland* ſhould then be ſeparated from the other United Provinces, and freed as it were from that heavy Burthen, as they are pleaſed to call it.

And beſides, that then they would be freed from all Fears that his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* at any Time ſhould be made *Stadtholder* of that Province.

One would think it ſtrange how it is poſſible, that any Men ſhould be tranſported to ſuch Imaginations; But,

——— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*
Auri ſacra fames? ———

He was always more for the *French*, than the *Prince*'s Intereſt.

This was the Reaſon why the Council-Penſionary, in the Time of the War with *Munſter*, durſt propoſe in a full Aſſembly, to make the Duke of *Turenne* Captain-General over our Militia.

Ambitious is our Enemy; and full of Ambition are alſo thoſe Subjects; rather deſiring to be governed by a *King*, than a *Prince*. But ſee how miraculous is the Providence of the Almighty!

Juſt when our State was in greateſt Danger, and tottering ready to fall down, the Appearance of our Deliverance was neareſt at Hand: for it pleaſed God juſt at that Time to throw down that great and ſubtle Deſigner (which had thus long uſurped more Authority, than ever was aimed at by any of our Princes) and immediately cauſed the Prince of *Orange* unanimouſly by all the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, to be proclaimed *Stadtholder* of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*, and to reſtore to him all thoſe Dignities which his Predeceſſors of glorious Memory ever enjoyed.

That great God grant alſo, that as by Means of his Predeceſſors, with the Expence of their Eſtates and Effuſion of Blood, the Body of the ancient United Provinces was framed, and, as long as they reigned, kept in a good Order; the diſjoined Members may by his Valour and Conduct (wherein we beſeech God to aſſiſt him, and to free him from evil Counſel, and bleſs him more and more daily) be united again.

I do certainly believe, that many of our Inhabitants, and alſo all good Patriots, will judge

judge it convenient to find out all thoſe Governors which are guilty of betraying our Native Country, and by ſome ſevere Puniſhment, inflicted on them and their Inſtruments, as, *Momba*, *D'Offery*, and other Governors, Commanders, Captains, and other Officers, and make them an Example to others.

But, as to the latter Part, I do not altogether approve of their Opinion; nevertheleſs, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, my Sentiment only is, that it would be convenient to make a ſtrict Enquiry into the Camp-proceeding of the Governors, and ſuch as bore the chiefeſt Commands, and had the Charge of defending Cities and Fortreſſes, as, *Momba*, *Van Zanten*, *Baſſem*, *D'Offery*, and the like: As alſo thoſe Perſons, whether Officers, or others, that have been aſſiſting to the Governors, in executing of their Treacheries, and had daily Correſpondence with the Enemy.

And by puniſhing all ſuch Perſons ſeverely, according to their Demerits, make them Examples to others.

But there ought not ſo particular a Regard to be taken of other Captains, and meaner Officers, who cannot be ſaid to have had the leaſt Knowledge of their unfaithful Governors Deſigns; and would have undoubtedly behaved themſelves moſt loyally, had they been encouraged thereto by their Governors, and not been deluded to act thoſe Things which they were made believe would be for the Benefit of the Country, but proved prejudicial; for which, if any ſhould be puniſhed, moſt of all the Captains and other Officers, in what Gariſon ſoever, would be liable thereto. And thoſe Captains, which ſhould be puniſhed more than others, would be unjuſtly dealt withal; or the State conſtrained to an Execution of ſo many honeſt People, which heretofore have behaved themſelves like loyal Soldiers, for the Defence of their Country, and now only brought thereto by the treacherous, though ſeeming fair, Pretences and Deluſions of their baſe Governors.

We have alſo oftentimes ſeen that Military Perſons, and other inferior Officers, being accuſed of ſome committed Abuſes, and freed from their Puniſhments out of a particular Favour, have taken an Occaſion in all future Opportunities to uſe more than ordinary Endeavours for the Good and Benefit of the State: Of which there are many Examples, whereof one is manifeſted at this Time in Captain *Buket*.

I ſhould judge, that ſome Means might be found, who amongſt the Regents is guilty of High-Treaſon, and conſequently deſerving of Puniſhment.

Eſpecially if we conſider thoſe Maxims that are uſed, and alſo neceſſary in our Government; that is, that only a few are to be admitted into the Council for private Concerns, either one out of every Province, or elſe more or leſs according as the Buſineſs requires. Beſides which Perſons, none may have the leaſt Knowledge of Things of greateſt Conſequence, eſpecially in Times of War, when the Welfare of the State doth not a little depend, that the Regents Deſigns againſt the Enemy may be kept ſecret, and not divulged and brought to the Ears of the Enemy. Which private Conſultations were well obſerved by the Council Penſionary, who permitted his Creatures to be of the Privy-Council, and excluded ſeveral good Patriots, who his Excellency judged would oppoſe him in the Carrying on of his wicked Deſigns; and thoſe, which he could not exclude, he wrought ſo upon, that he made them to vote ſuch Things as his Wiſdom thought fit.

And therefore thoſe loyal Regents, which ſat at the Helm, might now eaſily, being under the Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, find out with what Malice their wicked Brother Counſellors have ordered all Things to the Ruin of our Country, and the Furthering of the Enemies Deſigns.

Whether in their ill Care for the Fortreſſes, badly ſtoring the Magazines, granting of unlawful Paſs-ports for the tranſporting Ammunition to the Enemy, bad Management, and preventing the Raiſing of Levies, detaining of our Ambaſſadors, and Ratifications of the Treaties, the ill Performance of them; moreover in the ſtrange Conduct of their appointed Governors, Commanders, and others; and the like baſe Carrying on of Affairs.

For, if once the Thread be found, the Bottom will ſoon be unwound.

Yet, notwithſtanding all which, my Judgment is, that the publick Inquiſitions and the Puniſhments ought to be referred, ſince undoubtedly it will be of a dangerous Conſequence; partly becauſe that by the manifold Difficulties, which in all Appearance would accrue, the loyal Regents, Fathers of our Native

ive Country, would be prevented from uſing other Means, which, in this Conjuncture of Time, are more neceſſary to oppoſe the Enemy; and partly, that, when the Treaſon is found out, the Puniſhments muſt neceſſarily follow.

Which my fore-mentioned Opinion I leave to every one's ſerious Conſideration: How it is poſſible, that the Executing of the Puniſhments, which undoubtedly would be inflicted on ſeveral of the ſupremeſt Governors, which have ſo long managed the Helm of our Government, could be effected, without Fear of great Inconvenience to this State, which in this Conjuncture muſt by all Means poſſible be prevented.

Thoſe, that pleaſe to read the Hiſtory of *Barnevelt*, will find, that it is not to be done without great Difficulties; which neceſſarily ought to be diverted and referred to ſome other and more convenient Time, when either all Things may be buried in Oblivion, or elſe the Traitors condemned to loſe their Heads, for betraying our Native Country, as the Lords Magiſtrates ſhall think fit.

And therefore is it not abominable that private Perſons dare daily preſume to do Juſtice, nay to inflict ſufficient Puniſhments on all and every one, whom they but in the leaſt ſuſpect to have been concerned in the ill Management of Affairs? Which doth no way beſeem them. But we will hope that the Prudence of the Lord *Stadtholder* will prevent the ſame for the Future.

I am very ſenſible, that many Patriots, by this Delay of puniſhing the Traitors, fear that, if the Treacheries go unpuniſhed, the State will be left in a great Labyrinth, and in Danger of being wholly delivered up into the Enemies Hands; becauſe, when thoſe wicked Traitors are accuſed of their Villainies, and ſee, as it were, their Puniſhments before their Eyes, they will uſe all Means poſſible to make more and more Confuſion in the Finances, of which there is yet a great Complaint, and increaſe all other Diſorders; whereby the Enemy may get Footing alſo in the remaining Provinces, in Hopes that, by that Means, they ſhall eſcape their deſerved Puniſhment: Which Fears of the loyal Patriots are not without ſome Reaſon; ſince an eminent Perſon was Yeſterday pleaſed to tell me, that, in Caſe the Confuſion in the Finances, and the bad Payment of Monies, which, by the wicked Directions of the Compt Governors, hath been ſo long in Practice, be not ſuddenly remedied, it would prove very prejudicial to the State. On which I anſwered his Excellency (wherewith alſo, according to my Judgment, all Patriots may be ſatisfied) That his Highneſs was not made a *Stadtholder* to catch Flies; and, though he did not as yet proceed on an Inquiſition and ſudden Puniſhment of the Traitors, yet we might well think, that his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* would, with the Help of many loyal Regents, endeavour, by all Means poſſible, to gain an exact Knowledge of that malicious Governing, which hath reduced our State to ſo deplorable and ſad a Condition; and that alſo he will take ſuch Care, that all thoſe Compt Governors ſhall be bereaved of all publick Employment, but eſpecially for ever excluded out of the Privy-Council, ſo to prevent all future Miſcarriages of Affairs, and ſettle all Things in ſuch Order, as ſhall be moſt beneficial to the State.

Let us now think on ſome Means, whereby our native Country may be brought to enjoy its former Freedom, and to know the Light of the Goſpel, which, in many of the torn-off Members of this State, is already ſufficiently extinguiſhed.

We have heretofore, by eſtabliſhing that curſed Edict, not only refuſed to acknowledge our real Governor and chief Magiſtrate of our Country, to which Nature and the formerly-received Benefits obliged, and ſufficiently might have forced us to, but alſo deſpiſed and excluded him with many Oaths. Oh horrid Action!

Do we not ſee and read, that, when we deſpiſe and diſown our juſt and loyal Magiſtrates, God ſends wicked and tyrannical Regents in their Places?

I gave thee a King in mine Anger, and took him away in my Wrath. Hoſ. xiii. 11.

Did there ever any greater Deſtruction happen amongſt any People, than amongſt thoſe which had ſhewn themſelves ungrateful to their Princes, and depoſed thoſe, to whom they owed their Preſervation?

If any where, then, it may well be ſaid to be here, that God, being juſtly incenſed, hath, in his Wrath, given a great Part of our *Netherlands* to a King.

God grant, that, as that Sin of Ungratefulneſs, practiſed by our Magiſtrates, which hath chiefly occaſioned a Curſe upon our Coun-

try, is removed by a miraculous Providence, *viz.* our Magiſtrates ſuddenly revoking that wicked and perpetual Edict, ſhewing a ſincere Sorrow for that baſe Act, to which they were deluded by the wicked Directions of the forementioned Compt Governors, he will alſo be pleaſed to remove all other Troubles from us! And grant likewiſe, that our Subjects may repent of thoſe horrid and crying Sins, of which they are guilty, and thereby have incurred God's juſt Diſpleaſure.

The Copie of a Piſtel or Letter ſent to *Gilbard Potter*, in the Tyme when he was in Priſon, for ſpeakinge on our moſt true Quenes Part, the Lady *Mary*, before he had his Eares cut of. The xiij. of *Julye*.

Si Deus nobiſcum, quis contra nos?

Anno M.D.Liij. the Firſte of *Auguſt*. *Duodecimo*, containing ſixteen Pages.

Poore Pratte, *vnto his Frend* Gilbard Potter, *the moſt faythful and trew Louer of Quene* Mary *doth him ſalute with many Salutations.* S. P. D.

WHEREAS thou haſte of late ſhowed thy ſelfe (moſt faithful *Gilbard*) to be a true Subiecte to *Mary*, Quene of *England*, not only by Wordes but by Deedes, and for the farther Triall of thy true Heart towardes her, did offer thy Bodye to be ſlayne in her Quarell, and offered vp thy ſelfe into the Handes of the ragged Beare moſt rancke, with whom is nether Mercy, Pitie, nor Compaſſion, but his Indignation preſent Death. Thy Promis (*Gilbard*) is faythfull, thy Heart is true, thy Loue is feruente towardes her Grace; and, wheras you did promis me faythfullye (when I laſt viſited thee in Priſon) To be torne with wild Horſes, thou wouldeſt not denye *Marye* oure Quene, and to that whiche thou tofore dyd ſaye, No Denial ſhalbe found in thee, ſo ſtyll do thou continue in the ſame Mynde, haue a Reſpect of thy Conſcience. Feare not to ſaye the Truth; if thou dye, thou ſhalt dye in the Ryght; *Pugna pro patria*, Fighte for thy Countrey (ſayeth the Philoſopher.) For, as it ſhalbe to thi great Honour and Prayſe in this World, and in Heauen, to dye in her Graces Quarell, and in the Defence of thy Countrey; ſo wold it be to the vtter Deſtruction, both of thy Body and Soule, to do the Contrarye. But (O thou true *Gilbard*) ſtand ſtiflye in her Cauſe, and do thou according to thy laſt Promis made me (as I do not doubt but thou wilt) then wil God kepe thee and preſerue thee. If thou ſhuld dye, thou ſhalt dye innocent; ſo ſhal you be aſſured to poſſeſſe the euerlaſtyng Kyngdom of Heauen. If you fortune to lyue, then ſhal it be alſo accompted Praiſe to thee; and fully perſwade with thy ſelfe, that her Grace wil conſider thy faythful and true Heart (as ſhe hath iuſte Occaſion.) For, who could haue bene more faythfuller, then thou haſte bene? What Man coulde haue ſhowed him ſelfe bolder in her Graces Cauſe, then thou haſt ſhowed? Or who dyd ſo valiantlye in the Proclamation Tyme, when *Iane* was publiſhed Quene (vnworthy as ſhe was) and more to blame, I may ſay to thee, are ſome of the Conſenters therunto. Ther were Thoufandes more then

then thy ſelfe, yet durſt they not (ſuche is the Fragility and Weakenes of the Fleſh) once moue their Lippes to ſpeake that whiche thou did ſpeake. Thou offeredſt thy ſelfe amongſt the Multitude of People to fight agaynſte them all in her Quarell, and for her Honour dyd not fear to runne vpon the Poynt of the Swordes. O faythful Subiect, O true Hearte to *Mary* our Quene, I can not but wryte of the condign Prayſe that thou deſerueſt for thys thy Boldnes. I may compare thee to *Sidrack*, *Miſack*, and *Abdenago*, whych, rather then they wold forſake their Mayſter, were contented to ſuffer the Tormentes in the hoate burnyng Ouen. And as young *Daniel*, when he was broughte before ſuch a Ruler (as that falſe Duke of *Northumberland*) rather then to denye his Lord, would ſuffer the Paynes of Impryſonment, and to be caſt in the Denne of Lions: Even ſo (faythful *Gilbard*) rather then thou wouldeſt conſente to their falſe and trayterouſe Proclamation for *Iane*, when thou dyd hear it, hauyng a clear Conſcience, wold not conſent to the ſame moſt trayterous Fact. And ſo little regarded thy Life, boldly ſtode in thy Miſtres Cauſe, and offered thy Bodye to be impriſoned, and to ſuffer Death, then to denye our vertuouſe *Mary* to be Quene. And therfore truſt to it, my faythfull *Gilbard*, as the God of *Sidrack*, *Miſack*, and *Abdenago* ſaued them from al Hurt in the hoat burnyng Ouen, that not ſo muche as one Heare of their Heade was periſhed: So ſhall the ſame God ſaue thee out of the Handes of the cruell Beare, and give hym no Power of thy Lyfe. Agayne as God preſerued *Daniel* when he was caſt in the Denne amongeſt the Lions, at the Commaundement of the King *Nabuchodonoſor*. And, when he was in the Middeſte of them, the Lions playd with him (which was admirable.) So do thou truſt to, albeit thou art now in the Denne amongeſt Deuourers (I meane vnder the Power of the Beare and ragged Staf) yet the God of *Daniel* ſhall ſafely delyuer thee out of all their Handes; and thee rather, if thou doſt ſtil continue ſtedfaſt, and hold on *Mary* our Quene, and forſake thy Mayſter, no more then *Daniel* and the Brethren did their God and Mayſter. Diſpayre not, but lyue in Hope to ſe a good Day, and the ſoner will it come, if we continue in Praier. For my Part, faithful *Gilbard*, I wyl neuer ſeaſe Day nor Nyght from Praying for our good *Mary*, that her Grace might once obteyne the Crowne, and that it wold pleaſe him of his omnipotent Power to ſtrengthen and helpe her Grace, *Mary*, thy Quene and mine; ſo ſay I to the Death, and to conquere that Beare. So here I ſhall deſire thee alſo to offer vp to the Almighty Lord godly Contemplations, that ſhe maye ouercome hir Enemies.

For, as the Inhabitants of the great City of *Niniue* continued in Praier, and clothed them ſelues in Sackecloth, caſte Duſte vpon their Heades, repented, and bewailed their manifold Sinnes and Offences, at what Tyme as the Prophete *Ionas* had preached to them the Deſtruction of their Citye; knew that it was Time to do al the ſame, els Deſtruction wold folow: So ſhulde we now not ſeaſe praying to God to ſend vs Quietnes, and that the Lady *Mary* might enioye the Kingdom.

For we haue had manye Prophetes and true Preachers, whiche did declare vnto vs, that oure Kinge ſhal be taken awaye from vs, and a Tyrant ſhal reygne; the Goſpel ſhall be plucked awaye, the right Heyre ſhalbe diſpoſſeſſed, and al for our Vnthanckfulnes: And thinkeſt thou not (*Gilbard*) the World is now come? Yea, truely. And what ſhal folow, yf we repent not in Tymes. The ſame God wil take from vs the vertuouſe Lady *Mary*, oure lawfull Quene, and ſend ſuch a cruel *Pharao*, as the ragged Beare, to rule vs, which ſhal pul and pol vs, ſpoyle vs, and vtterly deſtroy vs, and bring vs in great Calamities and Miſeries. And this God wil ſend vs, and al for our Iniquities. For, yf vnto oure Quene *Mary* any Euell ſhuld happen, let vs fully perſwade with our ſelues, that it not for her ſmall Sinnes only, but for our euel Liuinges. And this litle Troubles (whiche be greuous to hir Grace) doth chaunſe to her for thy Sinnes and myne, let vs ſo thinke. For truely (faythful *Gilbard*) God is diſpleaſed with vs many Wayes. And here, I dar be bold to ſay, that her Grace is more ſorowful for the Death of King *Edwarde* her Brother, then ſhe is glad that ſhe is Quene. For her Part (good vertuouſe Lady) ſhe would haue bene as glad of her Brothers Life, as the ragged Beare is glad of his Death. *Agamemnon*, the *Heathen* King, was neuer more vnquieted with his highe Eſtate, when he lamented for that he was King ouer ſo manye People, as her Grace is nowe troubled to rule and gouerne ſo manye euell Perſons. *Plato* was neuer gladder, when

he was exiled from the Kinges Courte, becauſe his Mind was more addict therby, and geuen to the Study of Philoſophie, as ſhe wold be, if ſhe might once be exiled from the Company of ſuch Traitours, wherby ſhe might be more quieter, and poſſeſſe this hir Kingdome peaſablye. Euen ſo I dare adtouche, that her Grace was farre quieter, and better contented with her olde Eſtate, then now ſhe is Quene (yf it had pleaſed God.) But now, praiſed be Almighti God, becauſe he hath ſo prouided vs a right and lawful Ayre, and ſo vertuous a Princeſſe, to poſſeſs this Imperial Crown of *England*, and ſo are we all bounde highlye to thanke him therfore. Truſtyng that the ſame God wil ſhortlye exalt her Grace, and ſet her in her perfect Dignitie, and plucke downe that *Iane*, I ~~can not nominate~~ hir Quene, for that I know no other Quenes, but the good Lady *Mary*, hir Grace, whome God proſper. I heare ſay (faythfull *Gilbard*) that the true Subject, Sir *Edmond Peckhame*, is gone, with al his Power and Treaſure, to aſſiſt her Grace, *Ex fructu ſcimus quid ſit arbor*, by the Frute, we may knowe what the Tree is: So by his Frutes, that is, by all his Doinges we may knowe, what he is, howe true and faythful hath he ſhewed him ſelfe to be at al Times to *Henry theight*, of famous Memory. What Man deſerued more Commendation then he? He neuer robbed his Grace, when he had al the Rule of his Treaſure; he vſed not to bye Siluer for fowre Shillinges an Once, and make the Kinge paye fiue Shillinges fowre Pence (as other falſe Traitours did) but loke, what he payd, the Kinge payde no more. He was euer true and faythfull by Reporte, aſwell of al other, as of hys owne Seruauntes. And now for the ful Triall of his true Hearte, howe hath he ſhowed him ſelfe to her Grace? Left Houſe, Lands, and al, and gone to help her. Truly, we haue to few ſuch faythfull Men. I heare alſo, that ther is come more to helpe her Grace, the Erle of *Darbey*, the Erle of *Oxford*, the Erle of *Bath*, and diuerſe other Nobles, whiche I can not rehearſe nominarly. The God of Hoſtes, the God of *Abraham*, proſper them, kepe them, and geue them Power to withſtand al their Enemies, and the mooſt mighty Lord take Part with them (as I do not miſtruſt) for the Right Sake. I hear no other Newes, but that here is continually great Preparation, and many Cartes appoynted to cary Harnes and Artilery, God ſend them euell to ſpede. The good Erle of *Arundel* and the Erle of *Shroſburye* be here ſtill; but, as I am informed, the Erle of *Arundel* will not conſent to none of their Doynges. O God, I moſt hertelye deſire thee, heare my Praier, kepe and preſerue the good Erle of *Arundel* from the Tiranny of that deuouryng Beare. For, as thou haſt from the Beginning endued him with al Truth, ſo doth he ſtil continue ſtedfaſte in the ſame, like a worthy Noble; preſerve hym, I beſeche thee (O my God) and geue hym Grace ſtill to ſtande ſtedfaſte. The Erle of *Shroſburye* beareth hymſelfe equal, God kepe hym, and ſend al thoſe, that wold the Ladye *Mary* to be Quene, long Life and Pleaſure; and they which wold not, I wyſhe them the Paynes of *Satan* in Hell. I haue (faythfull *Gilbard*) ſcattered abroad thre of the Bokes more, and two alſo haue I ſent into the ragged Beares Campe; kepe that cloſe which thou haſt: The World is daungerous: The great Deuell *Dudley* ruleth, Duke, I ſhuld haue ſayde; wel, let that paſſe, ſeing it is oute, but I truſte he ſhal not longe. I haue proued, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in ſome ſtraunge Letter, and ſo a Nomber of them to be diſparſed abroade. Foraſmuch *(Gilbard)* as I perceaue that thou art ſtraytly kept, and not ſuffred to haue Liberty, I ſhal briefly viſite the with my Letters from Time to Time. And here, *Gilbard*, I exhort the to continue in Praier, and to take in good Parte this Yoke, layd vpon thy Shoulders, and beare this Croſſe patiently. For Aduerſity is a good Thinge, and ſhall make thee to know God the better. For I truſt in the Lord, to liue to ſe the Day her Grace to mary ſuch one, as knoweth what Aduerſity meaneth, ſo ſhal we haue both a merciful Quene and King to their Subiects. And wold to God that I might liue (if it ſo pleaſed her Grace) to haue an other vertuouſe *Edward*: And God make her Grace fruteful, and ſend hir Frute to inherite the Kingdom after her. I promiſed you to ſalute your Frend *Robert* in your Name; accordingly I haue done, deſired hym to pray with you for our Quene *Mary*, that it wold pleaſe the Lord to giue hir the Crowne, which ſhe oughte to haue of Right. And thus, to breuiate my long Proceſſe, I end, deſiryng the (my conſtant *Gilbard)* not to beholde the Gorgiouſnes of my Letters, which be void of al, but to weygh in an equal Payre of Ballans the good Wil of the

Writer,

Writer, who beareth thee no worſe Wil, then to his owne Soule, prayinge God to ſtrengthen thee, and giue thee Grace, to abide faythfull towardes oure moſt excellent true and only Quene *Mary*; ſo ſhalt thou be aſſured to haue God thy faythfull Frend againe, and, at the laſt, thou ſhalt inherit his Kingdom: To the which Kingdome, bringe both you and me, and vs all. *Amen.*

Fayre you well.

Finis. Quod Poore Pratte.

Imprynted at *London*, in *Temſtrete*, ouer agaynſte the *Stilliardes*, at the Signe of the *Dobbel Hood*, by *Hewghe Singelton* *.

* At the Time when Lady *Jane Grey* was proclaimed Queen of *England*, who continued in that Royal State only nine Days, in the Beginning of *July*, 1553.

VERSES

SPOKE TO THE

LADY *Henrietta-Cavendiſh Holles Harley*,

In the LIBRARY of

St. *John's* COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

November the 9th, *Ann.* 1719.

By Mr. *PRIOR*.

MADAM,

SINCE *ANNA* viſited our Muſes Seat,
(Around Her Tomb let weeping Angels wait)
Hail THOU, the Brighteſt of thy Sex, and Beſt,
Moſt gracious Neighbour, and moſt welcome Gueſt.
Not HARLEY's Self to *Cam* and *Iſis* dear,
In Virtues and in Arts great OXFORD's Heir,
Not HE ſuch preſent Honours ſhall receive,
As to his CONSORT We aſpire to give.

Writings

Writings of Men our Thought To-day neglects,
To pay due Homage to the Softer Sex:
Plato and *Tully* We forbear to read,
And their great Followers whom this Houſe has bred,
To ſtudy Leſſons from Thy Morals given,
And ſhining Characters, impreſs'd by Heaven.
Science in Books no longer We purſue,
Minerva's Self in HARRIET's Face We view;
For, when with Beauty we can Virtue join,
We paint the Semblance of a Form Divine.

Their pious Incenſe let our Neighbours bring,
To the kind Mem'ry of ſome bounteous King;
With grateful Hand, due Altars let Them raiſe
To ſome good Knight's, or holy Prelate's Praiſe;
We tune our Voices to a nobler Theme,
Your Eyes We bleſs, your Praiſes We proclaim,
St. *John*'s was founded in a Woman's Name:
Enjoin'd by Statute, to the Fair we bow;
In Spight of Time, we keep our ancient Vow;
What MARGARET TUDOR was, is HARRIET HARLEY now.

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